This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

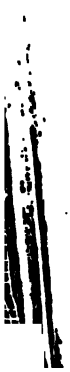
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at http://books.google.com/

LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

6654

THE SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

PUBLISHED BY

JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS, GLASGOW

Publishers to the University.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON.

New York, - - *The Macmillan Co.*
London, - - - *Simpkin, Hamilton and Co.*
Cambridge, - - *Macmillan and Bowes.*
Edinburgh, - - *Douglas and Foulis.*
Sydney, - - - *Angus and Robertson.*

MCMV.

THE SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

BEING A NEW SERIES OF
THE SCOTTISH ANTIQUARY
ESTABLISHED 1886

Volume Second

GLASGOW
JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS
PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY
1905

Contents

PAGE

The Scottish Peerage. By J. H. Stevenson, Unicorn Pursuivant. *With Heraldic Illustrations* - - - 1

The Earl's Ferry. By George Law, Advocate - - 14

The Charitie of the Boxe. By E. Maxtone Graham. *With Illustrations* - - - - - - - - 30

Miss Katherine Read, Court Paintress. By A. Francis Steuart - - - - - - - - - 38

Some Sidelights on the History of Montrose's Campaigns. By George Duncan. *With Portrait* - - - 47

Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union. By W. R. Scott, M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D., St. Andrews 53, 287, 406

The Bishops of Dunkeld. By the Bishop of Edinburgh - 61

The Homes of the Claverhouse Grahams. By Professor C. Sanford Terry - - - - - - - - 72

Knox as an Historian. By Andrew Lang. *With Portrait of Queen Mary* - - - - - - - - 113

The Influence of Knox. By D. Hay Fleming, LL.D. - 131

Periodical Literature of the Eighteenth Century. By the Hon. George A. Sinclair - - - - - - 136

162010

PAGE

Mary Queen of Scots and her Brother. By D. Murray Rose - - - - - - - - - - - 150

The Siege of Edinburgh Castle, 1689. By Professor C. Sanford Terry - - - - - - - - - 163

Six Early Charters. By Captain George S. C. Swinton, March Pursuivant. *With Illustrations* - - - 173

The Use and Forms of Judicial Torture in England and Scotland. By R. D. Melville. *With* 28 *Illustrations* - 225

James VI. and the Papacy. By Adolphus W. Ward, Master of Peterhouse - - - - - - - 249

Rob Stene: A Court Satirist under James VI. By Geo. Neilson - - - - - - - - - - 253

The Altar of St. Fergus in Holy Trinity, St. Andrews. By F. C. Eeles - - - - - - - - - - 260

The Scots at Leffingen, 1600. By Lieut.-Col. H. W. Lumsden - - - - - - - - - - 268

On Certain Points in Scottish Ethnology. By Thomas H. Bryce. *With* 11 *Illustrations* - - - - - - 275

The Household of Mary Queen of Scots in 1573. By Andrew Lang - - - - - - - - - 345

Side Lights from the Dunvegan Charter Chest. By the Rev. R. C. MacLeod - - - - - - - 356

The Queen's Maries. By Thomas Duncan - - - 363

The Scots at Solway Moss. By the Hon. George A. Sinclair 372

Nynia in Northern Pictland. By the Rev. Archibald Black Scott, M.A. - - - - - - - - - 378

PAGE

Dunnottar and its Barons. By James Crabb Watt, K.C., F.S.A.Scot. *With Illustrations* - - - - 389

The Battle of Glenshiel. By Professor C. Sanford Terry. *With Maps* - - - - - - - - - 412

Le Château de Brix, en Normandie. By Etienne Dupont, Juge, Saint Malo - - - - - - - - 424

Reviews of Books - - - - 77, 193, 305, 428

Record Room

Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis, 97. Consecration of a 'College' Bishop in 1726, 99. Castle of Findlater, license to crenellate in 1445, 101. Haddington Surgeon's Account in 1611, 102. Countess of Murray's letter in 1544, 298. Campbell of Skipness's Highland Company commissions, etc., 300.

Queries - - - - - - - 103, 188, 330, 469

Replies

Lady Anne Bothwell—'Wrawes,' 108. Campbells of Ardkinglass, 109. Baron of Argentine, 189. Celtic Trews —'Kenkynol,' 190. Bulloch family, 191. Blanchet, painter, 331. See also Communications.

Notes and Comments. *With Illustrations*

Glasgow vicars' choral, 110. Cornage discussed, 111. In Memoriam, Thomas Dickson, LL.D., 181. Coin hoard at Lochmaben, 182. Manuscript studies, 183. Jacobite glasses, 183. Anti-Jacobite jottings, 184. Norse law, 185. Irish History, 186. Archaeological finds, 187. Armorial stones, etc., at St. Andrews, 337. *The Pearl*, 337. 'Maiden Lilliard,' 338. Protection of Monuments, 339. Historical teaching, 339. Gospatric's letter, 341. Work of Societies, 341-4, 482-3. Inscription regarding Battle of Halidon, 483. Rhind

PAGE

Lectures on Coins, 484. St. Albans Exhibition, 486. Stirling Bridge, 487. Poisoning in Scotland, 487.

Communications - - - - - - - - 331, 473

Waldeve, Brother of Dolphin, and the Abbey of Croyland. By Rev. James Wilson - - - - - - - 331

The Trades Books of St. Andrews. By D. Hay Fleming, LL.D. 334

Captain John Paton of Meadowhead. By J. R. Paton - - 335

James VI. and Andrew Melville. By Lieut.-Col. H. W. Lumsden - - - - - - - - - - - 473

Sir Archibald Lawrie and the Swinton Charters. By Captain George S. C. Swinton - - - - - - - 475

The Altar of St Fergus, St. Andrews. By George Law, Advocate. With a note by F. C. Eeles - - - 478

Rob Stene. By A. M. Mackintosh - - - - - - 480

Honey Stealing at Haddington - - - - - - - 481

Illustrations

	PAGE
The Royal Arms of Scotland	4
The Arms of the Marquis of Angus	8
The Arms of the Duke of Atholl	12
Old Kirk Ladle from Birnie, Morayshire	32
Beggar's Badge, Kirkcudbright Parish	32
Beggar's Badge, Eglesgrig Parish, 1773	32
The Marquis of Montrose	48
Inscribed Stone found in wall of 122 Saltmarket, Glasgow	110
Mary Queen of Scots. From Windsor Castle portrait	128
Charter of Walter Olifard	174
Charter of William the Lion	176
Three Jacobite Glasses	184
Two Bronze Armlets from the Culbin Sands, now at Altyre	216
Thumb and Finger Screws	228
Branks and Stocks	232
Jougs	236
Axes and Anklets	240
The 'Maiden' used in Edinburgh	244

PAGE

Blade of the Aberdeen 'Maiden' - - - - - - 244

Repentance Stool - - - - - - - - - 244

Stirling Hangman's 'Caup' - - - - - - - 244

Hangman's Ladle, from Kelso - - - - - - - 244

Sectional Plan of Chamber, Carn Ban, Kilmory Water - - - 277

Giants' Graves, Whiting Bay, Arran - - - - - - 278

Vessel of Pottery from Beacharr Chamber, Kintyre - - - 278

Vessel of Pottery from Clachaig Chamber, Arran - - - - 278

Beaker from Cist at Lesmurdie, Banffshire - - - - - 280

Norma Verticalis of Skull from Clachaig Chamber - - - 280

Norma Verticalis of Skull from Cist at Acharole - - - - 280

Urn from Chamber No. 1, Glecknabae Cairn - - - - 281

Urn from Chamber at North-west corner Glecknabae Cairn, - - 281

View from the East of Portal, Chamber No. 1, Glecknabae Cairn, - 282

Urn of Food-vessel type from Cist in Scalpsie Tumulus - - - 283

Inscribed Stone at St. Andrews - - - - - - - 337

Seal of Sir Patrick Learmonth of Dairsie - - - - - 337

Coffins from Chapter House, St. Andrews - - - - - 343

Dunnottar Castle - - - - - - - - - 392

Plan of Dunnottar Castle - - - - - - - - 395

Entrance to Dunnottar Castle - - - - - - - 398

Keep of Dunnottar Castle from the South-east - - - - 403

Lieutenant Bastide's Plan of the Battle of Glenshiel - - - 412

Plan of the Battle of Glenshiel, 1719. By John Ross, Aberdeen - 416

Contributors to this Volume

Miss Mary Adamson
Rev. P. Henderson Aitken
F. J. Amours
Joseph Anderson
Joseph Bain
Mrs. M. M. Banks
John Bartholomew
Miss Mary Bateson
William George Black
R. H. Brodie
J. T. T. Brown
Thomas H. Bryce
A. W. Gray Buchanan
J. M. Bulloch
Niall D. Campbell
John Clark
W. B. Cook
Rev. Professor Cooper
W. A. Craigie
William Cramond
Rev. J. Cullen
A. O. Curle
Bishop Dowden
George Duncan
Thomas Duncan
Etienne Dupont
John Edwards
F. C. Eeles
George Eyre-Todd
C. Litton Falkiner
D. Hay Fleming
J. P. Gibson
E. Maxtone Graham
T. F. Henderson
R. Oliver Heslop
Rev. James King Hewison
Montague R. James
Professor Henry Jones
W. D. Ker
Andrew Lang
George Law, Advocate
Kenneth Leys
Lieut.-Col. H. W. Lumsden
George Macdonald

William S. M'Kechnie
William M. Mackenzie
J. M. Mackinlay
A. M. Mackintosh
Magnus MacLean
Sophia H. MacLehose
Rev. R. C. MacLeod
David MacRitchie
Ludovic M. Mann
Andrew Marshall
Sir James D. Marwick
Professor Dudley J. Medley
R. D. Melville
Rev. Dr. W. M. Metcalfe
A. H. Millar
J. L. Morison
David Murray
George Neilson
J. R. Paton
David Patrick
Sir J. Balfour Paul
Professor J. S. Phillimore
Robert Renwick
D. Murray Rose
Professor Saintsbury
Rev. Archibald Black Scott
W. R. Scott
Hon. George A. Sinclair
Professor D. Nichol Smith
A. Francis Steuart
J. H. Stevenson
Rev. W. B. Stevenson
William Stewart
George Stronach
George S. C. Swinton
Professor C. Sanford Terry
J. Maitland Thomson
Professor T. F. Tout
J. G. Wallace-James
Adolphus W. Ward, Master of Peterhouse
Professor John Wardell
T. Watson
J. Crabb Watt, K.C.
Richard Welford
A. M. Williams
Rev. James Wilson
J. Hamilton Wylie

The
Scottish Historical Review

VOL. II., No. 1 OCTOBER 1904

The Scottish Peerage

FROM the day 'quhan Alysander our king wes dede,' down to the day when the Chancellor Lord of Seafield laid down his pen and exclaimed, 'And there's an end o' an auld sang,' the varied thread of Scottish story is mainly the history of a nobility which blended or opposed its ambitions in an endless succession of intrigues and feuds of which even the open wars of the country with the 'auld enemy,' England, were too often but the opportunity or the result. No country, it has been said, stands so little indebted to its nobles as does Scotland. The saying may be false or true according as we determine wherein lies Scotland's main achievement. I think it false. The pride of Scottish history does not lie in the patient upbuilding of a great democracy or the solution of constitutional problems, but rather in the exploits of its heroes in war; and its achievement has been the making of a people rather than a nation. While it is true that the Scottish magnates never united to extort a Magna Charta from the Crown, it is on the other hand also true that Scotland never saw its nobles combined to oppress its commons, nor its commons arrayed in form of war against its nobles. In all the blood-welding of this northern people a Wat Tyler or Jack Cade, a peasant war or a Jacquerie was unknown and impossible. And if there is anything in national sentiment, the deeds of Bruce and Randolph at Bannockburn, and the devotion of the eleven earls who died round their king at Flodden—in brief the valiant part played by her nobles in all her wars, is a service they performed to their country for all time.

The Comyns, Baliols, Bruces, Stuarts, the Black Douglases and the Red, the Grahams and pervading Setons, the Homes and the Gordons, the Boyds and the Hamiltons; Athol, Buchan and Crawford, Glencairn and Cassillis, Mar and Ruthven; the names of Angus, Arran, Huntly, Morton, Moray, Bothwell, Leslie, Lauderdale, Montrose, Argyle, and Claverhouse—these and the like are the titles of the chapters, sections, and subsections of the major part of Scottish history. The most of the beloved and the execrated of our romance as well as our history belong to these names.

Whether the part they played was good or bad; whether tradition has dealt well with them or ill, belongs to the domain of public history, but their positions and circumstances, their family traditions, their territorial holdings, their alliances of blood and marriage, their very personal characteristics of mind and body, are of interest not only to their lineal descendants and the student of heredity, but, like the personal peculiarities of kings, are part of the solution of the problems of the general history of their country also.

The most ancient, best authenticated, and in several respects most remarkable family history in Scotland is naturally that of its royal house. Its lineal descent and succession from the ancient Celtic dynasty—independent kings as far back as we can trace them, its successive infusions in early times of the best Saxon and Norman blood, its romantic and tragic fortunes, and its survival to the present day, render it unique among the royal lines of Europe. The new *Scots Peerage* in process of being issued does well to devote its opening pages to the line of the Scottish kings.[1]

The Scottish peerage shares in much of the antiquity of the Crown. There seems to be a great probability that some of the most ancient of our northern earldoms derive from the even more ancient Maormars by descent rather than by conquest. Evidence of the original character of these Celtic officers of the time of Malcolm Canmore or earlier is, no doubt, hard now to find. But it is known that they ruled over the ancient districts of Ross, Moray, Buchan, Mar, Mearns and Angus, and that some of them were latterly denominated earls, or were, in Malcolm's time, succeeded by earls of the same territories.

How far these first earls acknowledged themselves to

[1] *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms. Edinburgh (David Douglas, pp. xv. 575), 1904, vol. i.

hold their titles of land from the king of Scotland or any king is another question and as difficult. There are several references in the chronicles of the times before Bruce to 'seven earls.' As in the Holy Roman Empire there were Seven Electors Palatine who chose the Emperors, so, probably, the monkish chroniclers in Scotland thought that there should be, or must have been, a college of Seven Earls who elected the king. The absence of any allusion to such a body or system of election, on the death of Alexander III., or of the Maid of Norway, is against their existence. The claim of the Earl of Fife to enthrone the king on the Stone of Destiny, or, in the case of Robert I., to place the crown on the king's head indicates, however, that some consent of that earl at least was requisite to confer the kingly authority, and the style he assumed, at least occasionally, in his early charters—'By the grace of God, Earl of Fife'—indicates that he did not acknowledge that he held his earldom from the king merely. The Seven Earls mentioned in 1296 are the Earls of Buchan, Monteith, Strathern, Lennox, Ross, Athol, and Mar.[1] The Earl of Fife and the Earl of Sutherland are not among the number. But it must be remembered that the earliest holder of the earldom of Sutherland known to these same records is not a Celtic earl. The enhancement of the royal power and the subordination of the Celtic earls were gradual; and during the process—and aiding it perhaps—there appeared in Scotland the beginnings of a nobility of an essentially different system—the Norman system of feus, charters, and subordination. Scotland suffered no Norman conquest, but it shared in a Saxon, Danish, and Norman invasion. Immigrant houses were planted on the waste places left by the wars of Malcolm; and the immigrants, or many of them, seem to have become magnates immediately in the land of their adoption, whatever their condition was before. The invasion was only partial, however, and the existing population was neither extirpated nor enthralled. Scotland was only in process of becoming a kingdom; and it was thus that there arose with a composite people a nobility of divers origins. Scot or Pict, Briton or Galwegian, Saxon, Dane, Norman or Fleming, when he accepted a charter of his lands, the king's vassal was for the future undistinguishable in respect of his origin, so far as the law was concerned. It was thus

[1] *Scalacronica* 122, Rishanger 156. *See* Burton, *History* II. 45, 46 n. and 197 n.

also that the kingdom was gradually formed in the framework of a Norman society. The king's councillors in time of peace and his captains in war were—saving so far as they were churchmen, and these were, after all, scarcely an exception—the great territorial lords, his tenants in chief. In the great feudal system of reciprocal service and protection of which a king was scarcely more than the first officer, the members of each rank were peers among themselves, and were the men of their immediate overlord, bound to follow him with their strength in the field in war and to attend his court—be it manor court or baron court—in time of peace; and the scale ascended till at its head came the king's men—the barons[1]—*par excellence*, peers of the realm. Nothing save succession to the throne itself could enhance that quality or position of a peer of the realm, though within their order the possession of the great offices of peace and war came in later times to regulate their relative rank or precedency. These offices were the general offices of High Steward, Great Constable, Marshal, etc., the several offices of Earls of particular portions of the country. Afterwards were added to these the—with us only titular—offices of Duke, a leader of the army; Marquis, a defender of the marches; and Viscount, the king's officer in charge of a sheriffdom. The baron was himself in a manner an officer. His barony in one aspect was his fee and reward for his services. Failure in performing his feudal duty in peace or war did not entail questions of assessment of damages, but made him liable to forfeiture. And he could no more sell his barony without his overlord's leave than a sentry may put a substitute into his post without the leave of his superior officer. But with the king's leave the tenant in chief might sell his barony and his earldom too; and the purchaser become baron or earl in his stead, did homage for his fief, and received the oaths of his vassals, took his place in the court and council, and his stand in the battle.

The feudal system furnished thus a territorial peerage. There stands in its stead to-day a peerage of blood descent whose honours descend *jure sanguinis*, vest without ceremony in the rightful heir whether he wills it or not, or knows it or not, and are inalienable and indefeasable save by forfeiture or Act

[1]The elder meaning of the word *baron* is *man* in the sense of *vir*. 'The barons of the Cinque Ports,' and 'the barons of Bute,' and the phrase *baron and femme* in heraldry, are instances of the use of the word for other than for the individual holder of a 'barony' of land or dignity of peerage.

THE ROYAL ARMS OF SCOTLAND

From *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul

Facing page 4

of Parliament. Yet the process by which the present theory of peerage came in place of the former, down at least to the date of the Union, was gradual and apparently unbroken. Though personal dignities were known in Scotland in the fifteenth century, strong traces of the ancient territorial theory remained till time of the union with England, as the practice of resignations and re-grants of honours at that date evinces.

As early as the year 1427 James I. made an act for the release of the smaller barons from personal attendance in parliament, and to provide for their representation instead, but the act was from various causes a dead letter. Kings and parliaments moved several times at intervals with the same object, but it was not till the passing of the Act 1587, c. 120, that the object was achieved. The effect of the Act from our present point of view was that it separated the smaller barons from the greater. When the smaller barons came to be represented, instead of sitting in person, they ceased to be of the same class as the Lords of Parliament, who sat personally. And the barons who remained Lords of Parliament came to be held to be alone the nobles and the peers of the realm. The year 1587 therefore has been considered to be the date at which honours became, in the eye of the law, personal. Patents of peerage, scarcely if at all known before, began to be granted as the rule immediately afterwards.

The Parliamentary proceedings for the ranking of the peers according to the antiquity of their honours naturally followed, and though conducted at a time when information and accuracy is not to be looked for, occasioned our earliest general enquiry into the peers' genealogies.

Since that date the student of history and of charters has had much to say, both in books and before courts and committees, about these genealogies; and few collections of pedigrees can be more varied in their contents than the collection of the pedigrees of the peers of Scotland.

The Celtic earldom of Mar, says Riddell, 'is not merely now the oldest Scottish earldom by descent, but perhaps in many respects the most remarkable in the empire'; for while other lineages may be as long, if traced through unennobled ancestors, the Earls of Mar were earls '*ab initio*, and never known under any other character.'[1] The origin of the earldom, says Lord Hailes, 'is lost in its antiquity.'[2] It is dated by some as

[1] Riddell, *Peerage Law*, 169. [2] Sutherland, Add. Case, V. 35

'before 1014,' and an Earl of Mar appears certainly contemporary with some of the Maormars in the reign of Malcolm Canmore. To this most ancient class belonged the Celtic earls of Angus, Athol, Fife, and the Lords of the Isles. But of all of them none save Mar, and perhaps Carrick, which earldom is held by the King by inheritance through the Bruce, survive in the blood of the earls of the name to-day.

The earldom next in the antiquity of its descent to its present holder is the earldom of Sutherland, which dates from A.D. 1228 or earlier. The heraldry of the earls—three mullets or stars—plays a part in pointing to their descent from a common ancestry with the Douglases and the Morays. The question as regards the descent of the last two was agitated on heraldic grounds as early as the fifteenth century. Wyntoun says:

'Of Murrawe and the Douglas
How that thare begynnyng was
Syn syndry men spekis syndryly,
I can put that in na story.
Bot in thare armeys bath thai bere
The sternys[1] set in lyk manere
Til money men it is yhet sene
Apperand lyk that thai had bene
Of kyn be descens lyneale
Or be branchys collaterale.'[2]

The exigencies of the rhyme may have seemed to warrant Wyntoun in saying that the 'sternys' were 'set in lyk manere' in the shields of Moray and Douglas. But he can scarcely have been ignorant that while the stars of Moray, like those of Sutherland, were set *two and one* on the field of their scutcheon, those of Douglas were set as a chief. Nevertheless it seems true of the houses of Moray and Sutherland, and probably of Douglas too, that they are descended from one Freskin of Strabrok, a Fleming who flourished in Scotland in the time of David I., and died before the year 1171. The premier earldom of Mar was unjustly resumed by King James II., granted to strangers, and only restored in the time of Queen Mary. Wood therefore is right, in so far that he pronounces Sutherland to be 'the most ancient subsisting title in Britain which has continued without alteration in the lineal course of succession for nearly'—we may now say *over*—'six centuries.'[3]

[1] Stars. [2] *Cronykil*, B. VIII., c. 7, ll. 149-158.
[3] Wood's *Douglas*, s.v. Sutherland.

To the same class in origin as Sutherland belong not only the great houses of Douglas and Moray, but those of the Baliols, Bruces, Comyns, Stewarts, and others, whose ancestries, whether Flemish, Saxon, or Norman, can be traced back to their introduction into Scotland. The Norman Conquest of England sent many Saxons and others into Scotland. Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland (progenitor of the Earls of March and Dunbar), arriving at the court of Canmore with his comrade Maerleswegen, and bringing Margaret and Edgar Atheling, was an instance of this. There was a great inclination among the earlier genealogists to make every great family spring into position with an incident as romantic. But the Saxon and Norman knights who arrived in these days in more or less Celtic Scotland did not necessarily all arrive as adventurers or refugees. Malcolm Canmore held twelve manors in England under the Conqueror; and at a later date David, afterwards King David I., became Earl of Huntingdon (1136) and of Northumberland (1139), all in right of his wife Matilda, heiress of Waltheof. Malcolm the Maiden succeeded to the first of these earldoms (1157), and William the Lion to the second (1152). Afterwards their brother David was Earl of Huntingdon and Cambridge. He was elected leader of the revolted English nobles (1174); but in spite of his turbulent career, his son John the Scot succeeded him in both earldoms. Through his mother, Maud, John inherited the earldom of Chester also. When, in 1237, he died childless, the representation of his father, Earl David, and ultimately that of the Royal House of Scotland, fell among his three sisters—(1) Margaret, grandmother of John Baliol the competitor and of Alianora, wife of the Black Comyn, Lord of Tynedale and Badenoch; (2) Isabella, mother of Robert the Bruce, the competitor; (3) Ada, grandmother of John, Earl of Hastings, the competitor. The lists of witnesses of King David's charters are themselves evidences of the results of the Scottish possession of these southern earldoms: the surnames, Graham, Lindsay, Ramsay, for instance, which appear in them point to an important contingent in the King's retinue from the earldom of Huntingdon.

The wars of Wallace and Bruce arrested this peaceful inflow, and forced the incomers for the first time to choose their nationality. According to theory, the feudal lord who held fiefs in England and also in Scotland was bound, when the kings of

these countries were at war with each other, to bring into the field the power of each fief, for the support of its own overlord, and to fight in person for the overlord to whom he had given his first oath of fealty. But Edward I., pretending to be overlord of both countries, passed forfeitures on all such feudal tenants who did not support his arms in person as well as in force; and Robert the Bruce meted the same measure to the lords of Scottish fiefs who fought for Edward. Many were the forfeitures on each side, not a few noble names disappeared then from Scottish history, and the conduct of a number of the barons, if we neglect the circumstances of the time, seems smirched with the unknightly stains of vacillation and tergiversation; it is certainly not defensible, if indeed comprehensible, if we merely talk of a patriotism which they did not feel and do not advert to their territorial stake in both countries, as well as to their well-nigh incompatible oaths.

The unfriendly relations which subsisted thereafter, almost continuously, between England and Scotland for so many generations isolated the Scottish nobles to a great extent, not only from their equals in England, but also from those of other more distant countries, for in the constant state of war and intrigue which formed so much of Scottish history he who would keep his lands was better to garrison them himself. From time to time, however, exceptions to this state of isolation appear, now and then a crusader, here and there bands of noble knights at a foreign tournament, and some great name on the roll of the French armies which fought France and Scotland's common foe. In 1424, Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, became Duke of Touraine in France. In 1549 the Regent Arran was created Duke of Chatelherault in France; also Alexander, Earl of Buchan, was Constable of France in the beginning of the fifteenth century. At a later day, James, Duke of Lennox in Scotland, who died in 1655, was a Grandee of Spain, and so on. The armies of northern Europe, and the Archer Guard of the French kings contained not a few younger sons of Scottish nobles.

At the Union of the Crowns a new spectacle appeared; a number of Scottish peers were made peers of England. Ludovick, who had succeeded as Duke of Lennox in 1583, was made Duke of Richmond in England in 1603. During his life his brother and successor, Esme, Lord d'Aubigny in France, was made Earl of March in England (1620). James, second

THE ARMS OF THE MARQUIS OF ANGUS

From *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul

Facing page 8

Marquis of Hamilton, was made Earl of Cambridge in 1619; John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington, was made Earl of Holderness in 1620. Thomas, third Lord Bruce of Kinlos, first Earl of Elgin in 1633, became Lord Bruce of Whorlton in 1642, and his son, after his succession to the earldom of Elgin in 1663, was made Earl of Ailesbury in 1665. Other cases might be cited, such as those of the Earl of Forth, made Earl of Brentford in 1644, the Duke of Lauderdale, created Earl of Guildford in 1674, the second Duke of Argyle, created Earl of Greenwich, etc., as late as 1705.

There were cases also in which an English peer was created a Scots peer. The Duke of Monmouth was created Duke of Buccleuch; George, Lord Home of Berwick, was made Earl of Dunbar in 1604.

We may note, in passing, a class of creations by which the epoch between 1603 and 1707 is marked—creations of Scots peers out of English knights and others who had no territorial connection with Scotland—Sir Henry Cary was created Lord Falkland in 1620; Sir Thomas Fairfax, created Lord Fairfax of Cameron in 1627; Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards (1694) Duke of Leeds, created Viscount Dunblain in 1673; Sir Richard Graham of Esk created Viscount Prestoun in 1681;[1] and John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, became a peer as Lord Churchill of Aymouth in 1682. The supposed design of these creations is said to have been detected in some additions to the Irish peerage made since the year 1800, namely, to give the grantee a 'handle to his name'—and as little more as possible. One instance of a Scottish commoner who received English honours shortly after the Union of the Crowns may be mentioned on account of the reported peculiarities in the patent. It is the case of 'Mr. James Hay.' 'The King [James VI. and I.] no sooner came to London,' writes Sir Anthony Weldon, 'but notice was taken of a rising favourite, the first meteor of that nature appearing in our climate; as the king cast his eye upon him for affection so did all the courtiers to adore him; his name was Mr. James Hay.' Sir Anthony's description of him begins thus ungraciously, but concludes in eulogy. Still it remains that Hay's first step in the peerage was the name and title of Lord Hay without a seat in Parliament

[1] In 1628 the lordship of Cramond was created as a life peerage in favour of the wife of Sir Thomas Richardson, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in England, and as a hereditary peerage in favour of his son and his heirs.

and with a precedency only after English barons. His next step was his elevation to the full dignity of a baron of parliament with the title of Baron Hay of Sauley in 1615, but with the unprecedented omission of a solemn investiture—perhaps because he was a peer already. He was subsequently erected Viscount Doncaster and Earl of Carlisle.

At the Union of 1707 the scene was changed again; the Scottish peer received treatment which was without either principle or prevision. In the eye of the general law he was declared to be a peer of the realm; at Court he was made to rank below all English peers of his degree, and within the House of Lords he was given only a right of representation, while all English peers were given seats in their own right.

At the date of the Union, as we have seen, several Scots peers already held English dignities. Shortly after it—in 1708—the Duke of Queensberry was created Duke of Dover, and took his seat in the House of Lords. In 1709 the House of Lords resolved that no Scots peer who, since the Union, should have received a British peerage, should vote at elections of Scots Representative Peers. In 1711, when the Duke of Hamilton was created Duke of Brandon, the House of Lords resolved to take the patent into consideration before the Duke took his seat. It called in the English Judges, and heard the Duke by counsel. It then decided not to ask the opinion of the Judges; and resolved off-hand that 'no patent of honour granted to any peer of Great Britain who was a peer of Scotland at the time of the Union can entitle such peer to sit and vote in Parliament, or to sit upon the trial of peers.' By these resolutions, added to the Treaty of Union, the Dukes of Hamilton and Queensberry were debarred from sitting in their own right, and also from all right of representation in either the Lords or Commons. The perfectly incompetent resolution of 1711 remained on the books of the House till 1782, when it was declared illegal by the unanimous voice of the Judges. It is said to have been invented by the political necessities of the ministry of the day, but it could never have lasted 70 years if it had not had the acquiescence of England behind it. While the resolution remained it was acted on so far as to refuse the second Duke of Queensberry a writ of summons as Duke of Dover, though his father had been admitted and had sat in two parliaments in respect of that title. But the House did not attempt to carry out its principles so far as to unseat

a British peer because he inherited a Scots dignity. So the resolution was capable of being evaded at the cost of waiting a generation. The evasion was effected by creating the Scots peer's son and heir a British peer in his father's lifetime. On the death of the father the young British peer was in the position of inheriting a Scots peerage and no forfeiture ensued. To this position of the law or practice at the time is due a number of British titles held by Scottish peers. The ink was scarcely dry on the resolution of 1711 before the evasion of it was introduced; Viscount Dupplin, son and heir of the Earl of Kinnoull, was made Baron Hay of Pedwardine in the peerage of Great Britain. In 1719 he succeeded to his father's earldom. In 1722 the son and heir of the Duke of Roxburgh was created Earl Kerr, and the son and heir of the Duke of Montrose was made Earl of Graham. In 1766 the Marquis of Lorne, son and heir of the Duke of Argyle, was made Baron Sundridge. Under the law of 1711 the Earl of Bute, though capable of being, as he was, Prime Minister, was incapable of being made a member of the House in his own right! But his son, Lord Mount Stuart, not subject to the disability, was, in 1776, created Baron Cardiff of Cardiff.[1] Since the removal of the offending resolution a number of other peers of Scotland have received peerages of Great Britain and of the United Kingdom, sometimes merely to give the grantee a hereditary seat in the legislature, and sometimes for the purpose of conferring on him a higher degree of peerage.

Nearly two centuries have elapsed since the Roll of the Scottish peerage was closed. Time may thin its ranks, but no king since the Union has been advised that he may make good the blanks by new creations, or may even give a Scottish peer a higher degree on the Roll. Of the 164 titles on the Union Roll 62 are now held to be extinct or dormant. The remaining titles are in the hands of 88 peers, 51 of whom hold other peerages of Great Britain, or the United Kingdom. Whatever the Scottish peerage may have thought of its treatment at the Union, and of some of its early experiences at the hands of British Party Ministers and House of Lords, it cannot complain that its glory is departed. Whether in the recent rolls

[1] The Prime Minister's countess had been created Baroness Mount Stuart in 1761; and the Gunning Duchess of Hamilton was made Baroness Hamilton in 1776. Both these titles were doubtless granted to evade the law of 1711, but both ladies survived the date at which it was rescinded.

of the king's ministries at home, of governors-general of India and the Colonies, or of officers in the Field Forces in the Soudan or South Africa, the Scots Peers and their sons have earned distinction for their order and their country. The student of institutions and national and racial tendencies will find questions, if he will, to answer in this latest chapter of the Scottish peerage—how much or how little in blood, education, interests or affection the old order is still Scottish. But in any case the present is not precisely the proper moment to catalogue and sum up the Scottish peerage as it has stood in history and stands to-day. For the accepted authorities,—the works of Crawford, Douglas and Wood, Fraser and the other writers of general and special genealogies of the peers, also the contents of the public records, and of private charter chests, in a fulness hitherto unknown,—are in the act of being thrown into the melting pot, and as yet only a sample as it were of the new minting has come out of the workmen's hands. The works of the earlier peerage writers have, all of them, their special values. Each has at least added the facts of his own time. For this as well as for some earlier details, too full to be reproduced in any more modern work, these Peerages are of permanent value, and will never be entirely displaced from among the folios of the student of Scots family history. The patience and learning of their authors will for ever remain admirable. Since their day, however, the materials for such histories as they strove to write have by slow but steady process been extracted from the recesses of Record and Register Houses, Libraries, and Charter boxes; and the possibility of telling the full and true story of many a mystery of the past is before us.

When we turn from the perusal of these—to this generation new—materials to the pages of any of our general peerage histories we find that there is much to add, much to subtract, and much sometimes to correct. Crawford published his work in 1716, Douglas in 1764, and Wood, his editor and continuator, in 1813. After a period of more than ninety years a new Peerage is needed if for no purpose but to record what has taken place in so long an interval. But the new *Peerage* aims, as it was bound to aim, at telling each story from the beginning; and at taking place as the standard history of the whole subject. It is impossible to prolong this present article for the purpose of reviewing the contents of the volume of the *Peerage* which has been already issued, but from the great amount of new materials

UNIV. OF MICH.

THE ARMS OF THE DUKE OF ATHOLL

From *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul

at its disposal, the modern methods of its compilation, the names of its editor and his staff, and of the specialists who contribute its several articles, the volume is worthy of the most respectful and particular attention.

One of the features of the work which first attracts notice is the exemplifications of the armorial bearings of the houses which have held the titles of nobility in question. They are by the pencil of the official Herald-Painter of the Lyon Office. By the kind permission of the Publisher, several of the plates, contained in the first volume of the *Peerage*, illustrate this article. Their art and the extreme boldness of their execution are much more pleasantly and perfectly appreciated by a brief examination of the plates themselves than by much letterpress. The heraldry of the peers has given rise to some discussions and will to more; but one of the results of our fuller acquaintance with written records is the revival of respect for the facts of early heraldry. There are the *garbs* of Buchan, derived apparently from the same source as those of Chester. There are the *lions* of Bruce and FitzAlan, abandoned in Scotland for the territorialised *chief and saltire* of Annan, and the official *chequers* of the Steward. There are the *three bars wavy* of Drummond, said by some to represent the three rivers of the Drummond country, but thought in another quarter to have come perhaps from abroad with the legend of the Drummonds' foreign origin. If the Campbells are Normans, are their well-known arms—*gyronny of eight*—anything other than the four limbs and four spaces of a cross, such as a Norman might have drawn? Does the *sable chief* in the coat of the Grahams allude to the earthen wall which the mythical first Graham surmounted? Can we found any argument concerning the derivation of a stock from its bearing on its shield a *lion rampant*? Can we group the families which carry *boar*, *bear*, or *wolf heads*? These are not propounded here as merely heraldic problems; none of these are idle to the genealogist. Heraldry and genealogy are indispensable to each other; and now and in the future they will be found once more walking together hand in hand.

J. H. Stevenson.

The Earl's Ferry.

IN the time of John de Baliol, King of the Scots from 1292 to 1296, some Englishman wrote a tract which he called *Brevis Descriptio Regni Scotiae*: and in it he mentions 'Erlisferie' and 'Queneferie' as the northern extremities of Lothian. This province was then wide enough to include the castles of Berwick, Dunbar, Edinburgh, and even Stirling; the abbeys of Jedburgh, Melrose, Roxburgh, Dryburgh, Kelso, Newbattle, and Holyrood; the priory of Coldingham; and the nunneries of Berwick, Eccles, Coldstream, Haddington, and North Berwick.[1] North of it and west of it was the Kingdom of 'Scotland,' in which the castles of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, and the religious houses of Whithorn, Glenluce, Kilwinning, and Glasgow, were reckoned.[2] Beyond the Firth of Forth was the ancient Pictish province or Kingdom of Fibh or Fife, with its great churches of Inchcolm, Dunfermline, Lindores, St. Andrews. To the south beyond Tweed was the North-Humber-land, part of the old Anglic Kingdom of Northumbria, which had withdrawn from both its ancient boundaries, Forth and Humber.[3] The tract of 1292-6 seems to contain the first mention of the Earl's Ferry, the most seaward ferry connecting Lothian and Fife. The ferry without doubt took its name from its being a franchise held by the Macduffs, earls of Fife, who appear on record in the twelfth century, and became extinct in the fourteenth.

[1] *Maitland Club Misc.*, iv. 33; *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Rolls Series, 214.

[2] If Stirling Castle was in Lothian, the abbey of 'Striuelin,' meaning Cambuskenneth, on the north side of Forth, appears as in 'Scotia' in the list of Scottish Religious Houses, to be found in Sir Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*, 240. This list on internal evidence seems to be referable to ci. 1216 A.D.

[3] Lothian had been detached from Northumbria as early as 685 A.D., when Brude, King of the Picts, defeated Ecgfrith, King of the Northumbrian Angles, in the great battle fought at Dunnichen in Angus. By 1292-6 the boundary between Scots and English had settled upon Tweed.

A Celtic thane of Fife is the traditionary founder of the house. In 1054, it is said, Macduff excited a formidable revolt against Macbedh Mac Finlach, who had been King of the Scots since 1039. The rival claimant to the crown, Malcolm Mac Duncan Ceannmohr, came from England, in the borders of which he had had a refuge since the slaying of his father Duncan Mac Crinan. He was supported by the forces of his kinsman, Siward, Earl of Northumberland. On 27th June, 1054, a battle occurred. Macbedh was defeated. Two years later, he was again defeated. Having retired across 'the Mounth,' he was slain in a third battle at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire on 5th December, 1056. His partisans were able to place Lulach, his nephew or stepson, in the royal seat, but the defeat and death of Lulach at Essie in Strathbogie on 3rd April, 1057, gave Malcolm Ceannmohr an undisputed title: and three weeks later he was crowned at Scone. To show his gratitude to Macduff, the King, so the tradition runs, conferred on him the earldom of Fife, and endowed him and his house with three privileges: that of leading in battle the Scottish van; that of placing the King when crowned upon the Lia Fail at Scone, the Stone of Destiny brought from Dunstaffnage, perhaps at an earlier time from Ireland; and that of protecting any manslayer within the ninth degree of kindred to him.

That the house of Macduff was of kin to the house of Malcolm Ceannmohr may be assumed from the fact that their heraldic shield, in common with the King's bore Or, a lyon rampant gules, armed and langued azure.[1] The two privileges as to the battle-array and the coronation may be supposed to indicate some compromise between a King of all Scotland and a King of Fife, by which the latter, with the title of Earl, retained some of the traces of his former dignity. The third privilege, according to Mr. E. W. Robertson, was probably a relic of the old right of every Mor-maor or Oir-righ to retain all his kindred in his 'mund' or protection. A similar privilege was recognised for the progeny of KenKynol in the earldom of Carrick.[2]

[1] Mr. Andrew Lang suggests that the royal kinship may be traceable to Cinaed Mac Dubh of the house of Constantine, whose date is 997-1005. The seal of the earls bearing the lyon is chronicled in Nisbet's *Heraldry*, ii. 4-82: it is reproduced on the cover of Sheriff Mackay's *Fife*.

[2] E. W. Robertson's *Scotland*, i. 255, and *Essays*, 163. Also *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, ii. 87.

Any manslayer belonging to the Clan Mac Duff who came to the cross of Abernethy and gave 'nine kye and a colpindach' to the kindred was free of the slaughter.[1] In 1385, when the Estates of Scotland passed an act for punishing Katherans who went through the country taking victuals and goods by force, the Earl of Fife, as chief of 'the law of Clanmakduff,' for the amendment of the law and the good of the country over which he presided, promised to keep the act and cause it to be kept within his bounds.[2] In 1391, at a court held by the Deputies of the Justiciar of Scotland at Foulis in Perthshire, Sir Alexander de Moray, being indicted for the slaying of William de Spaldyne, appeared with his forespeakers and protested that he had once already been called in judgment for that deed, and been repledged to 'the law of Clanmakduff' by Robert, Earl of Fife. He claimed to be discharged: and the Deputies adjourned the cause till the Justiciar himself should take order in the matter.[3] As late as 1421, the privilege 'saved the life' of Hugh de Arbuthnot, who had been art and part with Barclay of Mathers and others in the slaying of John de Melville of Glenbervie, Sheriff of the Mearns. The laird of Arbuthnot's plea was that he had had a pardon for the fact as within the tenth degree of kindred to Makduff.[4] In his history (1582) George Buchanan tells us that the privilege remained a law 'till the days of our fathers, which was as long as any of that family remained': and in course of time the 'nine kye and a colpindach' had been commuted into money, viz. twenty-four silver marks for the unpremeditated death of a gentleman, and twelve for the death of one of the commons.[5] And Sir John Skene, writing in 1608, tells us that

[1] This cross long stood on the hill above Newburgh of Lindores, and was supposed to be on the boundary between the earldoms of Fife and Strathearn. The gibberish said to have been inscribed on it has been often printed: it even found its way into *Statistical Account*, ix. 293. In 1588 there was also a 'Croce M'Duff' on the marches of the lands of Meikle Pert near Brechin, a district in which the earls once held land. (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, v. 545.) It would seem that there was a cross and girth not only at Abernethy and Brechin but also at Cupar and at Wedale (Abernethy and Brechin were both ancient Celtic churches. Wedale was a religious house in the valley of the Lauder. The Black priest was no doubt an Austin or Black canon sent from the priory of St. Andrews to serve the altar at this stôl).

[2] *Acts of Parliament*, i. 551.

[3] *Lib. Insulae Missarum*, xlix.

[4] Innes's *Sketches*, 215; *Stat. Account*, xi. 103.

[5] *Lib.* vii., 86th king.

he had seen 'an auld evident bearand that Spens of Wormistoun, beand of Makduff's kin, enjoyed the benefit and immunity of this law for the slauchter of ane called Kynynmonth.'[1]

The earl of this semi-regal house was hereditary constable of the castle of Cupar: the King's burgh of Cupar was also head-burgh of the earldom.[2] The chief seat of the earls was the castle of Falkland: the lands of 'Falecklen' had been granted by Malcolm IV. to Duncan earl of Fife. Their lands within the earldom were divided into the 'shires' of Cupar, Rathillet, Strathmiglo, Strathendry, and Reres.[3] They held lands in the sheriffdoms of Edinburgh, Haddington, Stirling, the Lennox, Perth, Forfar, and Elgin.

The succession of the earls may be shortly sketched.[4] 'Constantine, Earl of Fife,' is the first of the house of Macduff on record. He held the great office of Justiciar of Scotland in the earlier years of David I., and is supposed to have died in 1129. He was succeeded by 'Gillemichele Makduf,' 'Gillemichel comes,' 'Gillemichel comes de Fife,' supposed to have died in 1139, and reckoned the fourth earl from Malcolm Ceannmohr's adherent.[5] Then there were two Duncans, distinguished as senior and junior, the first dying about 1177, the second after 1200, perhaps in 1203. Then two Malcolms, the first dying without issue in 1229, perhaps as late as 1237, and being succeeded by his nephew, who was present at Alexander III.'s coronation, and in 1255 was one of the Regents. Malcolm, the 'eighth' earl, died in 1266, leaving a minor son Colban. On Colban's death in

[1] *De Verb. Sig.*, s.v. Clanmakduff.

[2] The burgh bears the royal shield: only the lyon is not within 'a double tressure flory counterflory of fleurs de lis.'

[3] Stevenson's *Hist. Doc.*, i. 407.

[4] The writer refers for this to Hailes's *Annals*, Leighton's *Fife*, Gray's *Scalacronica*, etc.

[5] In the cartulary of the Priory of St. Andrews, it is memorised that the lands of Ardmore had been granted to the Culdees of Lochleven by 'Edebradus vir venerandae memoriae filius Malcolmi regis Scotiae abbas de Dunkelden et insuper comes de Fife.' This mention of Ethelred, son of Malcolm Ceannmohr by his second wife Saint Margaret the Queen, was referred to by Lord Hailes (*Annals*, 42) as an embarrassing circumstance, 'inconsistent with the received opinion that the famous M'Duff transmitted the title of Earl of Fife to his posterity.' There are several ways of reconciling the record with the tradition. Mr. W. F. Skene (*Hist. of Alban*, iii. 62) supposes Ethelred to have been Earl of 'Fothrif,' a district to the west of Fife, which was a 'quarter' of the sheriffdom of Fife in David II.'s time, and was still a division of the country in 1561. (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, i. 44; *Maitland Misc.*, iii. 267.)

1270 he was succeeded by a son, Duncan, then eight years old. In 1286 this 'tenth' earl crossed the North Sea to fetch home the Maid of Norway, was one of the Guardians of the realm appointed in that year, and on 5th September, 1288, was slain by Sir Patrick de Abernethy and Sir Walter de Percy on the King's highway at Petpolloch.

He was survived by a son, Duncan, who was in minority in 1292 when John de Baliol was crowned King at Scone. The privilege of placing Baliol on the Stone of Destiny was claimed for the house of Macduff, and Edward I. appointed John de St. John to officiate for the earl.[1] On 22nd July, 1298, the young earl was slain at the battle of Falkirk. It was this earl's sister, Isabel, wife of John Comyn, fourth earl of Buchan, who acquired immortality by taking the hereditary share of her house in the coronation of Robert de Bruce on 27th March, 1306. The Stone of Destiny had ere this been carried off to England.[2]

Duncan, the 'twelfth' earl, son of the eleventh, was at that time (according to Sir Thomas Gray) at his manor of 'Vituik' in Leicestershire, and in the wardship of the King of England. In the year after Bannockburn he was adherent to Bruce. In 1320 he was one of the barons who sent the famous letter from Arbroath to Pope John XXII. In 1332 he was taken prisoner at the battle of Dupplin, and afterwards assisted at the coronation of Edward de Baliol. At the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333 his banner was borne in the Third Body of the Scottish Army—not in the van. In 1336 he took part in resisting Edward III.'s forces in Fife. In 1337 he and the Earl of March defeated Lord Montfort near Panmure in Angus. In 1346 he followed David II. into England, and with the King was taken prisoner at Neville's Cross.

In 1350 this earl died leaving no issue but a daughter Isabel, who was four times married. Her second husband was Walter Stewart, second son of Robert II., who died about 1361. As

[1] *Foedera*, ii. 600.

[2] Lord Hailes denies that the eleventh earl ever existed (*Annals*, i. 226 and 351). If he did, we must 'suppose that a man may be a grandfather in the male line at 45.' Colban, Duncan the son of Colban, and Duncan the son of Duncan were all in minority when they succeeded (*A.P.*, i. 445). Duncan, 'tenth' earl, was survived by his wife, Johanna de Clara, daughter of the Earl of Gloucester: in 1292 she 'fined' to Edward I. for leave to marry: she married Gervase Avenel: and in 1317 her estate in North Hants was escheated as she, her husband, Gervase Avenel, and her *son* Duncan, Earl of Fife, adhered to the Scots (Bain's *Cal.*, i. 317 and ii. lxiv). The question seems to be a difficult one.

early as 1371, by her resignation or in some other way, the earldom passed to Robert Stewart, the third son of Robert II., afterwards known as the Duke of Albany and the Regent of Scotland. On 21st May, 1424, his son Murdac as Earl of Fife placed James I. on the royal seat at Scone. On the forfeiture and execution of Murdac next year, the earldom was annexed to the Crown, and has ever since been reckoned an appanage of it in a special sense.[1]

On the other side of Largo Bay from the town of Earlsferry there are some ruins which bear the name of Macduff's Castle: it is said to have been built by the first Macduff in 1057. Tradition also has it that in a cave on the coast known as Macduff's Cave, the thane of Fife took refuge from the pursuit of Macbeth: that the good folks of Earlsferry carried him over the firth: and that he procured them from Malcolm when he became king, a charter erecting their vill into a free burgh with a special privilege (a sort of appendix to the law of Clanmakduff) that if any man came there pursued for bloodshed they might carry him over the firth and prevent any boat starting after him till he was half way across. The story goes that after James Carnegy, the laird of Finhaven, had run Charles, the sixth earl of Strathmore, through the body on the street of Forfar on 9th May, 1728, he took benefit by this privilege of the Earl's Ferry when pursued by the earl's kin; but there is no foundation for this.[2] Nor is the story of Earlsferry having become a free burgh in Malcolm's time to be credited. It is inconsistent with the known facts of burghal development. In the days of David I., and for long after, merchandising in Fife was monopolised by the four burghs of Inverkeithing, Crail, Cupar, and St. Andrews.

[1] In 1451 the lands of the earldom with the manor, castle, and park of Falkland were in the Crown's hands by reason of the forfeiture in 1437 of Walter Stewart, Earl of Atholl and Sheriff of Fife. In 1455 'the haill erledom of Fyff with the place of Falklande' was annexed to the Crown. James II. granted it by way of jointure to his consort, Mary of Gueldres (*A.P.*, ii. 66, *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii. 103). The earldom was kept distinct from the sheriffdom, and was administered by a 'Stewart.' This magisterial office remained with the earls of Atholl (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii. 10). In 1747, when the Heritable Jurisdictions were abolished, the Duke of Atholl had £1200 compensation in respect of the office.

[2] Carnegy lay in the Forfar Tolbooth immediately after the affray: he was tried at Edinburgh on 2nd August, and acquitted by a jury. Sir W. Fraser's *History of the Carnegies*, 388. The record of the trial was printed at length by Mr. Alexander Lowson as an appendix to his romance, *John Guidfollow*, Glasgow, 1890.

The town of Earlsferry was in the ancient barony of Nithbren (Newburn), which belonged to the abbot and convent of Dunfermline, and after the dissolution of the Religious Houses was granted out (in 1593 or earlier) to Andrew Wood of Largo. Whether the inhabitants were tenants of the abbot's or the earl's does not appear: it would almost seem, as we shall see, that the Abbot of Culross (a Cistercian house founded by Malcolm, Earl of Fife, in 1217) claimed their fealty and service. Ecclesiastically the townsfolk were bound to resort to the church of Kilconquhar, which belonged to the monastery of Dunfermline. As at every ferry-side in the Middle Ages, there was a hospital on the shore for the reception of the pilgrim and the traveller, with a chapel attached; but there is now no trace of these. In 1588, what is now the golf-course of Earlsferry and Elie was known, it is believed, as 'the links of Balcrystie.' In that year the links described as 'bounded on the south by the sea,' with 'the rabbit warrens of the same,' were granted by James VI. to Master David Aytoun, Chamberlain of Dunfermline.[1] Earlsferry seems to have been always the crossing-station on the north side of Forth.

The ancient ferry-station on the other side is said to have been Gullane Ness: in later times it was occasionally Dirleton, but generally North Berwick. As early as 1216 North Berwick and South Berwick were distinguished: in that year Malcolm, Earl of Fife, founded a house of Benedictine Nuns (Moniales Nigrae) at the former.[2] Down to the time of Robert II. the barony of North Berwick with the castle, viz. Tantallon, belonged to the earls of Fife: in 1371 they passed into the hands of William, the first earl of

[1] *A.P.*, iii. 513.

[2] *Scalacronica*, 240. In the *Orkneyinger Saga*, under the year 1153, there is an account of two Norsemen, Sweyn and Earl Erlend, faring a sea-roving from the Orkneys, of their faring south to Broad Firth (*i.e.* the Forth) and harrying the east of Scotland, and then faring south to 'Berwick.' Sir G. W. Dasent, the editor of the Rolls edition, thinks (iii. 192) this Berwick is not Berwick-on-Tweed, but North Berwick. The writer cannot subscribe to this opinion. 'Canute the wealthy,' we are told in the Saga, 'was the name of a man: he was a chapman (*i.e.* a merchant) and sat very often in Berwick. Sweyn and his companions took a ship large and good which Canute owned, and much goods aboard her: there, too, his wife was on board. After that they fared south to Blyholm.' In that age Berwick-on-Tweed was a great port and mart, 'a second Alexandria,' as the *Lanercost Chronicle* says. North Berwick only became a port and resort for merchants two centuries later.

Douglas.[1] By 1582 the nunnery of North Berwick was in ruins: it is described as *funditus eversum*. Beside the cloister were the Mains or Demesne-lands of North Berwick, which had belonged to the sisterhood: and betwixt these and the sea lay 'the rabbit-warren lands called the Links.' Cloister, Mains, and Links were that year granted out to Alexander Home.[2] The ruins of the hospital and chapel in connection with the ferry are said to be still visible on the west side of the harbour.

We have some early instances of the use of the ferry. In 1303 John Dengaigne, valet de chambre to Edward, Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward II.), crossed the firth on the way to Dunfermline with l.400 brought from London for the King of England's household: he paid, we find, 6s. 8d. for the passage of himself and his grooms at the Earl's Ferry.[3] In 1304 King Edward I. himself was at Dunfermline, and two thousand merks intended for him were carried over from North Berwick to the town of Earlsferry.[4] In 1336 the greater part of Scotland besouth Forth was in the hands of the English: even the castle of Falkland in Fife was held by them, and the Earl of Fife (as we have seen) in arms to resist them. The Sheriff of Edinburgh, as we read, accounted to King Edward III. for one-half of the profits of 'the ferry of North Berwick,'—no doubt Earl Duncan's half.[5] In 1474 the boatmen of North Berwick experienced the King's generosity. The King's 'Kervell,' the famous Yellow Frigate in charge of John Barton of Leith had come to grief at the mouth of the firth. James III.'s Treasurer makes a payment of l.3 to 'the men of North Berwic that fand the Kingis ankeris and cabillis of his Kervell.'[6] In the tragic year 1567 James Douglas, fourth earl of Morton, afterwards Regent, journeyed to Whittingham in East Lothian (then in possession of the Douglases) to have an interview with the adventurous Earl of Bothwell. This great historic event over, he

[1] In 1388 we find the Earl of Fife making a claim in Parliament to the lands and castle of North Berwick held by the heirs of James, the second earl of Douglas, who had fallen at Otterburn in August of that year. *A.P.*, i. 556.

[2] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, v. 511 and 655; *A.P.*, v. 612.

[3] Bain's *Calendar*, ii. 368. The method of conveying money was to pack it in specially-made barrels, which were slung on the backs of horses, and it was escorted by so many men-at-arms and so many archers.

[4] *Ibid.*, iv. 461 and 679.

[5] *Ibid.*, iii. 339.

[6] *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, i. 66.

crossed the firth by the Earl's Ferry to visit his nephew, Archibald, the eighth earl of Angus, at St. Andrews, where he was then a student.[1]

The story of North Berwick as a burgh begins with the year 1373. A hamlet had no doubt grown up under the walls of the nunnery, the inhabitants of which cultivated the lands of the sisterhood, and found them in fish for the many fasting days of the church-year. It was not the prioress, however, but William, the first earl of Douglas (who had come into the Earl of Fife's room as baron of North Berwick), that took steps for making the vill into a free burgh. Before 1370 the King's burgh of Haddington had a monopoly of the trade in staple and foreign goods throughout the constabulary of the same name, which of course included the barony of North Berwick. In that year George, the tenth earl of March, had procured a charter from King David II., erecting his burgh of Dunbar into a free burgh with the whole earldom of March for its trade-precinct.[2] Three years after, King Robert II. granted the Earl of Douglas a free port at North Berwick, so that wool, woolfells, and hides might thence be sent abroad, and there should be there stationed Customars to take up the King's Great Custom on the goods with a tron and a tronar to weigh them. On 26th April, 1373, the earl seals a Notandum to the effect that if and when it should seem to the King or his heirs that the grant was hurtful to their estate he would resign it.[3] It was from the port thus originated that James, the only surviving son of Robert III., embarked for France in 1406. When the ship had got as far as Flamboro Head the prince was treacherously seized by the English, and

[1] Malcolm Laing's *History*, i. 41. It was then Bothwell made Morton aware the queen was resolved to be quit of Darnley, and put him in the dilemma he alluded to just before his execution fourteen years later. True, he had been let know Darnley's life was to be attempted. But to whom could he reveal it? To the Queen? She was the author of the plot. To Darnley himself? He was 'sic a bairn' that there was nothing told him but he would repeat it to her.

[2] *Municipal Commissioners' Report of* 1835, i. 224. The expression 'King's burgh' did not cover all the burghs which had the privilege of foreign trade. A bishop's burgh like St. Andrews, an abbot's burgh like Arbroath, a prior's burgh like Whithorn, an earl's burgh like Wigtown, and a baron's burgh like Dysart, all having this privilege like the royal burghs, were included under the more general expression, 'free burgh.'

[3] Registrum Honoris de Morton. *Proceedings of Scottish Antiquaries*, xx. 57. No doubt North Berwick's trade-bounds were those of the barony, but this does not anywhere appear.

we have already noticed how he treated Murdac, Earl of Fife, when he returned to Scotland in 1424. From North Berwick, too, in 1491, King James IV.'s ambassadors to Charles VIII. of France took their departure, Dunbar the poet very probably one of the company. The King's Treasurer repaid Lord Bothwell £26 13s. 4d. 'quhilk the King gart him gif to the shipmen of the Katryn besyd Northberwic quhen the Imbassatouris past in Franss.'[1]

The grant of a free port at North Berwick was never recalled, but, as early as 1426, the burgh had come to hold not of the Earl of Douglas, but of the King.[2] In that year the burgh appears as having a lease of its fermes, issues of court, and petty customs at 26s. 8d. a-year from James I.'s Chamberlain, Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass. In 1429 the burgh paid £2 under a Chamberlain's lease: in 1434 it paid 28s. and in the years 1480–7 it paid £1 yearly by the King's tolerance. In 1506, by charter from James IV., the burgh was 'affirmed,' that is to say, the fermes, issues of court and petty customs were no longer to be accounted for in detail, and were converted into a fixed perpetual fee-farm rent or feu-duty of £1.[3] In 1481 North Berwick first appears as sending a commissioner to the parliament.[4] In 1568 the burgh had a charter of Novodamus from James VI. reciting the loss of its charters through a recent burning by the English: the reddendo in that charter is simply 'Service of Burgh Used and Wont.'[5] The first Extent Roll we have of the Burghs besouth Forth is of the year 1535: and North Berwick appears as paying £11 5s. to the national finance as contrasted with Edinburgh's £833 6s. 8d., Haddington's £101 5s., Dunbar's £22 10s., and Lauder's £22 10s. In 1556 the burgh's proportion of taxation was £2 17s. 6d. to Edinburgh's £208 6s., Haddington's £25 6s. 3d., Dunbar's £5 12s. 6d., and Lauder's £5 12s. 6d.[6]

In September, 1498, the town of Earlsferry first appears as a

[1] *Treasurer's Accounts*, i. 179.

[2] How this came about does not appear. Murdac, Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife, had been forfeited and executed the previous year. Archibald, the fourth earl of Douglas, had fallen on the field of Verneuil in 1424.

[3] *Exchequer Rolls*, xii. 480.

[4] *A.P.*, ii.

[5] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iv. 464.

[6] *Records of Convention of Burghs*, 1295-1597, p. 514, and 1597-1614, p. 488.

place of trade. The relations between England and Scotland were then very friendly. King James IV.'s councillor and protonotary, Andrew Forman, Prior of May, had succeeded in negotiating a treaty of peace, the first since 1332, and arranging for his master's marriage with the English princess Margaret. We find the King sending the Prior of May letters empowering him to grant safe-conducts and protections for their ships and servants to all Englishmen coming to Earlsferry or the neighbouring coast-towns of Pittenweem, Anstruther, and Crail.[1] In 1541 the town made out a claim to have been a free burgh beyond the period of legal memory. Before the battle of Pinkie Cleugh (fought 10th September, 1547), the bailies, council, and community had been cited before the Lords of Session by the Abbot of Culross for an annual-rent or feu-duty, which he said they owed to his convent. They had made Master Hugh Rig, an advocate, their procurator, and sent him to Edinburgh with all their deeds and charters.[2] After the battle Edinburgh was burned by the English, and the documents were lost with the exception of one instrument, which was returned to the Earlsferry magistrates by one Master Thomas Ramsay, who had taken Rig's widow to wife. This instrument showed that in October, 1541, the bailies of Earlsferry had appeared in parliament at Stirling, brought thither by the Abbot of Culross: and they had there and then protested that their burgh was a free burgh, and had been so reputed past memory of man. This had been made manifest to the King (James V.) and the Estates of the realm by the testimony of their neighbours, the burghs of Cupar, St. Andrews, Crail, and North Berwick: and no objection had been taken by any man.

On 21st May, 1572, in the regency of the Earl of Lennox, then resident at Leith, a charter passed the Great Seal by which Master Alexander Wood of Grange acquired a hereditary right to 'the Earl of Fife's ferry called Earlsferry,' with the haven, anchorages, ferry-dues, and other profits. It proceeds on a recital that the ferry had long been so little used that mariners and porters had been forced to desert the town and go to other parts for a

[1] *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, i. clviii. Forman became Bishop of Moray in 1501, and Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1514.

[2] This Hugh Rig may have been the same with Hugh Rig, one of the four persons whom the Regent Arran chose to assist him when the country was threatened with the English invasion: George Buchanan describes him as a man of great size and strength, but with no knowledge of military affairs. Very likely he fell at Pinkie.

livelihood, and that something should be done to bring back the porters, and reinstate the haven, and so hinder foreign enemies from descending on that part of the country and ravaging it. Alexander Colville, then commendator of the Abbey of Culross, it appears, was still urging a claim against the burgh of Earlsferry. He was bought off. He and the convent executed a letter consenting to Wood's grant; but that was made conditional on payment by Wood and his heirs every year of one penny to the King and ten shillings to the commendator and convent.[1]

In 1589 the burgh of Earlsferry made good its position so far as the King's charter could do it. What had occurred in 1541 was represented to the King (James VI.): and a charter of 3rd April, 1589, passed the Great Seal, by which, after reciting the story of the loss of all the burgh's charters except the one instrument saved by Hugh Rig's widow, and that there were a multitude of poor people in the burgh, and it was very expedient their harbour should be reinstated, and that the town had been of old beyond the memory of man erected into a free burgh and was so reputed, the King granted and confirmed to the bailies, council, inhabitants, and community, and their successors for ever, the burgh and its port as a free royal burgh, with power to 'pack and peil,' *i.e.* to make up and take down bales of merchandise, and to buy and sell all sorts of goods including staple-goods and foreign commodities; and to elect magistrates and other officers; and to set up a tolbooth and a market-cross, and hold a market on two days in every week, and two fairs every year, each to last eight days; and to levy petty-customs on goods coming to the market or the fairs, and also anchorage-dues on ships or boats using the harbour. The reddendo to the King was left blank in this instrument.[2] How far it stood alongside of Wood's prior grant of the harbour and its profits does not appear. One well-settled rule of the Scots Law of the time was that the King did not warrant his grants: we often find two royal grants that won't stand together.

But apart from this, the community of Earlsferry had to reckon with the jealous and exclusive burghal spirit of these days. The burgh did not succeed in having its status recognised by

[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iv. 540. Wood's grant was still subsisting in 1589, for in that year James Colville of Easter Wemyss had a grant from the King of all the lands and revenues of the Abbey of Culross, including an annual rent of 16s. (*sic*) from 'the tenement of Master Alexander Wood in Erlisferrie.' *Ibid.*, v. 575.

[2] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, v. 366.

the Convention of Burghs, though James VI.'s reign was the time also of the setting up and recognition of Earlsferry's neighbours, Kilrenny, Anstruther Easter, and Anstruther Wester. At the sitting of the burghal parliament on 11th June, 1590, Earlsferry's commissioner, David Strachin, appeared and craved that it should be admitted and enrolled as a free burgh conform to the King's charter of the previous year, which he exhibited. The Convention refused to consider the supplication 'in respect of thair knawlege of the inhabilitye of the said toun quhilk in caice of thair admissioun suld be veray preiudiciall to the haill estait of frye burrows.' Their meaning was that they were satisfied Earlsferry would not be able to make any substantial contribution to the Extents imposed by parliament on the free burghs for national finance, and should therefore not be recognised as sharing in their privileges. Not only so, but the same day they imposed a fine on the commissioner for Burntisland, as he had contravened their statutes by 'making of ane bal' to the commissioner of the unfree town of Earlsferry.[1]

Earlsferry never was recognised by the Convention, and never sent a burgess to Parliament. In 1699 there was, it appears, no trade of any sort in it. In 1707 it was not recognised as a royal burgh to the effect of sharing in the Equivalent stipulated for by the Treaty of Union. In 1766 the burgh was so decayed that there were only eighteen fishermen in it: seven of them were that year lost at sea. In 1793 only a few of the fishermen went to sea occasionally.[2] But one rather notable result of the burgh's having a royal charter is that it possesses a Register of Sasines of its own. Whilst the Act of 1681 introducing such a Register was not observed in Anstruther Easter, Kilrenny, Wick, Dornoch, Inveraray, Inverbervie, New Galloway, and Campbeltown, which were all recognised royal burghs at the time of the Union, the town-clerks of Earlsferry, Falkland, Auchtermuchty, and Newburgh, which were not, did start Registers.[3]

Earlsferry's near neighbour, Elie, appears as the 'port and havin of the Elye' as early as 1491.[4] In the year 1582 Thomas Dishington of Ardross craved the Convention of Burghs for support to the building of his haven there which will be 'ane

[1] *Rec. Conv. of Burghs*, 1295-1597, p. 326.
[2] *Statistical Account.*
[3] *Judicial Statistics (Scotland) Report*, 1898.
[4] *Act. Dom. Conc.*, 203.

very commodious harbory for all schippis and boittis saifty in stormes of wether.' The Convention made him a grant of 300 merks, he to 'wair of his awin gudis' a like sum.[1] Elie was erected into a burgh-of-barony by charter of James VI.'s to Sir William Scott of Ardross, dated 15th March, 1598.[2] The harbour there is said to be the deepest in the firth after Burntisland: in 1600 it was described as 'a heavin necessar and steidabill to the haill traffikeris be sey and thair schipis in tymes of tempest and vthir tymes also.' In 1698 Elie appears as a place with some trade.

We have a doleful account of a passage across the ferry made by the celebrated James Melville whilst he was Professor of Hebrew at St. Andrews. In January, 1585, his wife had given birth to a child whilst he was in exile at Newcastle. He christened the child Ephraim, because God had made him fruitful in a strange land (*Genesis*, xli. 52). The child was left in the care of the friendly Lady Widdrington whilst he and his wife proceeded to London. It was not till September, 1586, that he was at leisure to journey from St. Andrews to Berwick to reclaim Ephraim. He returned by the ferry of North Berwick, his party consisting of himself, the child, his friend Robert Dury, minister at Anstruther, and the child's nurse, who was an English woman, a soldier's wife: there were also two horses. They embarked on a large coal-boat, which had for crew an old man and two boys. The day was fine, and they hoisted sail with a light breeze out of the east. When they were one-third of the way over it fell a dead calm, and it was found there were neither oars nor hands to propel the heavy boat. The nurse fell sea-sick and had swooning fits. Then the child waked and became extremely sick, and there was none but the professor to tend the two, for Dury was labouring at an oar. 'This dreeing, for the space of thrie houres, in end I became dead-seik my selff, so that then it becam a maist pitifull and lamentable spectakle to sie a woman, a stranger, an honest man's wyff, com fra ham to plesour me to be with extream pres apeirand everie minuit to giff upe the ghost': the infant vomiting and himself 'partlie for feir and cair of mynd, and partlie for sear seiknes lifting upe pitifull hands and eis to the heavines, voide of all erdlie confort or helpe of man.' It wanted but three hours of the night coming on, and the nurse must have died if the calm had continued: yet if a strong breeze had come down on them, they could not have made

[1] *Rec. Conv. of Burghs*, 1295-1597, p. 135. [2] *A.P.*, vii. 519.

the land by rowing, and there were no hands fit to tackle the sails. By the tumbling and yawing, moreover, the mast had shaken loose, and the old man being feeble and also hurt, Dury had much ado to secure it. 'At last the Lord luiked mercifullie on, and send, about the sune going to, a thik ear (*i.e.* a fog) from the southeast, sa that, getting on the seall ther was upon hir, within an houre and a halff, quhilk was strange to our consideration, na wound (wind) blawing, we arryved within the Alie, and efter a maist wearisome and sear day, gat a comfortable night's ludging with a godlee lady in Carmury.' In 1586 it would seem there was no regular ferry-boat at North Berwick. The professor in his haste to reach St. Andrews had taken passage in the coal-boat 'weill unadvysedlie,' as he phrases it, and putting himself 'in the graittest perplexitie of any that ever I was in my tyme befor.'[1]

The 27th of December, 1591, was the day of Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell's, extraordinary attempt at Holyrood on the persons of the King, the Queen, and Chancellor Maitland. Efforts were made to capture him, and amongst other steps, on 21st January, 1592, the Privy Council issued a proclamation and ordered letters to be sent charging the owners and steersmen of all ships and boats within North Berwick, Leith, Kinghorn, Burntisland, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, North Queensferry, South Queensferry, and Airth, to see that they carried no man out of these ports till they had given up his name to the King's officers.[2] This shows us what were all the important crossing-places of the firth in James VI.'s time. The burgh of Earlsferry is not even mentioned.

On 5th August, 1600, happened the affair of the Gowrie Conspiracy. 'The Erle of Gowrye and his brother in thair awin house ar bayth slane.' The Privy Council required Robert Bruce and the other ministers of Edinburgh to have a thanksgiving service for the King's 'miraculous delyuerie fra that vyle tressoun.' The sceptical ministers—sceptical, that is to say, as regards the King's account of how the earl and his brother met their deaths—were all charged to quit Edinburgh and come no nearer it than ten miles under pain of death. Bruce went to the house of the lady of Whittingham, then to Cowdenknowes in the Merse, and then into Teviotdale. Whilst there he had notice that he was charged to appear before the King and Council at Stirling. To reach Stirling he made use of the Earl's Ferry.

[1] *Diary*, 251. [2] *Register of the Privy Council*, iv. 718.

'Vpoun the morne,' he says, 'efter we had ressavit this charge, I raid to North Berwick and wes in Eist Fentoun all nycht: and vpoun the morne eftir, we crossit the water at the Erles-fferie, quhair I wes werry extreme sick: and eftir we had landit we come first to Mr. William Scottis in Carmurrie.' He journeyed along to Inverkeithing and again 'crossit the wattir at the Quenes-ferrye.'[1] The affair ended in his being banished the country.

Access to the ferry-side was still kept up in 1621. Sir John Scott, the author of *The Staggering State of Scots Statesmen* and a Lord of Session, was then the burgh of Earlsferry's neighbour. His place of Scotstarvit (anciently called Inglistarvet) lay to the north, and the road from the ferry-side to Cupar passed betwixt it and his barns, barn-yards, and stables. He had the King's license to 'ditt up, remove, and destroy' the road on condition of making as large, ample, and commodious a way on the other or east side of the house of Scotstarvit.[2] By 1651 Elie was a more important town than Earlsferry: the ferry itself is described as 'the ferrie near Elie.'[3] In 1692, we are told, North Berwick had neither ships nor ferry-boats, and held neither weekly market nor yearly fair. All ferrying at the mouth of the Forth had entirely ceased. If anybody did cross from the south side Dirleton was the point of departure: from the north, Elie.

The more important ferries from Leith and Granton to Kinghorn and Burntisland, and from South Queensferry to North Queensferry, have been in their turn largely superseded by the Forth Bridge. To-day we cross the gallant Forth upon a causeway borne aloft like the palace of Phoebus on far-reaching pillars:

'Regia solis erat sublimibus alta columnis.'

But the memories of our former passages across the blue water, storm or shine, and the records or transmitted memories of such passages by our forefathers, are and will ever be a precious inheritance.

GEORGE LAW.

[1] *Bannatyne Misc.*, i. 163.

[2] *A.P.*, iv. 679.

[3] Mr. Irons's *Leith and its Antiquities*, ii. 51.

The Charitie of the Boxe

UPON a height in Strathearn, long stood the Parish Church of Gask. The oldest available record of this church was begun 233 years ago, and was continued for ten years. Year by year all through this document a continuous list of money received, and money spent in charity, discloses a state of affairs which, in the light of the present system of poor relief, seems primitive indeed. Moneys were collected every Sunday—'boxed' according to the Session-Clerk—and during the week distributed. The Sunday congregation doubtless consisted wholly of peasants, who gave in charity out of a poverty that seems inconceivable in these days. The system was one of deliberately indiscriminate charity, and considering the claims of indigent parishioners, it is wonderful that any sums, however small, were forthcoming in aid of numberless applicants who had no connection with the parish.

The first charity mentioned is on January 18th, 1669. On that day John Oliphant is 'appointed to give to Jeannett Weittit, ane puir woman within the paroch, *ane firlott of oats*.' This woman's name recurs in the first group of Records year after year. 'An Blak' was another dependent on the charity of the Boxe, and at one time the elders counted up, and had it recorded, that 'eleaven persons' of the congregation were in receipt of parish relief. The Sunday collections averaged at this time about twelve shillings Scots, or one shilling sterling. In March, 1669, a new kirk bell was required, 'Taiken from the Thesaurer and gifen to John Murray, Smith, to bouy ane steane of ironne for the bell 1 lb. (*sic*) 8s.,' or two shillings and fourpence sterling. This bell was a heavy expense. 'Gifen to John Murray, in compleit payment for making of the chainzey to the bell 1 lb.' 'Mor taken out of the boxe and gifen to Margaret Smeittoun for meat and drink to the smith and beddell at working and stryking out the irrane for the bell chainzey, eleven shillings

Scots;' and a week later, 'gifen to John Oliphant and John Arnott, wryghtis, to goe to dress the bell to ane farder advysment, ten shillings Scots.' In April, 'John Oliphant gave Margaret Smeittoun, for aill, furnished be her to him and John Arnott, they being dressing the bell, five shillings.' Nor was the thing yet complete. On May 2nd, one pound five shillings (two shillings and a penny of our money) was given to Robert Blak 'to buy ane bell tow.'

The most striking fact is the tramping and begging that prevailed unchecked, and indeed was encouraged by the elders and the minister. Never a week passed without entries such as these—'to ane puir mane,' 'gifen to twa puir men with small children,' 'ane accidentalle stranger,' 'a criple lasse,' 'to a supplicant,' 'to a distrest gentilman with many motherless young ones,' 'to twa impotent lasses.' As to shipwrecked sailors, they could not have more abounded had Gask been a parish on the coast, instead of in the heart of Perthshire, where the people had probably never seen the sea. 'Ane schipbrakin mane, three shillings and fourpence Scots,' 'gifen to ane of the King's blew coats, one shilling,' 'givine to John Murray, a sea brakine man,' 'to a poore duchmann that hade beine cast away at sea, six shillings.' Such entries occur on every page.

Besides these casual beggars, a large number of tramps apparently went from parish to parish with 'recommendations;' it was a countenanced system. In April, 1670, there is the entry 'gifen to ane puir crepell woman of the minister's tikett, two shillings,' and 'to ane John Hay, who had ane recommendatioune to the severall parisches, two shillings;' 'gifen to ane blind man withing the presbetrie of Dumblayne, three shillings.' In 1677, 'gifen out of the box to a supplicant recommended by the Bishop, thirteen shillings.'

Foundlings were rather common. The parishioners seem to have quietly accepted the extra burden. On December 12, 1670, is this entry—'Collected this day twelve shillings, quhilk was gifen to the woman quho hes the chyld that was found in the parish of Glendowein'; and in 1672, 'the minister publicly intimat a collection for the supply of Robert Neil's young motherles child to be the next Sabbath, exhorting the people to be charitable thairto.' The result was four pounds Scots—six and eightpence sterling. The father seemed incapable of himself supporting his 'orphants,' and two years

later the minister and elders are found giving him a 'recommendatioune to the ministers abowt, commiserating his nakedness and his inability to maintain his motherles bairns.' They continued for several years to be an expense to the church.

The death of Patrick Burgh left a heavy burden. His bairns were entirely orphaned. On March 5th, 1676, 'The Session being mett they concludit that they would see who would take Patrick Burgh's bairns, and they judged most convenient to quarter them quarterly, and they wer condiscending quhat ane peck of meall by each honest man in the parish would do for thar meat, and divers offered a peck of meall, and apoyntis a contribution of money be for buying cloaths to thaim.' The two poor bairns were committed to the care of Robert Neil, who got 'two pecks weikly and a merk monethly' for maintaining them. James Ramsay 'gott payment for the working of linsy winsy cloath to Patrick Burgh's bairnes, and they gott six elves and a half of hardin for sarks.' So they were fed and clothed until the beginning of June, 1679, when an entry occurs which throws light on the tender mercies of the righteous. 'The same day the minister and elders, after calling on God, haveing taken to consideration the great burden that the two orphants were both to the parioch and sessione, and considering that the eldest of them was able to travell throw the paroch and seek his meat in the sommer-time, doe appoint Robert Neil to enjoyne him where to goe for the first four or five days till he know quhair to goe, and in the meantime to keep the youngest, till the bairne be removed at the session's pleasour.' This is the last that is known of these poor children, the eldest fairly started on the career of beggary which the Session deliberately chose for him, the youngest left with a roof over his head for a little while longer, till he also be condemned.

On August 29th, 1669, occurs the first mention of 'Geills billie,' when it is recorded that she received from the church funds one shilling and fourpence 'for ane pynt of aill to John Murray.' After this her name frequently reappears, and we gather that she kept a public-house, and was the chosen almoner of the church. In June, 1671, we find 'six and eightpence resting to Geills Billie advanced be her to poore folkes at the Sessione's desire.' The Session borrowed freely from her. She got an entire Sunday's collection for the 'aille' she sup-

OLD KIRK LADLE, FROM BIRNIE, MORAYSHIRE

BEGGAR'S BADGE
KIRKENDBRIGHT PARISH

BEGGAR'S BADGE
EGLESGRIG PARISH, 1773

From *Scottish History and Life* (Glasgow, 1902)

Facing page 32

plied to the boys who brought the timber for the new church pews in 1672. It was in the December of this year that poor Gillies Billie fell into trouble. 'It being reported that thair was late drinking on the Lord's day last, in the house of Matthew Done, brewer in Gask, the Sessione ordaines the beddell to cite the said Matthew and his wife to compeir before thaim.' Don compeired the next Sabbath, and said, 'he knew not who they were that drunk late in his house, except Peter Oliphant.' 'The Session ordaines the Beddle to goe to Geillis Billie, spous to the said Matthew, to know who they wer, and to cite thaim to their nixt meitting.' It is somehow a disappointment to find that loyalty to her friends did not outweigh her duty to the church, 'diverss given up by Gillies Billie to the beddell were cited.' Four were thus betrayed, two pleaded 'they did help to drink but a choppen aill or two in Matthew Donis, and that they wer not late,' the others pleaded guilty to 'foure choppings.' They were rebuked and exhorted 'not to doe the lyk heirefter.' Gillies Billie herself was let off lightly, and afterwards reinstated in the good graces of the elders, as we find her paid in July, 1674, 'for ail to the sklatter that mendit the Kirk fabrike,' and also 'for a quart of ail to the use of George Gloog, quhen he was bigging the church-zaird.'

The beadle was a person of importance, and varied services. On May 29th, 1672, 'The King's birthday and gracious restoring to his Maisties auncient diademis kept. The bedell got the collection.' On the same date in 1678 'what collectione collected was givine to the beddell for ringing the Kirk bell the *most pairt of the whole afternoon of that day*.' No wonder the 'bell tow' required constant renewing. It was a frequently recurring expense.

The chief interest lies in the 'special collections,'—usually for objects entirely outside the parish, and even sometimes outside the country. It might be supposed that the needs of so poor and remote a parish gave sufficient scope for the Charitie of the Boxe, but the people were called upon to subscribe out of their poverty to distant objects.

On December 10th, 1671, 'Intimation of a collection to be the next Sabbath to ane John Cram and his wife in the parioch of Blackfurd, whose houss and meanis thairin wes destroyit by fyre,—and also the people exhorted to pray for the man furious that killed his son.' Fifty shillings was the sum obtained,—

four and twopence of our money,—'for the foresaid John Cram and his wife 'damnifiet by fyre.'

On April 16th, 1676, 'A Collection intimat for liberation of certain Scottis taken by the Turkis, by order from the Presbitrie.' The collection was five and tenpence sterling. In May, 1678, 'The Thesaurer gave to the Minister two pound Scottis out of the Boxe for the use of the mariners *captivated* by the Turks,' and in August of the same year 'The Minister intimat ane collection to be made for a poore scholler named John Andersone, who is at the Colledge of St. Andrews, and is destitute of parents and friend to helpe to maintaine him thereat.' Sometimes less than half-a-crown was forthcoming. Very shortly afterwards the people were called upon to contribute 'for the supplie of the citizens of Glasgow, whose houses were burnt with fire.' In December there was a service of 'publick humiliation, fasting and prayer for his Maiesties preservatioune, and a thanksgiving for his deliverance from the late conspiracie be the papists against him.' The inevitable collection followed. In March, 1679, there was a collection on behalf of 'Mecurius Lascarie and his brother, taken by the Turkis.' We meet with the Turks again in September, 1722, when four shillings Scots, was given to 'Hugh Denington a poor seaman taken by the Turkis, and had his tounge cut out.' In the following year there was a collection 'to the use of the Bridge at Callendar,' and a curious entry on March 5th 'to Solomon, an arabian christian recommended by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, six shillings.' There is also a record of help being given for the 'bridge of Dill.' 'One Pound sixteen shillings Scots was sent to the Manadgers of the said Bridge.' The Gask congregation also contributed towards the bridge over the 'water of Ruchall.' The collection for building a 'Herbour' at St. Andrews realised nine pounds ten shillings Scots. There is some mystery about an entry dated January 3rd, 1731. 'Given to the Minister to be disposed of by the presbytery for the use and behove of *a certain person*, six pounds Scots.' About this time we find a piteous record 'To Thomas Hamilton that lost all by fire, and two children burnet, and had his two eyes burnt out, twelve shillings Scots.' Auchterarder must have formed a far larger and richer parish than that of its neighbour Gask, nevertheless, the Gask people raised two pounds six shillings one Sunday 'For the recovering of a Register of the Presbytery of Auchterarder dureing the time of Eppiescopacie,

and for making of a press for keeping the books of their library.'

But in however generous a measure the people contrived to give, it will be seen that the amount collected in church could never cover the multitude of charities which the Session took upon itself to support. The elders had three chief sources of income,—the church collections and fees,—the hiring out of the *mort cloth*,—and the money paid by sinners after they had 'satisfied' on the Stool of Repentance.

We hear nothing of the mort cloth till after 1721. There is no mention of it in the earlier records, and it may be supposed that the 'mort kists' went bare of the funeral pall until the reports of pomps and ceremonies from more civilised centres roused the parochial ambitions, and a mort-cloth became a necessity, as well as a source of revenue to the church. It was an ample covering of black material, and the charge for the use of it at a funeral varied. On May 29th, 1726, 'The Session having bought a new mort-cloath in Perth, and paid the same, price is one hundred and forty three pounds, twelve shillings and sixpence (scots), and all the Session unanimously agreed that the use of the mort-cloath should be one pound four, within the paroch, and one pound ten without the paroch.' In 1728 'Gifen to David Taylor to buy a bell tow, and tows to the Valet that carries the mort-cloath.' In July, 1732, it required repair; 'To James Darling, merchant in Perth, for sarge and threed to mend the mort-cloath, sixteen shillings.' After these repairs the hire of it rose as high as three pounds.

The money penalties of those who sat on the Stool of Repentance formed a large part of the church's income. About the year 1671 these appearances were very common, and Sunday after Sunday the wretched culprits formed the centre of interest to the congregation, thankful enough at the end of their trial to hand over the money, which finally appeased the wrath of the elders. It was generally about three shillings of our money, but a part of the penalty was often remitted. 'Jonet Widderspoon compeired before the Session, humbly shewing unto thaim that she had nothing to pay her penalty, and offered herself to the Session to sit on the Repentance Stool as long as pleased thaim to enjoyne her. They knowing that she was verie indigent passed fra her penalty.'

The church evidently passed through a time of stress in 1675, the Boxe was at a low ebb, and there must have been an unusual

mortality in the parish. On Oct. 10th, twelve shillings was collected at the service, 'all which is apoynted to be given to the beddell for making poor ones' graves, viz. Patrick Burghs and Neilsons and Gillespie, two travellers, thair two bairnes, that departed in this parish this last week.' The 'bedirll' is described as having had 'much travell concerning things furthering to the communion.' The elders were going through the parish seeing what they could collect for the poor. The marriage pledges at the time were reduced to two shillings. Altogether it was an epoch of depression. At this crisis the bell tow inconveniently broke, and the beadle had to be supplied with funds to buy another. Fortunately Thomas Wanles had just completed his Repentance on the Stool, and handed over what was, however, only a modified fee of twenty-six shillings, and at the same time Hugh Frissell was married and paid twenty-four shillings. These sums were handed to the beadle, and a new tow obtained. But even under severe financial difficulties the Charitie of the Boxe never ceased altogether, the list of those relieved continues with scarcely an interval. 'To four distrest travelers who had lost all by an inundation'; 'Elspet Ronaldson, a poor Object in the Paroch,' 'for making a mortchist to Elspet Ronaldson, one pound ten'; 'To Robert Gordon a poor seaman, and to A. Keith who wanted one of his hands, seven shillings'; 'To Nill Robertson, being *distracted*, four shillings.' The wording of one entry deserves attention, 'Gifen to ane impotent creple and importunate woman, six shillings.' The beggars went about in groups. 'To Oliver Commik with three children, and other distrest supplicants with him, fourteen shillings.' 'Severall shiptwrackt seamen and their ffamilies, eighteen shillings.'

Close to the site where the old church once stood is a magnificent Spanish chestnut tree, the perfection of size and shape. An entry in the Records in January, 1728, makes one fear that it may be the only survivor of a whole group. 'To the planters who planted the trees in the church yeard, for the use of the poor, six shillings,' and (alas, for the old trees!) 'the Session mett and did sell the old trees in the Church yeard to William Gray of Dipline (Dupplin) to the number of seventeen. The price a hundred and twenty pounds Scottis.' The young trees planted 'for the use of the poor' are no doubt those that at this hour shadow so many nameless graves in the spot, which for many generations, was the last resting place

of the people of Gask; but it is impossible not to regret the seventeen that were old a hundred and seventy years ago.

Perhaps the constant collections were more than the parishioners could stand; at all events an entry in the Records of Dec. 18, 1732, throws some light on their ways of giving when resources were low. The eyes of the elders were upon them and something must be put in. 'The Session mett and compted the Boxe, and found it to be the sum of forty-four pounds, of which there was twelve pound eighteen shillings in money, sixteen pounds sixteen of doits, and *fifteen pounds of ill hapenyes*.'

E. Maxtone Graham.

Miss Katherine Read, Court Paintress

THE eighteenth century giants of portrait painting, Hogarth, Hudson, Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Hoppner, are rather apt to make us forget a number of other minor workers who, though overshadowed by these Masters, left a great many paintings of great worth, which have hardly yet been appreciated at their right value.

Among these minor painters is Katherine Read, some of whose portraits are frequently attributed to Reynolds himself. Her merit was much more properly estimated in her own time than it since has been. Smollett the historian speaks of her as Miss Read who 'excelled the celebrated Rosalba in Portrait Painting,' and Hayley in his Poetical Epistles wrote:

> 'Let candid Justice our attention lead
> To the soft Crayon of the graceful Read.'

It will therefore not be uninteresting to review the life of this forgotten paintress who was so much esteemed in her own day.

Katherine Read was born in Scotland 3rd February, 1723; and was the fifth of a family of thirteen children, born to Alexander Read of Turfbeg and Logie, a Forfarshire gentleman of good family, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Wedderburn of Blackness, Bart. Her parents were well to do if not rich, and her connections all in what was then styled a 'respectable station in life.'

We have no means of knowing when Miss Read's talent for painting began first to show itself. She probably was educated in Edinburgh, but there is only one legend of her early youth which has come down to us. It is said that, belonging to an ultra Jacobite family,[1] she painted portraits in 1745 of the fair Isabella Lumsden and her brother Andrew Lumsden, and that she encouraged an unfortunate passion for the latter, who fought

[1] Her uncle, Sir John Wedderburn, was executed, as a Jacobite, in 1746. She painted many portraits of the Wedderburn family, and took charge of Sir John Wedderburn's daughters after his execution.

at Culloden, and afterwards became Secretary to the exiled Prince Charles Edward Stuart. How true this is we cannot say, but she was at that time, as her portrait[1] shows, pleasant looking, and all her life she remained on very intimate terms with his brother-in-law Sir Robert Strange, the great Engraver, and with the rest of his family.

Miss Read apparently studied first seriously under La Tour in Paris, for she writes[2] in 1751, 'I hear my old master La Tour is in London, where I don't doubt of his getting money by his great merit and great price, not from his quantity of work, unless he leaves off that custom of rubbing out which he practised but too much, although I can scarcely blame it in him as a fault, as it proceeded from an over delicacy of Taste and not from a light headedness as was aledged, for he has no more of that about him than is natural to and becoming a French man.' And it was when she was about twenty-eight years old that she took the almost unheard-of step for a gentlewoman, at that time, to paint portraits for money. To perfect herself in this, to see the world, and to obtain a vogue, she went by herself, with her eldest brother's help, on the Grand Tour, to Italy, then considered the centre of the artistic world, in order that she might, as she writes, qualify for 'the necessity there is for staying a time in Italy.'

Miss Read settled at Rome and applied herself to cultivating the arts, and her letters are interesting, as they show the life she was forced to lead there. She writes from Rome to her eldest brother on June 16, 1751: 'I have had no money but from you since I came abroad. As I wrote you before, I am obliged to board, otherwise I could live at a third of the expense; this you may believe is no small vexation.'

She studied under a French painter, Blanchet,[3] and also copied pictures, amongst others the 'Van Dike' of King Charles I.'s three children, and some by Carlo Dolce, who *selon les usages a'hier* she much admired. She adds that there were few good portraits in Rome compared to those in England, 'but you know so well the necessity there is for staying a while in

[1] Several portraits of Miss Read exist. One by herself belongs to Mrs. Cox. Another was sold at Messrs. Christie's & Manson's, May 19, 1904, for seventy guineas. It was by Romney.

[2] I have to acknowledge gratefully the loan of MSS., transcripts, and kind assistance from Mrs. Cox, née Douglas, of Brigton, and the Rev. R. Lingard Guthrie.

[3] I cannot identify this artist.

Italy that I need not enlarge on the subject. I apply so constantly and take every decent method of improvement that I think it must be impossible I can miss. I am but in a manner beginning to be known here; last week I was introduced to Cardinal Albani, who is a great Connoisseur, and has one of the most valuable collections in Rome; upon seeing some things I had done he offered me what pictures I pleased to chuse home to my apartment to copy. I pitched upon four heads done by Rosalba for the first essay; I hear she is still alive at Venice in perfect health, but quite blind.'[1] Through the friendship with the Cardinal Miss Read got influence. She painted a portrait of his niece, 'The Princess Gigia' (Chigi) and was also to paint 'a lady who this Cardinal has a great friendship for . . .' and painted as well at the Vatican, for as 'the Pope is just now in the country, petticoats have y^e^ liberty to enter his gate.' She recommends her brother to make his 'wilderness and garden' at Logie into an Italian garden, adding the sage advice, 'In all your improvements pray take care not to correct nature,' and finishes her letter with a pensive thought, 'I cannot help looking on myself as a creature in a very odd situation; 'tis true we are all but strangers and pilgrims in this world, and I ought not to think myself more so than others, but my unlucky sex leys me under inconveniences which cause these reflections.'

Miss Read's next Roman letter, a long one dated January 6, N.S. 1752, shows some of the difficulties and drawbacks under which she worked even in Italy, that classic land of learned ladies. She writes, 'I have painted two Princesses, for which they gave me by way of a present two medals that both together weigh about ten guineas. From the Marchesa Maximy (Massimo) I got a very curious casket or box of ebony, so finely ornamented with oriental stones in imitation of fruits, flowers, birds, etc., that I am told in England it will be worth 40 or 50 guineas. Some people advise me to make a present of it to the Princess of Wales, but I believe I shall rather convert it into money. . . . I had from a Monsignor a ring I believe of no very great value, and I expect in a few days to begin a picture of the Brother of Prince Cheserina (Caesarini), from whom I shall have perhaps some such useless Trinket,—for you must know the Italians despise people so much that are obliged to do anything for money that Mr. Grant thought

[1] We do not find any account of Miss Read's meeting with 'the divine Rosalba,' but she certainly wished to go to Venice for the purpose.

it proper to name no price when the question was ask'd . . . for in this Holy City Pride and Folly prevail so much that every thing is regarded according to the degree of show it makes.' The Paintress continues that she by living much at home had avoided to some extent the few British people in Rome, amongst whom there were very few women, 'some of them I thought were scarce my equals, and others that I was very sure were nothing more,' and that her chief intimate was Abbé Grant, the Scottish Cicerone.[1] 'I never go abroad but with Mr. Grant or some other person of character; that's another odd custom they have here, no unmarried woman is ever seen in the street alone.' She mentions that she was painting a profile 'of the greatest beauty in Rome, nay, I may safely say in the world. She is the Marchesa Gabrielli, a lady of high distinction. As this is for L^d. Charlemond, I shall get money for it; take no notice of this for 'tis a secret.' She painted at the palaces of Prince Viana, and worked apparently incredibly hard. 'I have lately painted several heads in crayons merely to try experiments and occupy fancy. I have succeeded beyond my expectation, and do not despair of doing something yet before I die that may bear a comparison with Rosalba or rather La Tour, who I must own is my model among all the Portrait Painters I have yet seen.' In her letter she thanks her brother for his pecuniary help, discusses the difficulties of getting home, and adds that she 'must not forget to tell you likewise that I have the honour to be the first from our Island that ever painted an Italian above the rank of a Priest or an Abbé, whereas I have painted the very first Princes in Rome.'

Her position in Rome is again described more fully in a letter dated the same month to her brother from the Abbé Grant. 'At the rate she goes on,' he says, 'I am truly hopeful she'll equal at least if not excell the most celebrated of her profession in Great Britain, particularly in Crayons, for which she seems to have a very great talent. . . . Was it not for the restrictions her sex obliges her to be under I dare safely say she would shine wonderfully in history painting too, but as it is impossible for her to attend publick academies or even design or draw from Nature, she is determined to confine herself to portraits and one branch of history painting which consists in

[1] Peter Grant, of the Blairfield family, entered the Scottish College at Rome, 1726, died there, 1784. [v. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*] Lady Mary Wortly Montagu describes him in 1753 as 'a very honest, good-natured North Briton.'

single figures . . . the strong byass of genius she has for this sort of painting in doing of Angels, Saints, Magdalens, Cleopatras, etc., would fain make her continue here at least till the end of next summer,' which she could apparently only do if chaperoned by 'some trusty friend,' or 'a person of character,' and at considerable expense. In June, 1752, she was still in Rome gaining many plaudits. She painted Cardinal Albani, Protector of the Empire, and the Abbé Grant writes of his protégée, 'She is the first foreigner that ever one of such personages vouchsafed to sit to.' On 6th April, 1753, she herself writes from Naples, which she was visiting, 'There is a great deal of painting but not many fine Pictures, the best I have seen were in the Palaces of the King, the Prince Subino, and the Duke del Torrey (della Torre). There are likeways some good ones, particularly in one which belongs to the Carthusians, but as these superstitious Biggotts won't allow a female creature to enter their doors, I am deprived of the pleasure I should have had.' She had more liberty in Naples, as a stranger, than in Rome: saw the sights, Portici, Gaeta, and Herculaneum, ascended Vesuvius, and plucked laurel from Virgil's Tomb (a sprig of which she sent to her brother for the handle of a punch ladle!), but did not like Naples on account of its being a 'Paradise inhabited by Devils,' and she was much shocked by a life-sized figure of the Madonna carried in the streets wearing 'a wide hoop'd Petticoat with a full bottom'd Wegg and a great high crown like a lantern.' Shortly after this she went back to London to work at her profession, no doubt under the escort during the journey of 'a person of character.'

The Abbé Grant writes from Rome 24th April, 1754, that news has reached him that her success as a painter in London was then assured. She painted a portrait of Lady Strafford, and he writes that her sister 'Lady Dalkeith was from seeing it determined to employ her soon in doing her son the young Duke of Buccleugh, his two brothers and sister on the same cloth in oil colouring, at the same time it was given to me to understand that she is already come into such great repute that all the fine Ladys have made it to be as much the fashion to sit to my friend Miss Read as to take the air in the Park,' and this news of his 'little woman' gave the good Abbé much pleasure.

Miss Read painted most of the notabilities of her day; she resided first at St. James Place, and after 1766 in Jermyn Street. At the former studio she received her cousin, Sir John Wedder-

burn, who dates his letter 'from Kates,' and from there she was able with 'generosity equal to her talent' to assist her family. Count Frederick Kielmansegge, writing in February, 1762, mentions that he went to her studio 'to see her portrait in pastell of a lady of our acquaintance, Lady Diana Clavering. . . . From the various good portraits I have seen of her I gather that her work is very successful; some of her portraits of the beauties of society were very good likenesses.' She painted a portrait of Queen Charlotte as soon as she arrived in England, and in 1763 she exhibited another picture of Queen Charlotte with the Infant Prince of Wales, which gained her much popularity, and she appears to have received the appointment of Paintress to the Queen.[1]

In 1764 Miss Read had sittings from Lady Susan Fox-Strangeways, the clever and charming eldest daughter of the first Earl of Ilchester, and a romance, of which her studio was the scene, ensued. A young Irishman, William O'Brien, an actor by profession, who had, in spite of the existing prejudice, played in pieces with Lady Susan and her friend, Lady Sarah Bunbury, at Holland House, came to see the portrait. Miss Read saw a flirtation between them, and—in Horace Walpole's words[2]—said to Lord Cathcart, 'My Lord, there is a couple in the next room that I am sure ought not to be together; I wish your lordship would look.' He did, shut the door again, and went directly and informed Lord Ilchester. A complete confession ensued, but Lady Susan was allowed a parting farewell with Mr. O'Brien. Walpole continues, 'On Friday she came of age, and on Saturday morning—instead of being under lock and key in the country—walked down stairs, took her footman, said she was going to breakfast with Lady Sarah (Bunbury), but would call at Miss Read's; in the street, pretended to recollect a particular cap in which she was to be drawn, sent the footman back for it, whipped into a hackney chair, was married at Covent Garden Church, and set out for Mr. O'Brien's villa at Dunstable.' It is only necessary to add that the marriage turned out a very happy one in spite of straitened circumstances, and that Lady Susan's pastel portrait, in the 'particular cap' and with her dog, still hangs at Melbury.[3]

[1] Douglas's *Baronage of Scotland.*

[2] *Horace Walpole's Letters,* ii. 221.

[3] Reproduced in *The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox,* edited by the Countess of Ilchester, 1901.

This episode does not seem to have in the least impaired Miss Read's popularity. In 1765 she was in as great favour as ever, and Lady Mary Coke writes that the Princess of Brunswick 'was setting for her portrait to Miss Read and her son was to be drawn with her,' and in the same year she painted the Princess of Wales and Prince Frederick. To mention only a few of her sitters makes a pretty long list, for we must include the celebrated beauties, and also many of the notorieties of her day. Among her engraved portraits are Catherine Macaulay, the Historian, represented as a 'Roman Matron weeping over the Lost Liberties of her Country'; William Lord Newbattle and his sister; Anne Luttrell, Duchess of Cumberland; the singer, Miss Powell, Lady Fortrose; Lady Georgina Spencer (afterwards Duchess of Devonshire); 'the celebrated Mrs. Drummond, in the character of Winter'; and last, but not least, the two beautiful sisters, the Gunnings, Maria Gunning, Countess of Coventry (though it is doubtful whether this picture was painted 'directly from life'), and the exquisite beauty, Elizabeth Gunning, Duchess of Hamilton and Argyll. Her portrait, often engraved, is frequently but erroneously ascribed to Reynolds, and this in spite of the 'C. Read, *Pinx*' in the older copies.

Miss Read in 1771 removed to Welbeck Street, and her niece, Helena Beatson,[1] came to stay with her. Miss Beatson was a gifted child with a hereditary genius in painting, and was something of a prodigy, for we are told she exhibited a drawing, 'The Gypsies,' at the Academy at the age of eleven. We catch two glimpses of the mènage from the bitter pen of Fanny Burney. Miss Burney enters in her celebrated journal:[2]

'1774, Feb., Thursday. Mamma took us to Miss Reid, the celebrated paintress, to meet Mrs. Brooke, the celebrated authoress of *Lady Julia Mandeville*. Miss Reid is shrewd and clever, where she has any opportunity given to make it known; but she is so very deaf that it is a fatigue to attempt conversation with her. She is most exceeding ugly, and of a very melancholy, or rather discontented humour. She had living with her Miss Beatson, her niece, who, with Mr. Strange (Sir Robert, the Engraver) and Dr. Shebbeare, formed the party.' Fanny Burney does not appear to have found Miss Read

[1] Daughter of Robert Beatson and Jean Read. She was born 23rd March, 1762, and died 19th Feb., 1839. *Genealogical Account of the Family of Beatson.*

[2] Miss Burney's *Memoirs*, i., p. 273.

congenial, but Miss Beatson seems to have been thought more *sympathique*, as she calls her 'not absolutely handsome, yet infinitely attractive; she is sensible, smart, quiet and comical . . . a most astonishing genius, though never taught. She groups figures of children in the most ingenious, playful and beautiful sanity of attitudes and employments . . . in truth she is a very wonderful girl.'

Miss Burney made on 23rd February, 1775, a second visit, which she also records.[1]

'We then went to Miss Reid, to see her paintings, which in crayons seem really to nearly reach perfection; their not standing appears to me the only inferiority they have to oil colours; while they are new nothing can be so soft, so delicate, so blooming. . . . She is a very clever woman, and in her profession has certainly very great merit; but her turn of mind is naturally melancholy. She is absent, full of care . . . added to which she dresses in a style the most strange and queer that can be conceived. . . . The unhappiness of her mind I have heard attributed to so great an unsteadiness not only of conduct, but of principle, that, in regard to her worldly affairs, she is governed by all who will direct her, and therefore acts with inconsistency and the most uncomfortable want of method; and in her religious opinions she is guided and led alternately by Free thinkers and by Enthusiasts. Her mind is thus in a state of perpetual agitation and uneasiness.'

It was during the year 1775 that Miss Read, accompanied by her niece, Miss Beatson, went to India. Her brother, William Read, was settled at Madras, and their visit was to him, but no doubt there was the desire, which every portrait painter and miniaturist then had, to obtain from the Eastern princes some of the enormous sums they lavished upon English artists, at a time when Reynolds was satisfied with twenty or thirty guineas for a picture.

By the end of the year 1775 her relations in Scotland had received from her a picture of 'y^e^ Indian Lady' as an earnest of her work in the East. We do not know much of her life at Madras. In 1777 her niece married there Charles Oakeley, afterwards Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart. In spite of this, however, Miss Read remained at Madras, always occupied in painting. In 1777 she was painting 'The Nabob's Family,' but in that year received an urgent call to Bengal. 'I am clear,' writes a

[1] Miss Burney's *Memoirs*, ii., p. 11.

Mr. Bruce from Calcutta, 'for her coming round to this settlement immediately, where she will find such employment as she chuses, and of course, if not increase, prevent the diminution of her fortune. We have had one tolerable good painter here named' (Tilly) 'Kettle, who acquired a good independency in 3 years. We have now another nam'd Paxton, but he is a very indifferent hand, and yet gets employment.'

Mr. Kyd, a correspondent of hers, writes again in February, 1778, telling her that her nephew John Beatson's schemes of adventuring 'in a most extensive Malay Voyage'[1] had nearly involved her in his shipping speculation, and he also presses her to come to Bengal. 'The propriety of your coming round here without delay, where I am confident (not on my own opinion alone, but on Mr. Hasting's also) that you will have every reason to be satisfied in point of emolument[2] from the exercises of painting, but also enjoying a society far more numerous, not less respectable, and' (shade of Sir Philip Francis!) 'much less divided by Party Spirit, and if I mistake not from your description of things of more liberal sentiments.'

Perhaps ill health was preying on Miss Read's mind, and she dreaded the journey from Madras to Calcutta, for she had been told 'the Packet is 17 days in going, but a ship may bring you in 8 days,' and she never went to her friends in Bengal. She made a will, leaving considerable property to her Read and Wedderburn kinsfolk, at Madras, on the 29th of June, 1778. She was then in bad health apparently, as she directs her body to be buried privately at Madras. She did not die there, however, but embarked, probably as a last chance, on the homeward voyage, and died at sea on her passage home on December 15th, 1778.

A. Francis Steuart.

[1] This 'Malay Voyage' was the precursor of the founding in 1786 of Prince of Wales Island (Penang) by Captain Francis Light. At the hoisting of the British flag there Mr. John Beatson was one of the Pioneer witnesses.

[2] The Note Book of Ozias Humphrey, the celebrated miniature painter (*Brit. Mus. MSS.*, 22, 951), gives some interesting notes of the prices of portraits painted in India during his visit there in 1785. Among them are 'Governor General, Rs. 1000'; 'Mr. Hewett, 1000'; . . . 'Mrs. Keighley, 532'; 'Sheer Jung, 600'; 'his two sons, 1000'; 'Gopaul Doss, 800'; 'Raja Maha Narrane, 1200.' He quotes also the prices charged by George Willison of Dundee, a very clever artist who painted in India. 'For a ¾ Portrait at Madras 75 pagodas, at Bombay the same money in rupees; for a half length, 140 pagodas; for a whole length, 300 pagodas'; he says that at Durbar the prices were doubled, and that Mr. Smith's prices were the same as Mr. Willison's. These quotations will let us gauge Miss Read's earnings also.

Some Sidelights on the History of Montrose's Campaigns

THE Red Book of Clanranald—a Gaelic volume notable in the Ossianic controversy—has been largely drawn on by Mr. Mark Napier and other writers on the subject of Montrose's campaigns. The reference of these writers was to an inaccurate MS. translation, and, till quite recently, there had been no publication either of the original or of any translation, with the exception of a small portion of one of the translations which is included in the third volume of Mr. W. F. Skene's *Celtic Scotland.* In the *Reliquiae Celticae* of the late Rev. Dr. Cameron there will, however, now be found (vol. ii., p. 138) the greater portion not only of the contents of the Red Book, but also of those of another and more obscure volume known as the Black Book of Clanranald. The history of the Red Book has, as is well known, been matter of ancient controversy. The Black Book, on the other hand, is quite a modern discovery, and has never been referred to by the historians of Montrose's campaigns. It was picked up by Mr. Skene about fifty years ago, among some old Irish MSS., at a book-stall in Dublin, and was by him restored to the present-day representative of its old possessors, the Macdonalds of Clanranald.

Both volumes are of the nature of commonplace books, largely in Gaelic, but partly in English, manuscripts of the Mac Vurichs, the hereditary bards and historians of the family of Clanranald. Their contents are of the most varied description, including besides the historical portions such heterogeneous material as Gaelic poems, a geography and chronology of the world, elegies on the Clanranalds, clan genealogies, and a satire on Bishop Burnet.

From a historical point of view the portions of the two volumes dealing with Montrose's campaigns are most interesting. They are written of course largely from the standpoint of the clans, and just as Patrick Gordon's *Britanes Distemper* was

written to demonstrate the very considerable part which the Gordons played in these campaigns, and to champion the Marquis of Huntly and his family against the strictures of Bishop Wishart, so the writer of the historical portions of the Books of Clanranald declares that what induced him to write was his seeing 'that those who treated of the affairs of the time have made no mention at all of the Gael, the men who did all the service.' Throughout his hero is not Montrose, but the redoubtable Macdonald—'Sir Alaster, the red-armed horse-knight, the brave and courageous son of Colla Ciotach,' and there is also frequent mention of that no less potent warrior, John Moydartach, the Captain of Clanranald. Nothing is narrated, so the writer says, 'except of the people whom I have seen myself, and from my own recollection am acquainted with a part of their deeds.'

As to the general historical accuracy of the two volumes there can be little question. Their main thesis, that the Gael 'did all the service,' is undoubtedly justified to this extent, that, apart from the directing genius of Montrose, the main heat and burden of the campaigns was borne by Macdonald and his Irishmen, who, as Patrick Gordon admits, were 'so well trained men as the world could afford no better,' and by their Highland allies, particularly the Macdonalds of Clanranald, Glengarry, and Glencoe. The support of the Gordon cavalry would have been invaluable if the leaders of that family had allowed it to be consistent, and, with the exception of the Ogilvies, Montrose had little other effective Lowland assistance.

So also the details stated may be fairly held to be reliable. Several of them are given by no other writers. A great many are corroborated by Wishart, Patrick Gordon, and other contemporaries, and there is little material contradiction between these authors and the Mac Vurichs. The Montrose part of the volume opens with the description of Macdonald's descent on Scotland, of the burning of his ships, which forced him much against his will to remain there, and of his providential meeting with Montrose in Athole. Montrose, we are told, was 'in the character of a timber merchant, with a little bag hanging from his neck'—a character and costume which he soon altered. Three days later he led his army at Tippermuir, clad in trews and armed with targe and pike (Carte's *Ormond Papers*, i., p. 73).

Little is told of the battles of Tippermuir and Aberdeen, and, curiously enough, there are few particulars given of the raid on

THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE

By permission of His Grace The Duke of Montrose, K.T.

See page 48

Argyle's country during the winter of 1644-45, the chief exploit mentioned being John Moydartach's independent predatory excursion, from which he brought a thousand cows to the camp of Montrose. It is also recorded that no fewer than eight hundred and ninety-five Campbells were killed by the Royalist forces.

The battle of Inverlochy is the first event of which full details are given. These in the main agree with the very full account of the battle given by Patrick Gordon. When the writer comes to the battle of Auldearn, however, we get a luxuriance of detail which could have come only from eye-witnesses. Full details are also given of the succeeding battles of Alford and Kilsyth, at both of which the Macdonalds rendered conspicuous service. It will be remembered that shortly after Kilsyth and before Philiphaugh, Macdonald and the bulk of the Highlanders left Montrose to carry on operations against Argyle on their own account. Some account of these operations is given, but practically none of the doings of Montrose after Kilsyth. In short, it will be seen that primarily the books of Clanranald are a history of the part the Macdonalds took in the 'Troubles.'

Another interesting document which has not hitherto been anywhere referred to at length is the exceedingly rare pamphlet entitled, 'A true relation of the happy successes of his Majesty's Forces in Scotland under the conduct of the Lord James Marquiss of Montrose His Excellencie against the Rebels there;—also causes of a Solemn Fast and Humiliation kept by the Rebels in that Kingdom according to a copy printed formerly at Edinburgh. Printed in the year 1644.' One copy, bound up with a number of miscellaneous pamphlets, is preserved in the Advocates' Library, and there are two copies in the Bodleian.

The only writers who have referred to this pamphlet are the latest editors of Wishart, Messrs. Murdoch and Simpson. In a postscript to the introduction to their edition these writers (overlooking, curiously, the copy in the Advocates' Library) mention the copies in the Bodleian, to which their attention had been directed by Mr. C. H. Firth—too late, however, to allow of their making any detailed use of the pamphlet for their work.

The pamphlet must have been written and printed towards the close of 1644. It professes to narrate Montrose's proceedings up to the beginning of November in that year, and concludes with a somewhat meagre and inaccurate account of the skirmishes at Fyvie (October 28-30, 1644). These, the pamphlet in its concluding paragraph says, 'are the last passage of the business

in Scotland whereof we can give any true account. It is likely that he who fell to work so nimbly at the beginning hath not been idle since; the certainty whereof cannot be long suppressed.' It opens with a detailed account of Montrose's doings in England and his abortive attack on Dumfries, prior to his romantic journey in disguise to Tullybelton. Most of the well-known incidents before Tippermuir are described, and there are some picturesque and apparently otherwise unrecorded details of that battle given, such as that the Royalist forces had only one barrel of powder, and that the Covenanters' battle-cry was 'Jesus, and no quarter!'

New light is thrown on the murder of Lord Kilpont, of which more details are given than in any other contemporary writing. It tells that Stewart withdrew Kilpont 'to the utmost Centry,' that he had a long and serious discourse with him, that ultimately Kilpont, 'knocking upon his breast,' was overheard to say, 'Lord forbid, man, would you undo us all?' and that Stewart immediately stabbed him with a dirk, striking him fifteen times through the body. It is conceived, the writer goes on to say, that Stewart intended to kill Montrose, and that he had disclosed his purpose to Kilpont, thinking to engage him in the plot in respect of the friendship between them. This account of the affair is in line with Wishart's statement, and is of course in direct contradiction to the Ardvoirlich family tradition which is given in the introduction to Scott's *Legend of Montrose*. Scott regards the family tradition as 'more probable' than Wishart's account, but it may be doubted whether he would have continued to hold that view if he had read the 'Ratification of James Stewart's pardon for killing of the Lord Kilpont,' passed in 1645, one of the rescinded Acts of the Covenanting Parliament, which will be found printed in the Appendix to Mr. Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose*.

The most interesting point connected with the pamphlet, indeed, is its corroboration of Wishart's narrative. It would almost appear to have been one of Wishart's main sources of information for the period with which it deals. It will be remembered that during the earlier portion of Montrose's campaigns, and until after the battle of Kilsyth, Wishart was a prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. After Kilsyth he joined Montrose, and his work is, no doubt, to some extent based on personal narratives received from the Marquis and his friends. It is also probable that he relied on contemporary documents like the pamphlet in question.

A few instances will show the remarkable parallels between the pamphlet and Wishart's narrative.

Readers of Wishart will remember the picturesque incident of the Irishman who had his leg shattered by a cannon ball at the battle of Aberdeen, and who boldly amputated it himself and handed it to a comrade for burial, exclaiming as he did so, 'Sure, my Lord Marquis will make me a trooper, now I am no good for the foot!' This tale is to be found only in Wishart and in the pamphlet, and, with a few variations in detail, it is told in both in practically the same terms.

Another instance is the speech of Montrose to his soldiers prior to the final charge in the same battle. According to Wishart—and the incident is recorded by no other contemporary historian—Montrose rode up to his men and addressed them as follows: 'We shall gain nothing, my men, by fighting at a distance. Who can distinguish the strong from the weak, the coward from the brave? Get to close quarters with yon craven feeble striplings; they will never withstand your valour. Fall on them with sword and musket butts. Crush them! Drive them off the field and take vengeance on the traitor rebels.' This oration is, of course, not the sort of thing that would have been really said by a general in the heat of battle. It is just after the fashion of the many well-known speeches put into the mouths of generals by the classical historians. The real speech would have been shorter and more emphatic, and I think the pamphlet gives what is not merely the germ of Wishart's speech, but is probably very nearly the actual words of Montrose. The Marquis, so says the pamphlet, desired his men to 'lay aside their muskets and pikes and fall on with sword and dirk; "for resolution," he said, "must do it." Which they did, the Marquise himself and General Major Mackdonald being upon their head.' This short and pithy fragment sounds more like the real thing.

A minor coincidence is to be found in the narrative of the manner in which the Royalist forces were drawn up for the same battle. Wishart says that Nathaniel Gordon and Colonel James Hay commanded the right wing and Sir William Rollock the left. Patrick Gordon, on the contrary, said that Nathaniel Gordon and Hay led the left wing; and Mr. Gardiner, in discussing the matter, adopts Gordon's narrative, saying that Wishart is 'plainly wrong' on this point. The writer of the pamphlet, however, corroborates Wishart. He says quite clearly that Hay and Gordon commanded the right wing, and Rollock and Sibbald

the left. If Wishart is really 'plainly wrong' on the point, this coincidence is all the more striking. It is worth noting, at the same time, that another Gordon historian, William Gordon, the author of the somewhat rare *History of the Illustrious Family of Gordon*, gives exactly the same account of the matter as Wishart. He, however, belongs to a later generation, and may have simply adopted the bishop's narrative.

GEORGE DUNCAN.

Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union

II

The Scots Linen Manufacture (Incorporated by Act of Parliament, 1693).

FROM a very early period rough linens had been made in Scotland. Before the Restoration the methods of weaving were rude, and there was no standard of quality or of the length of pieces. By an Act entitled, 'An Act discharging the Exportation of Linen Yarn,' passed in the first Parliament of Charles II., yarn was to be sold by weight, bleaching by lime was forbidden, and all linens were to be of a certain size, according to their price. By the Act of 1681 for encouraging trade and manufactures, the importation of foreign linens was prohibited. Up to 1681 there had been a considerable trade in linen with the north of England—indeed, the home and foreign trade at this time was sufficient to employ about 12,000 persons in the spinning of flax. The English being prevented from exporting both cloth and linen into Scotland, adopted retaliatory measures, and, as stated in a petition to the Privy Council in 1684, Scotsmen selling linens in England had been whipped as criminals and compelled to give security to discontinue the traffic. The Council recommended the Secretary of State to intercede with the King, in order that the Scots merchants might have liberty to sell their goods in England.[1] In 1686 it was ordained by Act of Parliament that dead bodies should be buried only in Scots linen, and infraction of the law was visited with heavy

[1] Register of the Privy Council, *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. pp. 465, 466; *The History of Civilisation in Scotland*, by John MacIntosh, iii. p. 311.

penalties.[1] This Act was ratified in 1693 and 1695. About this time a number of French refugees, who were expert linen weavers, arrived in Scotland and settled in Edinburgh, near the head of Leith Walk, which was long afterwards known as Little Picardy.[2]

After the Revolution an attempt was made to introduce capital and improved methods by Nicholas Dupin, who had been instrumental in founding the King's and Queen's Linen Corporations, both in England and Ireland. In the latter countries he had obtained patents granting the exclusive right of using certain new or foreign processes, and in each case the shares stood at considerable premiums for some time. It was unlikely that so astute an entrepreneur as Dupin, who could control considerable resources, would leave such a promising field as Scotland untouched; and accordingly, in 1691, he had secured the promise of a patent for Scotland similar to those he had already obtained for England and Ireland. The matter came before the Convention of Royal Burghs in the following October, and evidently the proposed monopoly, as well as the introduction of English capital, excited no little dismay. The Convention summoned a special meeting to consider the grant, and in the meantime they entreated the King that nothing further be concluded in the matter.[3] After the Committee had reported, the Convention declared that no more was necessary to improve the industry than to enforce the existing laws, because the reputation of the nation had suffered greatly abroad through the 'irregularity and insufficiency of the linens exported.'[4] Apparently no notice was taken of this suggestion, and in July, 1692, it was declared that the proposed company threatened to prejudice the state of the Royal Burghs, and that the adjustment of the difficulty required the wisdom of Parliament.[5] At the same time a direct appeal was made to the King, and it was urged that the proposed company would ruin the Royal Burghs.[6] To this the King replied that he would not grant any patents or 'erections' to the prejudice or monopolising of the trade or manufactures of his ancient kingdom of Scotland.[7] So far the Burghs had impeded Dupin's enterprise, and at first sight it would appear they had

[1] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, viii. p. 598.

[2] *The Huguenots*, by Samuel Smiles, London, 1867, p. 338.

[3] *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs*, 1677-1711, p. 146.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 148. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 164. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 165. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

right completely on their side. It is to be remembered, however, that the monopoly Dupin's Corporations had acquired in England and Ireland was not for the linen trade as a whole, but rather for certain kinds of fine spinning and damask-weaving;[1] and though there appears to be no copy of the patent for Scotland in existence, in all probability the privileges would be the same. As these were new processes in this country, he had a right to a certain measure of protection, though the perpetual monopoly of the specified processes erred on the side of generosity to the inventor. The real reason of the opposition of the Burghs was the long-standing difficulty, which had descended from the gild merchant, in reference to trading relations between free men and those not free of a Royal Burgh. This occasioned much trouble to the Newmills Woollen Manufactory, and was probably the reason of the peculiar manner in which its output was distributed.[2]

Dupin had not waited for the signing of his patent, but had already acquired an interest in suitable works. It would appear that the looms were established in a tenement known as Paul's Work at the foot of the Leith Wynd in Edinburgh. As early as 1609 there had been an attempt to establish a cloth factory at the same place,[3] and in 1681 the works were again started, and the privilege of a manufacture granted the proprietors for the linen and woollen industry.[4] Other works had also been acquired at the citadel of Leith, and by 1693 about 700 persons were employed, and, according to the account of the owners, the linens produced far exceeded in quality those made in England or Ireland.[5]

Up to 1693 the undertaking had been financed by the English Corporation, and the latter had now troubles of its own to face and was unable to provide the capital needed. The pioneer company, without the protection of a patent or

[1] *Vide The King's and Queen's Corporation for the Linen Manufacture in Ireland* in *Journal Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xxxi. p. 372.

[2] *Vide A Representation of the Advantages that would arise to this Kingdom by the erecting of Manufactories* (Edin., 1683); also the Introduction to the forthcoming edition of the *Minutes of the Newmills Company*.

[3] *The Linen Trade*, by Alex. J. Warden, London, 1854, p. 428.

[4] Acts of the Privy Council, 1682-1685 (under September 1, 1681) *Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. p. 427.

[5] Parliamentary Papers, 1693 (General Register House, Edinburgh), 'Memorandum anent the advancement of linen cloth,' etc.

any other privileges, could no longer pay its way; and in a 'Memorandum anent the advancement of linen cloth, being considerations on the profits that would arise from the advancement of linen cloth, with a list of the acts and privileges that would cause this Kingdom to flourish by that trade alone,' it is shown that on the winding up of the Company the finer work it had now begun to produce would be transplanted to Ireland.[1] Whereas if more capital were introduced and 'with good wholesome laws,' for the encouragement of the shareholders, 'the linens produced would be cheaper than our neighbour nations to our advancement and their discouragement.'[2] Probably Dupin had at first intended the English Corporation to be the parent undertaking for the three kingdoms, but already it was on the verge of failure—the shares having fallen from 45 to 18 during this same year 1693.[3] It may have occurred to him, considering the natural advantages of Scotland for this industry, to make the Paul's Work the chief factory in Britain. However this may be, he suggested the formation of a new company on a very large scale, with a capital of from £20,000 to £40,000 sterling, which would be specially exempted from attachment from certain outstanding debts already incurred.[4] Apparently the existing company was a direct successor of the partnership of 1681, for it is also asked that the period for freedom from taxes (which in that case would expire in 1700) should be prolonged.[5] The places where food was supplied to the work-people should be free of taxes also; and, as in the case of the Newmills company, any drink consumed by them from excise duties.[6] The laws regulating the quantity of linens should be enforced, and finally the company asked to have a royalty of 2d. Scots on every ell of linen sold in Scotland to maintain servants to measure, mark and seal it, and 'to give good example and instruction in every shire about the goodness of it,'[7] whence it seems to follow that the competitors of the company were to be taxed to advertise the product of their rivals!

[1] Parliamentary Papers, *ut supra*, f. 7. [2] *Ibid.*, f. 2.

[3] *Vide* article on '*The King's and Queen's Corporation for the Linen Manufacture*,' *ut supra*, p. 364.

[4] Parliamentary Papers, 1693, 'Memorial,' *ut supra*, ff. 5, 6.

[5] *Ibid.*, f. 7. [6] *Ibid.*, f. 4. [7] *Ibid.*, f. 8.

On the recommendation of the Committee of Trade, Parliament decided to encourage the company, and no less than three Acts were passed in June 1693 in its favour. With special reference to the industry as a whole, all linens were to be of uniform size and quality, and, as a guarantee of this provision being carried out, all pieces exposed for sale must bear the seal of a Royal Burgh—the fee for sealing being 8d. Scots per piece. In future, no yarn was to be exported, and it must always be sold by weight.[1] By another Act, the Company obtained the following privileges. It had the right (confined by the previous Act to the Royal Burghs) of affixing a seal to linens from its looms, duties on its exports were remitted for twenty-one years, and all drink consumed by the work-people was free of taxes. All the privileges of the Act of 1681 for encouraging trade and manufactures were also granted. It was also enacted that the undertaking could not be wound up without the consent of three-fourths of the shareholders, and that a transfer in the books of the Company was sufficient evidence of the ownership of shares.[2] About the time this Act was obtained, the shares began to be dealt with in London, but no record of the prices realised has been preserved.[3]

Dupin, in his 'Memorandum' to the Committee of Trade, had mentioned a capital of between £20,000 and £40,000 sterling as being required. This was a much larger amount than that invested in the Irish or English Corporations, the capital of the former having been £5000, and that of the latter probably under £10,000.[4] In view of the very meagre amount of the resources of Scotland available for investment, as shown by the difficulty Dupin found in obtaining even a part of the £4000 required for the Scots Paper Manufacture, as well as the embarrassment of the English Linen Corporation at this time, it was only to be expected that very little of the total amount required was subscribed. The issue of stock, however, was not a total failure, for it is recorded that Sir John Foulis of Ravelston and members of his family owned shares,[5] still there

[1] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix. pp. 311, 312. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 316.

[3] *Houghton's Collections for Husbandry and Trade*, London, 1691-1703, under May 16th, 1694.

[4] *Vide* article *ut supra*, pp. 373, 375.

[5] *The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston*, edited by Rev. A. W. C. Hallen, (Scottish History Society, 1894), pp. 183, 222, 223.

are reasons to believe that only a small sum was provided, and the whole enterprise was, therefore, in danger of never obtaining a fair start; but, immediately it became apparent that sufficient subscriptions would not be obtained, Dupin re-opened negotiations with the Royal Burghs for financial assistance. On the analogy of the constitution of the Dutch East India Company, he represented that a part of the capital required should be invested by the Royal Burghs, a course which was rendered legal by the precedents for municipal trading dating back to the time of Charles I. An agreement was signed by the Royal Burghs on May 28th, 1694, which provided that the capital of the Company should be fixed at £30,000 sterling, divided into 6000 shares of £5 each. On the lines of the Fishing Company established in the reign of Charles I., it was provided that half the shares should be offered for subscription in England, and that the management should be divided between the subscribers of the two countries equally.[1] As in the English Corporation, the Board was to consist of 30 assistants, from whom the governor, deputy-governor, and treasurer were to be chosen.[2] The voting rights were limited to one vote for every five shares, with the proviso that no holding of shares entitled the owner to more than five votes, or, in other words, any investment beyond £125 sterling had no vote.[3] Shareholders were entitled to a separate certificate for *each* share.[4] As in the White Paper Manufacture, Dupin was to receive 8/ per share, or 12½ per cent., for his efforts prior to the incorporation of the Company.[5]

The Royal Burghs, as a whole, had not come forward to subscribe, and in July few were interested in the Company. The Convention, after deliberation, recommended any burgh interested in the linen industry to join Dupin's Society,[6] so that it may be concluded that only a small part of the total capital proposed was actually paid up. Still, the increase to the

[1] *Articles of Agreement made and agreed on this twenty-eighth day of May, in the year of our Lord* 1694, *between the Royal Free Burrows. . . . of Scotland, who shall be pleased to subscribe and be concerned in the Scots Linen Subscription Book for the Linen Manufacture in that Kingdom on the one part, and Nicholas Dupin . . . in trust for the members who shall be pleased to subscribe and be concerned in the aforesaid manufacture in England, of the other part.* Edinburgh, 1694, pp. 1, 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 13. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 11. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[6] *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, 1677-1711, p. 194.

resources of the undertaking was sufficient to secure its financial stability for the time, and, in addition, to enable it to acquire additional properties. In 1695 mention is made of works at Logan's Close, in Leith, and of a bleaching ground at Corstorphine.[1] In the same year the Committee of Trade recommended Parliament to encourage the Company, and permission was given to bring in such an Act as would be beneficial.[2] Accordingly the Company framed an overture for an Act, which was passed in due course by Parliament, giving the right (already granted by the Privy Council to the Newmills Company) of searching for and seizing linens not in conformity to the Act of 1693. The same measure extended the exemptions from excise to the properties recently acquired by the Company.[3]

In spite of the right of seizure of imperfect linens granted by the Acts of 1693 and 1695, in 1698 the Company complained to Parliament that the true making of linen was not observed, and for this reason Scotch linens were in disrepute abroad.[4] By 1700 the Acts for regulating the quality of linens had ceased to be obeyed, and an overture for a fresh enactment confirming previous legislation was introduced, but it did not become law.[5] Opinions expressed by apparently disinterested persons on the quality of linen made in Scotland were far from being harmonious. A writer comparing the state of manufactures at the beginning of the eighteenth century with the same industries at an earlier date says that 'all sorts of linens are now made finer, broader, and in larger pieces,'[6] and another describes the flax industry in general terms as having arrived 'at a very good degree of perfection.'[7] There is, however, reason to believe these statements were too optimistic. It was said in 1706, that if Scotch linens were rightly made three times as much could be sold abroad.[8] Indeed, there is an accumulation of evidence that fine linens were not produced to any considerable extent in

[1] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix. p. 430.

[2] Parliamentary Papers, *circa* 1695, 'List of Acts to be desired.'

[3] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix. p. 430.

[4] *Ibid.*, x. Appen. p. 22.

[5] Parliamentary Papers, 1700. 'Overture for an Act of Parliament for Measuring and Sealing of Linen and Woollen Cloth.'

[6] MS. on 'Improvements may be made in Scotland for advancing the Wealth of the Kingdom' (Advocates' Library, Wodrow MSS., 33. 5. 16), f. 15.

[7] *A Letter to a Member of Parliament.* Edinburgh, p. 9.

[8] *An Essay on Industry and Trade.* Edinburgh, 1706, p. 10.

Scotland till after the Union. Not only so, but owing to the continued export of defective, and it is to be feared dishonestly described linens, there was a prejudice in foreign markets against Scottish manufactures.[1] These circumstances constituted a serious handicap to the 'Scots Linen Manufacture,' for it could not produce on a sufficiently large scale if it could not find a market abroad, and it could not sell readily either abroad or in England, owing to the prejudice against Scottish linen. It was therefore to be expected that the Company could not continue to pay its way; and it would appear that, during the first few years of the eighteenth century, the undertaking was wound up and the buildings let. An advertisement which appeared in the *Edinburgh Courant* in August 1708 sets out that the undertakers of the woollen manufactory at Paul's Work, at the foot of Leith Wynd, with the several houses there and at Bonnington Mills, are prepared to let these premises, together with 'the money that is paid yearly by the good town of Edinburgh for the maintenance and teaching of poor boys.' This seems to apply to a woollen factory[2] which was situated near the property of this company, and the date at which the linen company retired from business is uncertain.

W. R. Scott.

[1] Similarly the Newmills Company was unable, in 1701, to sell cloth it had exported to Holland.

[2] Some account of this undertaking will be given in a later article.

The Bishops of Dunkeld

Notes on their Succession from the time of Alexander I. to the Reformation

Concluded

AS to the date of Browne's death (see *Scottish Historical Review* i. 428), Gavin Douglas writing to Wyllyamson from Perth 18 Jan. 1515 says the bp. of Dunkeld died 'this Monday 15 Jan.' (Letters and Papers, Henry VIII. ii. No. 44). Mr. A. H. Millar has reminded me that the bishop was a son of George Brown, Treasurer of Dundee, and has pointed to the bishop's founding in the parish church of Dundee an altar dedicated to Saint Mary and the Three Kings of Cologne (see R.M.S. iii. No. 157). Browne's parentage is noted by K.

ANDREW STEWART. Brother of John 2nd Earl of Atholl. See A. F. Steuart's article on the Earls of Atholl in Sir J. Balfour Paul's *Scots Peerage* i. 442.

Myln (pp. 70-71) gives an ugly account of the pressure put upon the canons of Dunkeld by the Earl of Atholl to secure the see for his brother. While the aged Bishop Browne was *in extremis*, a report went out that he was dead, whereupon the Earl appeared at Dunkeld and asked that his brother Andrew, prebendary of Crage (Cragyne) should be elected to the see. Some of the canons being connected with him by blood, and others fearing the loss of their possessions, assented to his wishes. As soon as the funeral of Browne was over the canons convened in chapter, and fixed the day for the election, the absent canons being cited by public proclamation. When the day arrived the chapter with one consent postulated Andrew Stewart, who was then not even a subdeacon.[1] A message was sent to John, Duke of Albany, governor of the kingdom and guardian of the King, who then happened to be in France. He refused to have anything to do with the disposal of bishoprics till he had returned to the country. He landed May 16, 1515. And shortly after the Queen, on the advice of the lords of the council, gave the consent on the part of the King. But the Pope advanced another (see next entry). Stewart was provided by the Pope to Caithness on 2 Dec. 1517 (B. 149).

[1] In James V.'s letter (28 Sept. 1516) to Leo X. he describes Stewart as 'ecclesiae, licet non in sacris, Canonicum.' *Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 222.

GAVIN (GAWIN) DOUGLAS, Provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, and Rector of Hauch (*i.e.* Prestonkirk), and Parson of Linton. Hauch has been by some incorrectly understood as Hawick. Linton was assigned at an early date as a prebendal church of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar. He was also Postulate of Arbroath, to which abbey he had been nominated shortly before 13 Nov. 1513 (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* i. No. 4456). At an early date he had been granted the teinds of Monymusk (see Small's *Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas* I. vi.), and he appears to have once held the parish of Glenquhom (Glenholm in Peeblesshire), but the date is uncertain (*Ib.*). He was, 'referente reverendissimo Cardinale de Medicis,' advanced to the see by Leo X. (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 222). He was the third and youngest son of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus. It was believed at the time that English influence obtained his promotion from the Pope (Myln). Queen Margaret supported his claims with her brother Henry VIII.;[1] and in a letter of Gavin Douglas himself (dated Perth, 21 Jan. 1515—a week after Browne's death) to Adam Williamson, he writes, 'Foryet not to solyst and convoy weyll my promotion to Dunkelden, as ye luf me, for I haf gevyn the money quhar ye bad me.' (Pinkerton, *Hist. of Scotland under the Stuarts*, ii. 464).

On 29 June, 1515, Gavin, elect of Dunkeld, paid at Rome, by the hands of his proctor, 450 gold florins. *Obligaz.* (B. 129.)

After the return of the Governor, Gavin Douglas was judged as having infringed the statutes of the realm, and condemned to imprisonment in the sea-tower in custody of John Hepburne, vicar-general of St. Andrews, *sede vacante*, 16 July 1515 (Letters and Papers, Henry VIII. ii. No. 779). It was about a year before he was released. He was admitted to the Temporalities 16 Sept. 1516 (R.S.S. v. 71). The Pope had frequently pleaded for his release: see letter of 28 Sept. 1516 (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 222).

He was soon after consecrated (according to K., who does not cite his authority) by Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow at his cathedral church. The date of the consecration I have not been able to ascertain. But in the MS. *Formulare Instrument. Ecclesiast.* in the Library of the University of St. Andrews we find what has led Joseph Robertson (*Stat. Eccl. Scot.* i. p. cxxxiii, note) to say that Gavin Douglas was consecrated at St. Andrews by the archbishop of that see, assisted by John, bp. of Brechin, and James, bp. of Dunblane, 'our suffragans.' It was a time, it must be remembered, when Archbishop Forman had been endeavouring to get the Pope to restore to the province of St. Andrews the suffragan sees of Dunkeld and Dunblane. The original bull of Leo X., which effected this restoration, is not now, apparently, extant.[2] But Dunblane being spoken of as a suffragan see rather points to the obligation of Douglas being consecrated by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, for Dunkeld and Dunblane were at the same time restored to the metropolitan jurisdiction of St. Andrews.

[1] 22 Jan. 1515 (Letters, etc., Henry VIII.: ii. No. 47).

[2] See *Stat. Eccl. Scot. l.c.*

In the *Formulare* we find a form of oath taken, or to be taken, at Dunfermline by Gavin promising obedience and fidelity to the Archbishop of St. Andrews. May it not be that Douglas (who might well have disliked being consecrated by his successful rival for St. Andrews) had himself consecrated by the Archbishop of Glasgow, and afterwards took the oath of fealty to St. Andrews? If the consecration were at St. Andrews it would be natural that the oath would be taken there. We await further light on the matter. It should be remembered that the *Formulare* is a book of styles; and cannot be relied on for facts. This fact has been forgotten by Small in his excellent biographical sketch of Gavin Douglas prefixed to his *Poetical Works*.

To obtain actual possession of his see was a task of much difficulty. The adherents of Andrew Stewart were in occupation of the palace and the steeple of the cathedral. And Myln gives a graphic and interesting account of the struggle, in which Douglas was at last successful, on compromising matters with Stewart, who was allowed to retain all the fruits of the bishopric which he had received, and was granted the churches of Alyth and Cargill on his paying to the bishop certain chalders of victual.[1]

He was declared a rebel by Albany 12 Dec. 1521 (*Letters, etc., Henry VIII.* iii. No. 1857) and forced to fly into England with his nephew Angus, and was in London in the end of December, 1521. His denunciation as a traitor was ratified under the great Seal of Scotland, 21 Feb. 1522: the fruits of the see sequestrated; and letters were ordered to be addressed to the Pope not to appoint him to St. Andrews or Arbroath (*Ib.* No. 2063). He died of the plague in London in the year 1522, in Lord Dacre's house in St. Clement's Parish, between 10 Sept., when his will was executed, and 19 Sept., when it received probate. The will is printed by Small: (*Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas* I. pp. cxvii. ff.). The *Black Book of Taymouth* (117) gives 9 Sept. 1522 as his obit. Polydore Vergil, the friend of Gavin, gives us the information that 'pestilentia absumptus est'; but he, curiously enough, errs in assigning his death to 1521. (*Hist. edit.* 1556, p. 53.) He was buried in the chapel of the Savoy, where a monument was afterwards placed to his memory.[2]

ROBERT COCKBURN, bp. of Ross. On 24 April, 1524, the Pope translated Robert, bishop of Ross, to Dunkeld, 'now for two

[1] See also *Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 222. The active part taken by Douglas in the politics of the time must be studied in the records of the civil history of Scotland. His contributions to the literature of the country in his rendering of the Æneid of Virgil are well known.

[2] On 5 August, 1514, the queen-regent wrote to Leo X. requesting that the monastery of Arbroath (vacant by the death of the young Archbishop of St. Andrews at Flodden) should be given to Gavin Douglas (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* i. 199), and sought for his appointment to the primacy. See my notes on St. Andrews in the *Journal of Theological Studies* v. 260.

Gavin Douglas had a natural daughter, maternal ancestor of the house of Sempil of Foulwood. See Pinkerton's *History, etc.*, i. 198, note.

years void by the death of Gavin (Galvini).' Revenues, 3000 florins; tax, 350 florins (*Barberini*). On 27 May, 1524, Cockburn's proctor offered 450 gold florins. The bulls are dated 27 April, 1524 (B. 119-30). He witnesses as 'bp. of Dunkeld' on 6 May, 1524 (R.M.S. iii. No. 262), obviously before the bulls had reached Scotland. While Robert was in England, together with Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis, and Alexander Myln (author of the *Vitae Dunkeldensium Episcoporum*), now abbot of Cambuskenneth, as ambassadors to obtain a truce, which was ratified 29 Nov. 1524 (*Fœdera*, xiv. 27), he distinguished himself by the eloquence and elegance of his Latin speech, which was much admired by the English (Lesley, *De Reb. Gest.* 394). While he was in England on this occasion the bulls of his appointment reached Scotland. On 14 Sept. 1524, Robert was admitted to the Temporality of Dunkeld (R.S.S. vii. 92). James V. writes on 15 Sept. 1524 to the Pope (Clement VII.) complaining that he heard that the bp. of Dunkeld had granted pensions from the fruits of the see, and among them a pension to James Creichton, a Dominican friar, who was by his vows disqualified from holding it (T. No. 954).

We find the bp. of Dunkeld in Parliament on 16 Nov. 1524 and 5 July and 3 Aug. 1525 (*Act. Parl.* ii. 285, 291). He was alive 4 Jan. 1525-26 (see charter cited in Macdonald's *Armorial Seals* No. 453). His death can be approximately dated by the next entry. I know no reason to question the correctness of an entry in the Chronicle of James MacGregor, Notary Public and Dean of Lismore (who is said to have died about 1542) where it is said that Robert Cokburne died 12 April 1526 at Dunkeld in his palace and was buried in the choir of Dunkeld. The Chronicle is printed in *Archæologia Scotica*, iii. 318-328. I have no doubt the entry in *Black Book of Taymouth* (120) suffers from error of transcription: (12 April) M.Vc. xxxj. should read M.Vc. xxvj.

GEORGE CHRICHTON, abbot of Holyrood, to which he had been provided as long before as 3 June, 1500, by Alexander VI. *Vatic.* (Brady, B. 182). He was Keeper of the Privy Seal 1515-1528. On 21 June, 1526, the King, with consent of Parliament, ratifies letters of commendation to the Pope for the promotion of George to Dunkeld (A.P. ii. 305). These could not have reached the Pope, when on 25 June, 1526, the Pope provides George, abbot of the monastery of Holyrood, near Edinburgh, to the Church of Dunkeld in Scotland, void by the death of Robert. He is granted leave to celebrate 'secundum usum ipsius ecclesiae,' and to wear a rochette, and other ornaments, after the manner of bishops who are not regulars. He is given leave to retain the house of the manor which he has in the barony of 'Brouken' (? Broughton) of the value of 35 pounds sterling, in lieu of an annual pension on resigning the monastery. *Barberini* and *Chigi*. (B. 130.)

On 17 July, 1526, Franciscus Butrius, merchant of Florence, offers, in the name of 'George, elect of Dunkeld,' 450 gold florins. *Obligaz.* (B. 130). But he had been elected or nominated by the Crown con-

siderably earlier, for we find 'George, bp. of Dunkeld' on 6 April, 1526 (Dunfermline, 375).

In Parliament in 1526, 1527, 1528, 1530 (A.P. ii. 308-334). He concurred in the sentence on Patrick Hamilton 29 Feb. 1527-28 (Keith's *History*, i. 331). For an account of a hospital (two chaplains and seven bedesmen) dedicated to St. Thomas, founded (1541) by Bishop Crichton, near the Watergate of Canongate, Edinburgh, see Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, 154-5.

In Nov. 1543, he describes himself as of great age, and says 'he may not goodly travel to visit his cathedral kirk' (*Acts and Decreets* i. 520). He must have been a very aged man, for it seems that he had taken his Master's Degree at St. Andrews in 1479 (see D. Laing, *Works of John Knox*, i. 105, note). We find him witnessing 9 Dec. 1543 (R.M.S. iii. No. 2973).

George Crichton died in January (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 185); before 20 Jan. 1543-44, when a gift was made of the temporality of the see to the Abbot of Paisley (R.S.S. xviii. 24) a reference I owe to Dr. J. Maitland Thomson. The reference in Keith to 'State Letters' (by which he must have meant *Epistolae Regum Scotorum* ii. 183-4) proves that Crichton died, not *on* (as K.) but *before* 24 Jan. 1543-44, on which day Queen Mary wrote to Paul III. announcing the death of George bishop of Dunkeld, and designating for the vacant see the Abbot of Paisley, brother of James, earl of Arran, Governor of the Kingdom. She further prayed that Hamilton, the abbot, might retain the abbey of Paisley, and that from the fruits of the see one thousand pounds Scots might be reserved to Alexander Campbel brother of the earl of Argyll: and begs that if any grant had *per incuriam* been made to Robert Crechtoun (see below) the Pope would declare it null. It is evident that Creighton had been dealing at Rome for the see of Dunkeld before the death of his uncle George. In another letter of 24 Jan. 1543-4 the Queen writing to Rudolph 'Cardinalis Carpensis' urging as above further asks that the Abbot of Paisley when promoted to Dunkeld might be dispensed from wearing the Cluniac habit and wear a rochet, etc. (*Epist. Reg. Scot.* ii. 187).

JOHN HAMILTON, Abbot of Paisley, natural son of James, first Earl of Arran.[1] See close of last entry.

On 17 June, 1544, James, Governor of Scotland, wrote to Paul III. saying that he had written 'once and again' concerning Dunkeld, and had urged that John, Abbot of Paisley, 'germanum nostrum,' should be appointed. He adds that 'a wicked competitor,' by 'largitione,' had caused the matter to be protracted. He expresses much indignation (T. No. 1067). On the 5 Dec. 1544, the Queen wrote to the Pope on

[1] On 18 May, 1525, John *Burnet* [could this be his mother's name ?], a bastard, 'sed de Regia prole natus,' was granted the *commendam* of Paisley. He was then in his 15th year: dispensed for defects of birth and age. *Redditus*, 1000 florins; *taxa*, 600 florins; *Barberini* (B. 206). Admitted to temporality of Paisley, Sept. 1525 (R.S.S. vii. 1).

behalf of Hamilton, and begs that the revenues of the see should not be burdened with more than one pension, namely, of 1000 pounds of 'our money,' to be assigned to 'a certain noble' (not named, but see above). Before this letter can have reached the Pope, he, on 17 Dec. 1544, provides to the church of Dunkeld, void by the death of 'George Chreetoun,' late bishop, John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley. Two pensions were assigned—one, of 50 gold ducats, to Robert Waucop, presbyter of the diocese of St. Andrews, Professor of Theology; the other, of 1000 pounds Scots, to Alexander Capell [Campbel], clerk of the diocese of Dunkeld. A dispensation for defect of birth is granted to John, and for defect of sight to Robert. Tax, 450 florins. *Barberini* (B. 130-2).

But Hamilton's provision was met by an alleged provision, granted by apostolic authority, to Robert Chreeton, 'provost of the church of Edinburgh.' On 8 Jan. 1546, the question was remitted to several Cardinals to deal with extra-judicially and bring about a friendly settlement. *Barberini* (B. *ibid.*).

In the Parliament held in August, 1546, Hamilton sat as 'elect of Dunkeld' (*Act. Parl.* iii. 468). Creighton was accused in Parliament of having invaded the Queen's right of nomination, and the Advocate in the Queen's name pursued for the reduction of 'ane pretendit decrete given be certane cardinalis deput be the Papis halyness.'

John is 'elect' 21 Aug. 1546; and 'bishop' 24 Aug. 1546 (P.C.R. i. 38, 39). John is bp. of Dunkeld 11 Oct. 1547 (*Id.*) On 28 Nov. 1547 he was, by the Pope, translated to St. Andrews (B. i. 127), but does not appear to have come into actual possession for a considerable time.

On 20 March, 1546-7, the Queen begs from Edward VI. a safe conduct to pass through England for John, bp. of Dunkeld, 'evil vexed with infirmity and continual sickness.' Bain's *Calendar of Scottish Papers* (1547-1564), p. 3.

The date of Hamilton's consecration may be approximately determined by a comparison of entries in the Great Seal Register (iv. 1742, 1836, 1869; and v. 812, 871, and 2292). These point to his having been consecrated between 5 Aug. 1546 and 8 Jan. 1546-7. From the same references (leaving out of consideration the second, which is obviously blundered, and the fourth, which may be blundered) we gather that his translation was between 1 April and 4 Aug. 1549. The fourth reference, if accepted, would put his translation not later than 7 April, 1549, which, however, disagrees with the other evidence.[1]

He is certainly only 'postulatus Dunkeldensis' on 31 July, 1546 (Books of the Privy Council cited in R.A. i. p. lix): and he is 'elect of Dunkeld' on 14 Aug. 1546 (*Act. Parl.* ii. 471). The latter date still further restricts the limits between which his consecration took place.

[1] There is a charter in the Spalding Club's Collections for Aberdeen and Banff (386) which makes 5 Nov. 1555 in the ninth year of his translation, and of his consecration the eleventh. It is evident that whoever drafted the document has erred with regard to both translation and consecration.

Hamilton was translated to St. Andrews 28 Nov. 1547, according to Brady; but on this see my *Notes on the Succession of the Bishops of St. Andrews* in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oct. 1903). Keith refers to a charter (Mar), in which Hamilton appears as bp. of Dunkeld as late as 14 June, 1549. It certainly looks as though he was bp. of Dunkeld 15 Sept. 1548 (Hist. MSS. Commission: Eglinton No. 76). And I have little doubt it is Hamilton's enthronement (incorrectly spoken of as consecration) which is referred to by Holcroft in his letter to Somerset 24 July, 1549; 'The busshope of Dunkeld [has gone] into St. Andros to be consecrat busshope therof, making great feastes.' (*Selections, . . . illustrating the reign of Queen Mary*: Maitland Club 37.)

ROBERT CREIGHTON (Creichtoun, Crichton, Creychtoun),[1] Provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, nephew of Bishop George Creighton (K.). As early as 7 Aug. 1546, Robert Creychtoun was summoned before Parliament as suspected of having procured a papal decree touching the purchasing of the bishopric of Dunkeld in opposition to Hamilton (A.P. ii. 469). See last entry. On Hamilton's translation to St. Andrews an effort was made by the Governor to induce the Pope (Paul III.) to appoint Donald, Abbot of Cupar. This Donald was Donald Campbell, fourth son of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, who is supposed to have succeeded to the abbacy in 1526.[2] On 26 March, 1548, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese wrote to the Queen of Scots that the Pope was reluctantly unable to do as the Queen wishes in the matter of the appointments to Dunkeld and Glasgow. (*Calendar of Scottish Papers*, 1547-1603, vol. i. p. 103.) In a memorial sent 22 April, 1550, to the King of France by the Queen-Dowager, the Governor, and others, it was declared that the Pope (Julius III.) 'postpones the said promotion [of Donald] to Dunkeld by the importune solicitation and wrong information of one Master Robert Crichton, who on this manner intends to purchase the same, but (without) any supplication or licence of my lord Governor, or any having authority for the time, to the great hurt of the Queen's Grace's privilege, which is and aye has been in use, that no promotion of prelacy pass in Rome, but (without) the prince's supplication therefor.' The memorial then begs the King of France 'to write rycht effectuouslie' to the Pope, the Cardinals, and the French ambassador at Rome to preserve the Queen's privilege (*Register of the Privy Council*, vol. i. p. 91: the document is printed in the appendix to Bishop Keith's *History of the Affairs of Church and State*, vol. i. pp. 440-448, edit. of the Spottiswoode Society).

The matter seems to have been long under consideration at Rome, for on 2 Dec. 1552 we find a record (wrongly supposed by Brady to refer to the dispute between Hamilton and Creighton) as follows: 'Reverendissimus D. Petrus, tituli Sanctae Balbinae presbyter cardinalis, Pachecus, retulit causam Dunkelden, et fuit remissum negotium ad

[1] Younger son of Sir Patrick Creighton of Cranston Riddell.

[2] Certainly the king's letters of commendation to the Pope on his behalf were ratified in Parliament 18 June, 1526 (*Act Parl.* ii. p. 302).

Reverendissimos Dominos de signatura gratiae Suae Sanctitatis, ut viderent et referrent.' *Barberini* (B. 132). On 13 June, 1549, there was a gift to Donald, Abbot of Cupar, of the Temporalities of Dunkeld 'during the vacance of the sege' (R.S.S. v. 23, fo. 33). The see is still vacant on 26 Jan. 1551-2 (*Ib.* v. 24, f. 118). Dr. Maitland Thomson has been so good as to furnish me with the following note. 'I find in *Reg. Sec. Sig.* xxvi. 35 Letters from the Estates of Scotland to the Pope and to the College of Cardinals dated 14 Kal. Oct. (*i.e.* 18 Sept.) 1553, complaining that Robert Crichton had not only solicited Provision to the see of Dunkeld without licence, but had raised an action in the Roman Court against Donald Abbot of Coupar, the queen's nominee, for the fruits of the see, the fact being that neither party had obtained possession and that the matter was pending before the Court of Session. On 12 April 1554 Robert Bishop of Dunkeld is one of the magnates who signs a bond to the Duke of Chattelherault (A.P. ii. 603) and on 1 May 1554 Mr. Alex. Campbell is presented to the Provostry of St. Giles vacant by resignation of Robert Bishop of Dunkeld (Reg. Sec. Sig. xxvii. 66).'

There is no record in the documents printed by Brady of the appointment of Creighton. We find him in the roll of Parliament Oct. 6, 1566 (*Act. Parl.* ii. 607). He was one of the forefaulted by Act of Parliament 30 Aug. 1571, and was a prisoner in Blackness Castle in 1573. He was restored to his rents 20 Aug. 1584 (*Act. Parl.* iii. 373). He grants a lease 21 Jan. 1584-85 (*Laing Charters*, No. 1092).

Creighton, the Primate, the Bishop of Dunblane, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, were the only prelates who dissented from the Confession in the Parliament that convened 1 August, 1560. At the request of the King the Town Council of Edinburgh gave leave for his burial in St. Giles, Edinburgh, 26 March, 1585. (See Dr. Cameron Lees' *St. Giles, Edinburgh*, p. 179), of which church he had formerly been provost. We find 'Robertus Dunkeldensis episcopus' on the Roll of Parliament 31 July, 1585 (A.P. iii. 423). It seems certain that 'Robertus' is a clerical error. We find Peter Rollock appointed bishop of Dunkeld 2 April, 1585, —the see being void by the *death* of Robert (R.S.S. lii. fol. 66). The notice above given as to his burial points to his death being perhaps a day or two before 26 March, 1585.

A few other particulars as to Robert Creighton may be recorded. On 15 April, 1573, it was, *inter alia*, contracted between Sir William Drury, General of Queen Elizabeth's forces, and Lord Ruthven that when the castle of Edinburgh fell into the hands of the English, Robert bp. of Dunkeld, with others, should be 'reserved to be justified by the laws of Scotland' (R.P.C. ii. 218). On 20 Dec. 1573, Sir Walter Ker of Cesford and another oblige themselves under a penalty of £10,000 that Robert, sometime bp. of Dunkeld, on being released from ward in Blackness shall repair to and remain in ward in Edinburgh (*Ib.* 319). For these cautioners were substituted, 4 May, 1576, George Lord Seytoun and the Master of Seytoun, and the sometime bishop was allowed to go to Seytoun or some other place belonging to the said Lord or else to remain in Edinburgh (*Ib.* 521). The tulchan bishop, James Paton, had been

appointed to the see in 1571, and on 27 April, 1573 had, as 'elect,' taken the oath of the King's supremacy before the Privy Council (*Ib.* ii. 223).

On 9 Feb. 1580-81, a very touching supplication of Robert Creighton in his old age and extreme poverty was presented to the Privy Council; and the bishop in possession (Paton) was mulcted to a certain extent for Creighton's sustentation during his life-time (*Ib.* iii. 356-358).

Creighton was the only bishop who had the courage to have an interview with De Gouda in 1562 (*Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots*: Scottish History Society, 122). He assisted at the baptism of the prince, afterwards James VI., according to the Roman rite, 15 Dec. 1566 (Spottiswoode, ii. 44) or 17 Dec. according to most accounts (see Sir A. H. Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, 262 note). David Laing considers that the date was Dec. 15 (*Knox's Works*, ii. 536).

APPENDIX I.

Notices of the Bishops of Dunkeld appointed by the 'Popes' during the Great Schism.

ROBERT DE DERLING. Robert de Deriling, bishop elect of Dunkeld, 'per amotionem Johannis ultimi episcopi ab demeritis, consecratus est Romae 30 Oct. anno secundo Pontif. Urban. VI.,' that is 30 Oct. 1379 (*Register* of Alexander Neville, archb. of York). His consecrator was Peter, bp. of Aemonia, or Citta Nuova. Derling served as suffragan of York 1380-1384 (Bishop Stubbs, *Regist. Sacr. Anglic.* (edit. 2nd), p. 197).

NICHOLAS DUFFIELD, Abbot of Pershore. Reference to some of his preferments to English benefices will be found in Stubbs (*l.c.*). He was suffragan of Worcester 1392-1421. He acted in the diocese of Hereford in 1404. He consecrated part of the buildings and the bells of New College, Oxford, in 1400.

WILLIAM GUNWARDBY, Rector of Houghton Conquest 16 March, 1452; suffragan of Lincoln 1431, and of Ely 1448-1454: died 1457. Stubbs (*l.c.*).

Fuller particulars as to these prelates have been collected by Dr. Rogers in his *Rental-Book of Cupar Angus*, pp. 66-71.

The seal of Nicholas is attached to a deed of about 1402, in the Westminster Chapter-house. It bears the legend S. NICHOLAI DEI GRA. EPI. DUNKELDEN, and is described in Laing's *Catalogue of Scottish Seals*, pp. 152-3.

Whether **THOMAS DE LEVINSTONE** Abbot of Dundrennan, who appears with the title of Bishop of Dunkeld, and had with great ability

opposed Pope Eugenius IV. and promoted the election of the Anti-Pope, Felix V., at the Council of Basle, was appointed, about 1440, by the Anti-Pope, or whether, as Mr. Joseph Robertson supposes, he abandoned the falling cause of the Anti-Pope, and was rewarded by the Pope with the title of Bishop of Dunkeld (S.E.S. i. preface, p. xcix), it is somewhat difficult to decide. Against the latter supposition it may be urged that Gunwardby (the Papal nominee) appears to have been acting as suffragan of Ely between 1448 and 1454; and, further, that when a vacancy occurred at Dunkeld Levingstone was not put into possession. On the other hand, if he had been appointed by the Anti-Pope, the fact of his not obtaining possession is at once explained. But further, we must remember that Felix V. (elected at the Council of Basle 5 Nov. 1439) was Duke of Savoy; and among the parts of Christendom which recognised him as Pope was Savoy. Now, on 25 May, 1447, a safe conduct was granted by Henry VI. of England 'pro Thoma de Levingstoune episcopo Dunkeldensi et administratori monasterii Sancti Cristofori extra muros Taurinenses, sacre theologie doctori, in regno R. Anglie ad presens existenti.' (*Rot. Scot.* ii. 330). Felix V. did not die till 7 Jan. 1451. Here, then, we have evidence that Levinston had, in addition to his titular dignity as bishop of Dunkeld, the administration of a monastery outside the walls of Turin, in that part of Italy which recognised Felix. It seems all but certain that he owed this preferment to Felix. Eugenius IV. died 23 Feb. 1447, and the close of the schism was now eminent. It may well be that Levinston was now preparing himself for the altered state of affairs. Scotland, his own country, had several years previously abandoned the cause of the Anti-Popes.

It is with hesitation that one differs from the opinion of so able and accurate a student of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs as Mr. Joseph Robertson, but one has the satisfaction of knowing that the view here contended for is that accepted by Dr. Grub (*Eccl. Hist.* i. pp. 379-380).

After Thomas Levinston's return to Scotland we find him styled sometimes 'bishop in the universal church'—the phrase applied to bishops not occupying a see—and sometimes 'bishop of Dunkeld in the universal church,' doubtless for the purpose of identification. The history of Levinstone's administration of the abbey of Cupar does not concern us, nor do the varying fortunes which attended him in his efforts to retain the rectory of Kirkinner in Galloway, originally granted to him by Pope Nicholas V. The story can be gathered by the curious from the pages of Theiner (Nos. 778, 789). He died before 10 July, 1460, when Pius II. directed Thomas Lawder, Bishop of Dunkeld, to confirm the election of John Hudton as Abbot of Cupar if he found the election to have been canonically celebrated (*Reg. Pii II. anno* 1460, tom xi. fol. 61). This was on the petition of Hudton, who states that vacancy had occurred through the death of Thomas, 'bishop in the universal church.'[1]

[1] Dr. Rogers has discussed the problem relating to Thomas Levinstone in the preface to his *Rental-Book of Cupar*, pp. 48-84.

APPENDIX II.

Addenda from Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, and *Corrigenda.*

Michael de Monymusk (see *Scottish Historical Review*, i. 320). His *obligavit*, 26 July 1372 (E. i. 241).

Between Michael de Monymusk and John de Peblys we find in E.

ANDREW, dean of Dunkeld, elect, provided by Gregory XI., 17 June 1377 (E. i. 241). Of this bishop, so far as I am aware, nothing is known, and he appears for the first time among the bishops of Dunkeld. Whether he was consecrated does not appear. Perhaps he died soon, or resigned, for see John de Peblys (*S.H.R.* i. 321). There is an *obligavit* of John de Peblys dated 19 Oct. 1379 (E. *l.c.*): but it is plain that this is considerably more than a year after his appointment by Gregory XI.

Corrigendum. See *Scottish Historical Review* l. 319, note [2]. For 'Kethensis' read 'Kethenis.'

From time to time in the course of these Notes acknowledgment has been made of my obligations to Dr. J. Maitland Thomson, Curator of the Historical Department of H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh: but these acknowledgments very inadequately indicate the extent to which I have been throughout indebted to him for his readiness to help out of the great stores of his learning in many cases of doubt and difficulty.[1]

JOHN DOWDEN.

[1] [As these pages were going to press Dr. Thomson sent me a note from a charter in the Slains' Charter-Chest, dated 4 Nov. 1557, being in the eleventh year of John Hamilton's consecration, and ninth of his translation. This further limits the date of his consecration to between 4 Nov. 1546 and (see above) 8 Jan. 1546-47.]

The Homes of the Claverhouse Grahams

POPULAR imagination pictures the Grahams of Claverhouse, through the generations during which they held the property, established in Claverhouse Castle, upon the Dichty, near Dundee. Not a stick or stone of such a structure remains, a fact of significance in view of the survival of its neighbours at Mains and Claypotts. Nor is its complete disappearance—assuming that it ever existed—a tragedy of recent generations. So long ago as 1793 the ruins of the asserted castle were unearthed by a farmer. It follows that if, as the *Statistical Account of Scotland* of that year states, the castle had the famous Graham of Claverhouse as its proprietor, it must, within a period of three generations, have fallen not only into complete decay, but actually have left no trace of its existence above ground. Such a rapid dissolution is well nigh incredible, and in itself tempts the suspicion that the ruin unearthed in 1793 never gave shelter to the Viscount of Dundee, if indeed it ever did to any of his predecessors. It is the purpose of this short paper to offer reasons for concluding that that inference is sound, and that a castle upon the Claverhouse property, at least within the Grahams' tenure of the estate, never existed.

The first Graham who owned the Claverhouse property was John Graham, the son of Robert Graham of Strathcarron and Fintry and his second wife Matilda Scrymgeour. On 9th March 1481, this John Graham obtained a charter of Ballargus in the regality of Kirriemuir. About twenty years later—the transaction can be placed between 1503 and 1511—he acquired the Claverhouse estate also. His principal residence was at Ballargus, a fact which is established by a charter to his grandson in 1541, erecting both properties into a single tenandry under the crown. There was also a residence upon the Claverhouse lands. The widow of the fourth laird dated her will from 'The Barns of Claverhouse' in 1594, and the name survives in a farm house upon the property, hard by the reputed castle. In 1612, again,

there is evidence to the existence of a residence upon the estate. There can be little question that it was the same building as that of 1594. From the circumstance that in the earlier year it was occupied by the dowager lady of Claverhouse the conclusion is suggested that the Claverhouse residence constituted a dower-house, while the family's principal seat was at Ballargus.

Until 1620 Ballargus and Claverhouse remained the two residences of the Grahams. In that year Sir William Graham purchased the estate of Claypotts, upon which there stood the small fortalice or castle which still exists, a building inconvenient and inadequate as a residence. Twenty years later, in 1640, Sir William made a more important purchase of Glenogilvie, near Glamis. From that date evidence points clearly to Glenogilvie as the home of the family.

There is no trace so far of a castle upon the Claverhouse estate. In 1683 there is testimony both to the existence of a residence upon the property and also to its unpretentious character. The first is furnished by Ochterlony of Guynd, who describes the Claverhouse building as the laird's 'special residence.' The second is a statement by Claverhouse himself. He was at that time in negotiation for the purchase of Dudhope Castle, and, writing to Queensberry on 20th March, 1683, bases his anxiety to acquire it on the fact that he possessed no 'house' and had not 'the patience to build and plant.' He expected to obtain, and did obtain very shortly, the constableship of Dundee. He was also on the verge of marriage with the Earl of Dundonald's granddaughter. On the first ground, he required a seat conveniently near to his constableship. On the second, he required a residence able to accommodate a considerable establishment—the town records of Dundee prove that his household at Dudhope was a large one. Neither the old Claverhouse residence of 1594 nor the fortalice of Claypotts was adequate.

In June, 1684, Claverhouse married the Honourable Jean Cochrane. His marriage contract is extant. It furnishes an exhaustive inventory of Claverhouse's properties. The residences at Claverhouse and Ballargus were not of sufficient pretensions to obtain even mention in it. In the light of this document, supported as it is by Claverhouse's letter to Queensberry a few months earlier, supported also by the earlier facts which have been displayed, no other conclusion can be held than that in 1684 there was no habitable 'castle' upon the Claverhouse estate. A

schedule of the Claverhouse properties forfeited in 1690 in the Douglas Inventory confirms the conclusion.

Such a conclusion runs counter to local opinion. One turns to the evidence which is relied on to support the tradition of a castle. Maps, unless they are strictly contemporary, cannot be relied on. There are two which may be mentioned. De Wet's map in 1670 marks Claverhouse with the sign which indicates a country house. A map of 1678 by the Reverend Robert Edwards, minister of Murroes, also shows 'Claverhouse' upon it. But it is obvious that neither map proves the existence of a 'castle.' All that can be stated is that in 1670, that is during Claverhouse's lifetime, there was a residence upon his Claverhouse property. That too is the limit of the inference to be drawn from Ochterlony of Guynd's description, *circ.* 1683, of the Claverhouse building as the laird's special residence.

How then did the tradition of a castle arise. Partly, no doubt, the neighbourhood of Mains and Claypotts suggested that the Claverhouse Grahams must also have had their castle. Chiefly the tradition is to be traced to the discovery in 1793, upon the Claverhouse property, of the ruins of a considerable building. Its site suggested it the home of the Claverhouse Grahams. At once Claverhouse Castle was placed upon the maps. That of John Ainslie in 1794 displays its site, and also the Barns of Claverhouse. Modern maps have followed him without enquiry. Claverhouse 'Castle' was an addition to local antiquities, and the erection of a sham ruin near the site about 1850 riveted belief in its genuineness.

Seeing that the ruin whose foundations were laid bare in 1793 is the single fact supporting the existence of a castle upon the Claverhouse property, what ground is there for accepting it as the home of the Grahams of Claverhouse? In the first place, it must be noticed, that as a habitable structure it was not in existence one hundred and ten years before its foundations were discovered. Claverhouse's statement to Queensberry, his marriage contract, the inventory of his forfeited estates, provide cumulating and unimpeachable evidence to the fact that no castle was upon the property in 1683. Indeed, having regard to the fact that all that remained of the building in 1793 was below the soil, the existence of a habitable structure in 1683 would be surprising, even if evidence were not available to prove it non-existent then.

In the second place, the charter of 1541 erecting the pro-

perties of Claverhouse and Ballargus into a single tenandry proves that at that time Ballargus and not Claverhouse was the principal seat of the family. That it was so is explainable on one of two hypotheses. Either Ballargus was a yet more imposing residence than Claverhouse, or the building whose foundations were unearthed in 1793 was in a ruinous and uninhabitable condition in 1541. On every ground the latter is the more reasonable. In the third place, the character of the building whose foundations were unearthed in 1793 is by no means established. The *Statistical Account* of that year mentions the discovery of the foundations of a 'Popish Chapel,' as it appeared to be, together with such relics as a font and altar. It is more probable that the so-called castle was a religious building, whose ruin dates from the Reformation, than that it was a secular residence.

Granting, however, that the foundations of 1793 were those of a castle, and though the building was a ruin in 1683, it may be suggested that the Grahams of Claverhouse built their castle subsequent to 1541. Such a suggestion is easily countered. It is difficult to imagine a castle built after 1541 an uninhabited ruin less than a century and a half later. It is difficult to explain the so-called Popish Chapel as a part of it, if the period of its construction was after and not before 1541. It is incredible that upon so small a property as Claverhouse, which already possessed one residence, a second residence so imposing as a castle should have been erected. It was not until the time of the fifth laird, Sir William Graham, that the family's possessions became considerable, and he was so far from expending money upon a residence at Claverhouse, that he purchased the manor-house and property of Glenogilvie.

To sum up the matter. The first owner of Claverhouse was a younger son. His father acquired Ballargus for him and settled him there, in a house and upon an estate such as a younger son might expect to enjoy. After his father's death this first Graham of Claverhouse added to his patrimony the neighbouring small estate of Claverhouse, upon which there existed a residence of no pretensions, but adequate to the size and value of the property, a building known then and now as the Barns of Claverhouse. This house thereafter served as a jointure or dower house, while the family seat remained at Ballargus. Early in the seventeenth century, however, the fifth laird of Claverhouse enormously extended the possessions of his family. Glenogilvie,

which a contemporary eulogises as a delightful residence, was one of his purchases, and from 1640 it superseded Ballargus as the home of the family. Claverhouse's mother is styled Lady Carnegie of the Glen in 1651. But in April, 1684, Claverhouse acquired Dudhope Castle. Dudhope and Ogilvie now stood, as Ballargus and the Barns of Claverhouse had stood in the previous century, as the seat and dower-house of the family respectively. Accordingly, it was Glenogilvie that Claverhouse settled in jointure upon his wife in June, 1684. Claverhouse 'Castle' as the home of the Grahams is emphatically a myth.

C. SANFORD TERRY.

Reviews of Books

THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Planned by Lord Acton, LL.D. Edited by A. W. Ward, Litt.D.; G. W. Prothero, Litt.D.; Stanley Leathes, M.A. Vol. I., The Renaissance, pp. xxxi, 807; Vol. II., The Reformation, pp. xxvi, 857; Vol. VII., The United States, pp. xxvii, 857. Royal 8vo. Cambridge: University Press, 1902-3. 16s. nett each.

THERE is a peculiar sadness attaching to the actual issue of the Cambridge History, for neither Lord Acton, to whom it owed its origin, nor Bishop Creighton, who wrote the short introduction, lived to see the publication of the first volume. We have long assigned to Dr. Creighton a place in the front rank of English historians, but the world is only just beginning to realise how much historical literature has owed to the influence of Lord Acton. No fitter monument could be raised to his memory than this great work on the history of the world since the middle of the fifteenth century. Available historical material has become so abundant that collaboration is essential. No single individual can attempt to do for any lengthy period what Gibbon did for the Middle Ages. Moreover so much good work lies scattered in individual volumes that few private persons can afford to gather a representative historical library; while a distinct step in progress in any department of learning is often marked if and when the results of investigation are focussed within a compassable space. Foreign nations have discovered this long ago: for ten years past historical teachers and readers have gratefully handled the nine volumes of Messieurs Lavisse and Rambaud's *Histoire générale*. Of course such collaborative work has all the disadvantages as well as the advantages of an encyclopædia. The value of the contributions must be unequal, and while some of them may retain their worth for a long time, a great many of the articles must needs be superseded by the results of later knowledge. Moreover, when the greater part of the work is concerned with the history of foreign lands there is the initial difficulty of the need for local atmosphere, which increases with nearness to modern times. In the case of America some attempt has been made to overcome the difficulty, and the history of the United States, is with the exception of the naval warfare, told entirely by American writers. The late Professor Kraus of Munich writes of Medicean Rome and Dr. Emil Reich of Hungary and the Slavonic kingdoms; otherwise the writers in these three volumes are all of the English-speaking races. Naturally there

are a great many Cambridge scholars, but others are by no means excluded. Resident Oxford teachers are not well represented, but many Oxford men tread once again the path which their labours have already helped to make familiar. In the first volume, devoted to the Renaissance, Mr. E. J. Payne deals with the early history of America, Mr. Armstrong tells us of Florentine history in connection with Savonarola, Mr. Burd of Machiavelli, Mr. Horatio Brown of Venice, and Mr. Butler Clark of Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella. The two articles likely to attract the most general attention are those on the Classical Renaissance by Sir Richard Jebb, and the Christian Renaissance by Dr. M. R. James. They make the unfortunate mistake of trying to say too much. At times the information becomes a mere catalogue of names. The interest is smothered under an overweight of imperfectly sifted learning. Perhaps it was difficult to entrust the account of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. to other hands than those of Mr. James Gairdner. He knows so much more about the documentary sources of information than any other living man. But he has said his say on this period of English history in more than one form, and he will not improve upon the account which he has given in his volume on the *History of the English Church*. This opportunity might well have been given to some younger scholar.

In the second volume, dealing with the Reformation, the accounts of Luther and Calvin have been entrusted respectively to the sympathetic hands of Principal Lindsay and Dr. Fairbairn, but while the former is the production of a learned scholar such as we know Dr. Lindsay to be, the value of the latter is discounted by a number of generalisations savouring too much of the religious protagonist. Anglicans have some cause for complaint, for while other forms of the Reformed doctrines are dealt with by sympathetic exponents, the account of the Elizabethan settlement has been entrusted to Professor Maitland. The result is an exceedingly readable summary of and commentary on the events of the early years of Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots. Many critics have been annoyed by its 'flippancy.' It is a smart piece of writing even for Dr. Maitland, and, as an article in a Review, would attract interest and attention; but neither in Scotland nor among ecclesiastical historians in England will it be accepted as an authoritative, much less a final, pronouncement on the many vexed questions which it touches. Dr. Maitland writes avowedly as an outsider, and he has made an interesting point in noting the near relation in which the churches of the two countries stood to each other at this moment. But we must regret that of a critic and a lawyer the editors have made an ecclesiastical historian chronicling the deeds of persons whose motives he is incapable of understanding.

The third volume, which is numbered vii. in the series, deals entirely with America, which means, since 1776, the history of the United States. It is doubtless with one eye on the future destiny of the American people and another eye on the immediate American sale that the editors have consented to this somewhat disproportionate treatment

of one part of their subject. American writers have taken the history of their country so seriously and have treated it so voluminously that the English-speaking public will be glad to have the results of their studies in so compact a form. Mr. J. A. Doyle treats here, by no means for the first time, of early English Colonial life; Mr. A. G. Bradley appropriately tells the history of the Conquest of Canada, while Miss Mary Bateson brings her accustomed skill to bear upon the account of the French in America—a subject with which her name is not usually associated. The history of the economic development of the United States by Professor Emery of Yale will be read with interest: the confused details of the years preceding the great Civil War by Professor M'Master are set out with wonderful clearness and are not too overcrowded. This is an exception to the general rule. Most of the writers seem overburdened by the disproportion between their knowledge and the space at their disposal. As books of reference these and the companion volumes will be indispensable. A little more literary grace and a considerable winnowing of the material would have spread their usefulness to all students of history.

A word as to the bibliographies. The books are sorted under heads, but under those heads they are very indiscriminately lumped together. It is useful to know the names of the authors who have dealt with a given subject, but without some word, however short, on the value of their work the catalogue is useless except to a very few. The object of a publication such as this is to help the inexperienced student. As it is the bibliography is calculated simply to confuse him.

DUDLEY J. MEDLEY.

THE CELTIC AND SCANDINAVIAN ANTIQUITIES OF SHETLAND. By Gilbert Goudie, F.S.A.Scot. Pp. xvi, 305, with 42 illustrations. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1904. 7s. 6d. nett.

MR. GOUDIE has done well in reprinting in a collected form, with suitable revision, the papers relating to Shetland which he has contributed to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland during the past thirty years, and his book affords a notable instance of the virtue of perseverance in the investigation of a definite area. For though it does not pretend to be a complete systematic treatise on the antiquities of the Islands, the general result is fairly representative of the various lines that may be profitably followed by any one aiming at further research. And it would be difficult to find anywhere a field for original investigation more inviting to the student of archaeology, sociology, or local history than in this remote group of northern Isles. Their archaeology has points of contact on the one hand with that of Britain, and on the other with that of Scandinavia, but is to a large extent different from both, and peculiar to its own isolated area. Their history is interwoven with the hazy annals of Celtic Scotland, with the historical Norse Sagas, and with the formal records of feudal Scotland,

so that the study of their successive phases of culture and civilisation presents problems of peculiar interest and intricacy. Towards the solution of some of these problems Mr. Goudie's book contributes materials of value. He alludes to others of them incidentally, but it was not his function to discuss any of them exhaustively. His service to the subjects he has selected for treatment has been to recognise the value of unutilised material, to gather it together, and to place it beyond the risk of future dispersion and loss. In the first section he describes typical groups of the Prehistoric antiquities of the Islands, including the so-called Pictish Castles, three of which he has excavated, and of these detailed descriptions, with plans and drawings, are given. The Celtic Christian period is dealt with by descriptions of the sculptured and Ogham-inscribed monuments, many of which owe to him their discovery and preservation. The Scandinavian era is elucidated by descriptions of the Rune-inscribed monuments and sepulchral relics of the Viking time. A larger section, devoted to what is not the least interesting feature of the book, gives a series of documents in Norse and in Scots, which throw a flood of light on local usages in the transition period after the transference of the Islands to Scotland. The survival of the local authority of government is also fully dealt with, the jurisdiction of the Fouds, Lawrightmen, and Ranselmen of the Shetland parishes having been continued till towards the close of the eighteenth century, and in some cases even into the nineteenth. The last chapters give descriptions of a number of archaic survivals connected with the practical needs of the domestic economy and agriculture of the islands. Excellent illustrations of all these, and of the principal types of the pre-historic antiquities, add greatly to the interest and attractiveness of the book.

JOSEPH ANDERSON.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1902. In two volumes. Vol. I., pp. 648; Vol. II., pp. 527. Vol. II., Sixth Report of Historical MSS. Commission, with Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase. 8vo. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1903.

THE American Historical Association was founded at Saratoga on 10th September, 1884, and was incorporated by Act of Congress on 4th January, 1889. Its object is 'the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America.' The headquarters of the Association are at Washington, and the annual meetings were at one time held there, but in 1895, with the intent of awakening new interest and attracting the attention of history students, it was determined to hold some of the meetings in other places, especially under the auspices of the general direction of the Universities. In 1899 the Association met at Boston and Cambridge, in 1900 at Detroit and Ann Arbor, Mich., in 1901 at Washington, D.C., and in 1902 at Philadelphia.

The Report of this last meeting with a selection of the papers

read before it is contained in the first of the above volumes. The papers are of wide and varied interest. Some deal with subjects of European interest, such as the French Parliaments and Municipal Problems in Mediaeval Switzerland. Others treat of minute points in American history, useful to writers of history, but hardly of general interest, as for instance a long article on Party Politics in Indiana during the Civil War. A similar article on the Anti-Masonic Party by Charles M'Carthy is made attractive by its exceedingly skilful treatment of the subject. One session of the meeting was devoted to diplomatic history. Mr. Hiram Bingham, Jr., read an interesting account of the Scots Darien Settlement in 1698. A paper by Professor Lindley M. Keasbey of Bryn Mawr College, on the National Canal Policy contains a valuable discussion on the relative merits of the Nicaragua and Panama routes. Since the postulate is that the canal is to belong to the United States, and virtually to constitute its coast line, it is preferable to carry it through Nicaraguan territory, where it will round off the United States possessions and will lie in a fertile country sure to be occupied ere long by American colonists and developed by American capital. The Panama route, on the other hand, leads across an unwholesome tropical forest, cut off from the United States base by hundreds of miles of tangled undergrowth and far south of the natural course of their coasting trade. A paper by Professor William Macdonald of Brown University, 'A neglected point of view in American Colonial History,' is a plea for studying the American colonies as a part of the history of English colonization, as only by such study can American history be known. As he justly says, 'An appreciation of this palpable fact would dissipate the atmosphere of provincialism with which our history is still inclosed.' He makes the interesting point that the West Indian Sugar Colonies and the Thirteen American Colonies should not be separated by the historian. The former were American Colonies, and were to the British Government actually of more importance than those which afterwards became the United States.

In 1895 the Association organised an 'Historical MSS. Commission,' with functions similar to our own. Its sixth Report forms the second volume of the publication now before us, and gives us the diary and correspondence of Salmon P. Chase, the famous anti-slavery worker, Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Lincoln, and afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The volume contains much valuable matter, but would have been made more useful and more readable by considerable excision. Mr. Chase was a man of ability, but his letters do not do him justice. He had not the gift of letter-writing. His style is bald and jejune, and there is necessarily a good deal of repetition. The most interesting portion of the volume contains the letters from George S. Denison when at New Orleans. The volume is full of names familiar to all of us forty years ago, but whom we are to some extent beginning to forget, Lincoln and Jeff. Davis, Gen. Butler and Gen. M'Clellan, Seward, Summer and Stanton Hamlin, John Jay and Reverdy Johnson. The last of the letters is from Johns Hopkins, then

comparatively unknown, but whose name is now world-wide, and refers to the great foundation which has made him so prominent. A sentence of Lincoln's recalls an active worker in New York now gone. 'What a strong, steady, working, glorious friend you have in Hiram Barney! It is really worth living to have one such friend—so true a man.'

The Index to this second volume is quite inadequate. To make such a book useful it should have an Index as full as those of the *New England Historical Genealogical Register*, or as those in the volumes of the *English Historical Commission Reports*. The Index to the first volume is, however, excellent, and the list of the publications of the Association is most serviceable.

DAVID MURRAY.

INFLUENCE OF THE PRE-REFORMATION CHURCH ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES. By James Murray Mackinlay, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. xx, 463. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1904. 12s. 6d. nett.

MR. MACKINLAY has written a very useful and entertaining volume. So far as it goes it is unquestionably the best and most exhaustive we have on the subject. Extensive research and judicious criticism are evident on every page. Celtic etymology is beset with very considerable difficulties, and the changes which Celtic names, and names adopted into that language, undergo are often bewildering and marvellous. Eunan is a fair metamorphosis of Adamnan, but Skeulan and Arnold are puzzles. Mr. Mackinlay, however, has not rested on etymology alone; he has called in to his assistance history and hagiology, with the best results.

Wide as Mr. Mackinlay's researches have been, there are two or three works not mentioned in his list of authorities which might have been consulted with advantage—such, for instance, as Colgan's *Acta* and *Trias Thaumaturga* and O'Hanlin's *Lives of the Irish Saints*. A judicious use of these might, I imagine, have enabled him to make his volume more exhaustive than it is.

Chapters v. and following are more satisfactory than chapters i. to iv., for the reason that in the later chapters Mr. Mackinlay has in each of them a definite theme before him, and his paragraphs are well arranged; while in the earlier his theme is too indefinite or too large, and his paragraphs are not well arranged. One is hurried about from one county to another, sometimes in the same paragraph.

After all, the broad proposition that the pre-Reformation Church has had a great influence on Scottish place-names is so obvious that one does not care to spend much time in reading illustrations of it. What one wants to know is how a saint's name came to be associated with this or that place, and why his rather than that of another? Why one saint was more popular than another? And, in the case of Scotland, whether Celtic dedications predominate over Roman, and what led to the selection of this or that saint from the Roman Calendar? We know why the church

at Whithorn was dedicated to S. Martin, St. Rule to S. Rule, and St. Andrews to S. Andrew, but how are we to account for a dedication to S. George near Thurso, or for one to S. Peter at Peterhead, or for Kilpeter in Renfrewshire? One can understand why there are dedications to S. Nicholas at Prestwick and Aberdeen; they are both near the sea; but how comes there to be one to him in the inland town of Lanark? S. Roche, or Rollock, is the patron of those who are smitten with the plague. During the dark and middle ages the plague was perpetually hovering about Scotland. Were there any particular reasons why we should have dedications in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Stirling, and Paisley, and not in other places? These and similar problems are those which, as it seems to me, are now waiting to be answered.

Turning to the Celtic Saints whose names appear in the topography of the country, one cannot help admiring the restraint Mr. Mackinlay has exercised in writing about them. With the identification of their names he has as a rule been successful. Their personal identification is another and more difficult affair. The same name was often borne by more than one, and, without their date and day, to tell to which of the ten or a dozen Marnocks, say, a dedication belongs, is often a work of faith or conjecture.

Sir Herbert Maxwell, I believe, has given the right explanation of Candida Casa, or Whithorn. The church was so called because it was built of stone and lime, and to distinguish it from those which, though constructed of stone, were built without lime and were called Black Churches. If correct, this explanation accounts for Whitekirk in Haddingtonshire and Whitekirk in Tyrie, both of which are very ancient dedications.

The mention of S. Ninian's Cross at Paisley recalls the fact that its situation is marked by a Corsehouse. On the Moss of Paisley there was formerly a patch known as the 'Monks' roomes.' I am not aware of a St. Martin's burn in Paisley, but I have seen Martin written for Mirin. There is a Ladyburn, so named after a chapel of Our Lady, and a Ladylane, which in all likelihood has a similar origin. 'Sacel-hill,' now Saucel hill, is rightly derived. 'Chapel,' however, stands for a real chapel. It served the hunting lodge of the High Stewards in the Forest of Paisley at Blackhall. The priest of it is named in the register of the monastery the Chaplain of Blackhall. Crossing to the other side of the country, Magdalene Green or Yard is not the same as Magdalene Gare. *Gare* and *Yard* have different origins. A *gare* is a three-cornered or triangular piece of land. Such a piece forms the east end of Magdalene Green, and is properly Magdalene Gare, Dundee. The modern form of the word is 'gore,' and appears in Gorebridge and Kensington Gore, and is disguised under Magdalene Guard and Guard Bridge. Magdalene Yard is, of course, Magdalene Green. St. Fort, on the other side of the Tay, is, I am afraid, a pure myth, and has been developed out of the Fife pronunciation of Sandford.

To those who care for the subject this book is full of information, and not less of entertainment. To the student of Scottish Hagiology, as well as to the topographer, it will be invaluable, and save endless trouble.

W. M. Metcalfe.

CHARLES II. By Osmund Airy, M.A., LL.D. With portrait. Pp. xii, 416. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1904. 6s. 6d. nett.

IN spite of himself Charles II. has always remained an attractive figure, and in reading Mr. Airy's brilliant monograph one falls anew under the spell of its subject. The contrary influences Catholic and Protestant surrounded him from his birth, and the religious conflict soon made him see the wisdom of one of his early governors who bade him 'beware of too much devotion for a King, for one may be a good man and a bad King,' so that he readily followed that instruction, and also that which directed him not to be 'an anchoret or a capuchin' nor 'a Diogenes in your tubb.' The troublous times early displaced any authority his father may have possessed over him, and he fell under the power of his intriguing mother, whose blood bound her to the policy of France, and there he was also soon forced to take refuge. An abortive flirtation with 'La grande Mademoiselle' followed, and the young prince was no new hand at the game [Mr. Airy accepts James de la Cloche du Bourg as his eldest son, born in Jersey in 1646], and was soon after courting Lucy Walter, who as 'Mrs. Barlow' for a short spell claimed to be his lawful wife, when his father's execution, which he was powerless to prevent, opened up a new vista. Over his next few years one would fain draw a veil; the abandonment of Montrose was bad enough, but bad also was the tyranny the Covenanters exercised over the wretched king of their own making. Charles found himself 'The Poore King who had nothing of it but the name,' his power *nil*, his amusements proscribed, except golf which 'not being of the nature of vanity' was permitted. We cannot be surprised when the puppet king escaped in the ill-executed 'Start' to Clova, which brought the Presbyterians to reason and to crown him at Scone on 1 January, 1651. Argyll then played for himself, and offered him the hand of his daughter, Lady Anne Campbell, but this was vetoed by the pride of the Queen mother. The invasion of England, 'Boscobel' and the King's extraordinary escape abroad followed, and in all that dangerous time, and the miserable exile following it, we cannot but wonder at his continuous good spirits in evil fortune. Mr. Airy shows the anxiety of the English for a Restoration at any price for the sake of peace, and gives due credit to Charles' clemency, but he indicates the persecutions by the Anglican Church, and discloses the personal policy of the King, which was absolutely selfish. 'I desire you' (wrote the King to his sister) 'to take as much as you can out of the King of France's head that my ministers are anything but what I will have them,' and with these puppet ministers he entered into that discreditable subordination to France for the sake of a subsidy to free him from the need of Parliamentary supplies, and consequently into the disgraceful Dutch War, a policy which, by reflex action, brought to the popular mind the unpleasant incident of the Popish Plot.

Into the lives of the King, Catherine of Braganza his Queen, the favourites, 'His Clevelands, his Nells, and his Carwells,' and his fondness for Monmouth and the bastards, we happily do not need to enter; but

Mr. Airy has done Louise de Kérouall tardy justice by indicating her refinement and even her dignity, and shows moreover, her empire over the higher feelings of Charles II. Hers, indeed, was the only intellect that could awaken them since his one pure love, his passion for his sister 'Madame,' which revealed itself in such charming letters, had been ended by her tragic death. In conclusion we must say that we are glad the Édition de Luxe of M. Goupil was published in this small form, and we would be grateful if more historians had the pleasant vivid style in which Mr. Airy depicts to us the 'Merry Monarch,' who was meant for things so much higher than those he achieved.

A. Francis Steuart.

The Mysteries of Mithra. By Franz Cumont, Professor of the University of Ghent, Belgium. Translated by Thomas J. M'Cormack, Principal of the La Salle, and Peru Township High School. With Frontispiece, Map, and Fifty Cuts, and Illustrations. Pp. xiv, 239. 8vo. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 6s. 6d. nett.

In primitive religion, nothing appears more reasonable than the worship of the daily miracle that gladdened and brightened the earth, and gave to the tiller of the soil his crops; this was a powerful deity, the veiling of whose face brought storm and disaster. No wonder that homage was paid to him, and temples erected in his honour.

To the elucidation of this Sun-god worship, Professor Cumont has devoted the labour of many years, and in his great work[1] he gives in detail a collection and critical description of the texts, inscriptions, references, and monuments, illustrating the worship of Mithra. In the present volume much of the detail of his discoveries is omitted, and it deals rather with the conditions to which these discoveries lead, and to the light they throw on the history of a faith, that, for a time, seemed likely to supplant the Polytheism of Greece and Rome, and to rival and overshadow even Christianity itself. The gradual development of the worship of the Persian Sun-god is traced from its origin among the Eastern Magi down to its adoption by the Romans, who were the most tolerant of all nations in matters of religion. Rome which before the Christian era had adopted or permitted the worship of Isis, Serapis, Astarte, Bellona, the Magna Mater, and the Syrian Goddess, received the worship of Mithra from the time-expired soldiers who had served in her Asiatic campaigns, and from the traders who followed in the wake of her armies. Adopted at first by the common people, the faith only became fashionable after the initiation of Commodus (180-192 A.D.) as a proselyte, and it then rapidly gained adherents, until it was formally instituted by Aurelian (270-275 A.D.).

From Rome the Mithraic cult was propagated to the limits of the

[1] Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra (Brussels, H. Lamartine.)

Empire in Europe and Africa. In Britain, traces of the worship have been found at Isca Silurum, Eburacum, and Deva, the head-quarters of the second, sixth, and twentieth legions. It appears to have been most popular among the cohorts of German auxilliaries that formed an important part of the British garrison. On the line of the Tyne-Solway Roman wall Mithraic inscriptions are plentiful, but it is only at Borcovicus, where a German cohort (prima cohors Tungrorum) was long stationed that a Mithraum has actually been found. Discovered by accident, and partially excavated in 1822 A.D. by the Rev. John Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, it was re-opened in 1898 by the Excavation Committee formed in connection with the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. The numerous sculptures and inscribed stones then found are now in the Roman Museum at Chesters, those found in 1822 being in the Black Gate Museum at Newcastle on Tyne, and they strikingly resemble those described by Professor Cumont, which were found in Continental Mithraums.

It is specially noticeable, that at Borcovicus the figures of the Dadophori or torch-bearing attendants on the Sun-god with raised and reversed torches, who are supposed to symbolize dawn and sunset, are duplicated in the same fashion as in a Mithraum found at Ostia; which in its size and general arrangements strikingly resembles the Borcovicus Mithraum. The fact that the camps on the Wall of Antoninus had been abandoned before the cult of Mithras was introduced in Northern Britain accounts for the absence of indications of the worship in them, the most northerly traces of it being found at Bremenium, a Camp on the Watling Street on the English side of the Cheviots.

The most interesting chapters are those which treat of the mysteries and the liturgy of the cult of Mithra. There appears to have been a sacrament in some respects resembling that of the Christian ritual, but Professor Cumont discredits the stories of human sacrifices and debased phallic rites attributed to the Mithraic worship. The reproductions from photographs of objects found in Mithraums are excellent in quality, and very fully illustrate the text. The work is that of an enthusiast, and throughout is carefully and well done, and the volume is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the religions that flourished under the protection of the standards of Rome. But in spite of all the new light thrown upon this hitherto obscure cult, the mysteries of Mithra are mysteries still.

J. P. Gibson.

Early Britain: Roman Britain. By Edward Conybeare. Pp. xxiii, 251, with map. Fcap 8vo. London: S.P.C.K. 1903. 2s. 6d.

Mr. Conybeare possesses the important qualification of being interested in his subject. But his book cannot be called a good one from any point of view. It is ill proportioned, ill arranged, and, it must be added, ill informed. About forty pages are devoted to 'Pre-Roman Britain,' and more than fifty to the futile 'Julian Invasion,' as against four each to

Agricola and to Hadrian, and a total of fourteen to the campaigns of Severus and the problem of the English Wall. There is no evidence of any serious acquaintance with the materials that have accumulated in recent years. Even the threadbare passages from classical writers are imperfectly known. Thus Tacitus is stated to have been present in person at the defeat of Galgacus, 'the slopes of the Grampians' being airily transported to 'somewhere near Inverness' (pp. 162 f.). Again, the 'famous rampart' between the Forth and Clyde is persistently attributed to Agricola (pp. 163, 198), Lollius Urbicus having only repaired it. '*Caespiticius*' appears as '*caespitius*' on the only two occasions on which it is used (pp. 198, 206). These examples are culled at random from the page or two that deal with North Britain. It would be only too easy to multiply them.

M.

EARLY BRITAIN: ROMAN ROADS IN BRITAIN. By Thomas Codrington. Pp. v, 386, with large chart of the Roman Roads, and small maps in the text. Fcap 8vo. S.P.C.K. 1903. 5s.

THIS little book represents an honest effort to deal with a difficult branch of a large subject. Mr. Codrington is a practical engineer, who fully appreciates the necessity for careful observation and exact record. Unfortunately the materials are scanty, and not always entirely reliable. The volume will be useful in stimulating local research, and also, it is to be hoped, in encouraging what the author himself appeals for, 'that thoroughness without which little result is to be expected.' Naturally, the different sections are of very varying value. Scotland, of course, occupies a very small proportion of the whole. Mr. Codrington, we are glad to see, is familiar with the work recently done by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. But Roy is his main authority for North Britain. He even models his spelling of place-names on the *Military Antiquities*. 'Old Kirkpatrick' (p. 195) and 'Murray Firth' (p. 210) have an odd look nowadays.

M.

MISCELLANY OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY. Second Volume. Pp. vii, 472, with 5 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. & A. Constable for the Scottish History Society. 1904.

As a reviewer turns over these fragments piously recovered and brought together in this handsome and convenient form, his first feeling is one of gratitude for the excellent work the Scottish History Society is doing, and then comes the embarrassment of the various lines of comment suggested by the valuable and interesting papers here collected. Miss Bateson's useful text of the Corpus Christi (Cambridge) MS. dealing with the household of the Scottish kings, with her translation and introduction, was already known, but one is glad to see it reproduced here, accompanied by addi-

tional matter of much interest. Professor Kirkpatrick prefaces and translates extracts from the Book of the Scottish Nation in the University of Orleans, and provides a striking illustration of the statement that 'Scotland did not at first enter the race of university-founding, but worked on the plan of the cuckoo, by laying its eggs in the nests of others. . . . Scotchmen perambulated Europe, and were familiar figures in the great university towns.' Mr. Andrew Lang edits 'The Apology for William Maitland of Lethington,' and supplies an introduction, where he maintains that Lethington was faithless to his Queen, and was involved in the murder of Darnley. About the second half of the proposition there is hardly room for doubt, but the first clause is arguable. Lethington had no personal devotion to Mary. As Mr. Lang says, 'from women, the Queen among others, he was guarded by his long love of Mary Fleming.' Lethington was an able statesman and a true patriot, not 'a fickle, unprincipled, and unscrupulous' man, as Dr. Taylor called him; he had convinced himself that the patriotic course was to promote the union of England and Scotland by using the Scottish claim to the English succession. To this policy he was faithful; loyalty to the particular person on behalf of whom the claim was to be urged was a conditional thing. The volume contains five illustrations, including a charming view of the old university buildings of Orleans, and is provided with a very complete index.

A. M. Williams.

Oxford. Painted by John Fulleylove R.T. Described by Edward Thomas. Pp. xii, 265, with 60 illustrations. Square 8vo. London: A. & C. Black, 1903. 20s. nett.

It would be difficult to imagine a more inspiring or more practically inexhaustible theme than that of the fair city on the Isis, which, though it has already been described from many a different point of view, yet offers ever fresh phases of life to study.

That Mr. Thomas has written a readable book and that Mr. Fulleylove has interpreted well the buildings and scenes he has selected from a bewildering mass of material, no one can deny, but it will scarcely be conceded that the literary portion of the volume does justice to Oxford as it was or as it is. In his somewhat over-eagerness to prove himself thoroughly in touch with the present, Mr. Thomas does not appear to have given sufficient weight to the unbroken continuity of the traditions of the past, which affect every detail of the life of the present. He has moreover failed to weave his work into a consecutive narrative. He professes, it is true, to feel all the glamour of Oxford, to yield himself unreservedly to the gentle tyranny of the Alma Mater, but unfortunately he has not succeeded in conveying any sense of that glamour to the reader. He seems indeed to be wanting in that sympathetic imagination which gave such eloquence to Ruskin's descriptions of Venice, Pierre Loti's of Paris, Camille Lemonnier's of Brussels, and Mrs. E. T. Cook's of London.

Perhaps the best chapters in the book are those on the 'Stones of Ox-

ford,' 'Dons Ancient and Modern' and 'Undergraduates of the Past and Present,' but there is no real recognition in either of the latter of types, only a series of somewhat flippant descriptions of individuals.

The volume ends with a few quotations from great authors who have written in praise of Oxford. The want of an index is a drawback. In spite of the deficiencies of the letterpress, the volume will no doubt receive a very cordial welcome on account of the beautiful drawings of Mr. Fulleylove, which are well reproduced, though they necessarily suffer from the limitations of the three-colour process, which is never very successful in the rendering of green, for which reason it seems a pity that some of the work was not done in the autumn when the variegated tints of the many creepers give to the buildings old and new, an added touch of poetry. In spite of this, however, the drawings are as truthful as they are charming, proving that their author is what the late Dr. Traill would have called 'spiritually naturalised in Oxford.' He has indeed caught the very ethos of the city, and though it seems strange that Balliol should not have found a place, the selection of subjects is eminently satisfactory. Specially fine are the 'Oxford from the Sheldonian Theatre,' the 'Peckwater Quadrangle of Christchurch,' the 'New College Cloisters,' and the 'Interiors of the Cathedral, Magdalen Hall, and the Bodleian,' the two last realising with great felicity the details of the noble architecture and the rich but subdued colouring of the originals.

THROUGH THE DOLOMITES. By Alex. Robertson, D.D. Second Edition. Revised with supplementary chapter. Pp. viii, 256, with 49 illustrations and maps. 8vo. London: George Allen. 1903. 7s. 6d.

THIS guide-book is not without merits, though its faults are irritating. Its merits are for the roadster who never quits his road (or his carriage) except for the most hackneyed excursion. The great tribe of British spinsters which descends upon Cortina and the Ampezzo and Cadore in summer will delight in an author who is always within their range. For walkers, let alone climbers, the book is wholly inadequate: perfunctory and superficial in all except the gossip and 'research,' *e.g.* the omission of anything about Forno di Zoldo (which may be reached by road and so falls within Dr. Robertson's compass) beyond an account of the cloudburst and flood of a dozen years ago.

The heights of mountains and all other climbing particulars are valueless, evidently repeated parrotwise from sources sometimes antiquated or doubtful. The book is a summer holiday's exercise by a man of great fluency, some historical and antiquarian curiosity, and an amiable, provincial mind. A translation of the Brentari *Guide* would have been much more interesting, because that is much more complete, learned, and penetrating: Baedeker is better for all matters of fact and figures. Yet a gossiping book will find its public, though the cream of local gossip and reminiscences is not always to be had at the hotel. It has earned its success cheaply, for there is no evidence that its editor took much pains.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales. By Jonathan Nield. Pp. xvi, 235. 8vo. London: Elkin Matthews, 1904. 4s.

Mr. Nield's book appears in a third edition, the third since May, 1902, a fact which proclaims public acceptation of his work. The most important of the new features are, a special-reference grouping, additions to the supplementary list of 'Semi-historical' Novels—a sort of Class-mark for certain better books, and dates of publication. With this lantern-guide in hand the reader may pilot his way through the centuries, from Ancient Babylon and Mummied Dynasties to the minor revolutions of the late 19th century, happily stepping on bridges and mounds of Romance. His knowledge after a completed course will be extensive, and his sympathies enlightened. He will have lived through the fall of Carthage, seen the triumphs of Rome and the domestic life of Marcus Aurelius, trembled for the Northmen, thrilled for the Crusades, glowed with the 'discovery' of America and the Puritan revolt, nodded to Kings and Emperors of all the ages, and gazed upon the decapitating furies of mobs and doctrinaire reformers. Perhaps then he should be advised and turn to the chronicler's sober page with its comprehensive and balancing value; for the light of the romancer falls for the most part on castle walls and purple patches. It enshrines, and the Saint of the Shrine has his glory, yet the unnamed pilgrim is as potent in history as the saint he attends, though he has no place within the shrine.

We note 'Pride and Prejudice' in the list. Miss Austen was once asked to write a historical novel, and said she could do so only to save her life. Her creations are accompanied by a Laughing Chorus, and Historical Personages must not enter with a Laughing Chorus. Her name should come out of this company.

M. M. Banks.

Illustrated Catalogue of a Loan Collection of Portraits Exhibited in the Examination Schools, Oxford, under the auspices of a Committee of the Oxford Historical Society, April and May, 1904. Pp. 60. 4to. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1904. 6s. nett.

The late Oxford Portrait Exhibition bore remarkable testimony to the University's wealth in this variety of art. Though the exhibition included only personages who died prior to the year 1626—not 1625, as, by a curious miscalculation, is stated in the title page of the Catalogue—no fewer than 137 portraits were exhibited, of which only 15 were owned by persons outside the University. We may well believe, therefore, that the Oxford collection is almost as valuable and interesting as is now the National one in London; and it is good news that a succession of exhibitions is contemplated, reaching down to the 'present time.' The portraits in the 'Illustrated Catalogue' are admirably

reproduced: selection must have been a difficult task, but it seems to have been determined mainly by artistic interest. In his instructive introduction, Mr. Lionel Cust lays no more than just stress on the 'importance of Historical Portraits as documents illustrative of our national history'; but is it altogether true, as he states, that this is 'now very widely recognised'? Doubtless the well-known letter of Carlyle, quoted by Mr. Cust, has had some effect; but, as yet, it has by no means had the effect he desired even in the particular case of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, which, notwithstanding its excellent curators, past and present, and its excellent building, the gift of one munificent donor, is as yet very far from even promising to realise any near approach to Carlyle's ideal. The main difficulty is, of course, lack of funds; but since it is apparently vain to hope for an adequate grant from Government, why should not a movement be set on foot for the Gallery's endowment? For, from a higher educational point of view, is not such an institution as valuable, in some respects, as a University? At present it suffers not merely from lack of means to acquire portraits of real importance, but apparently more and more from a tendency, on this account, to accept portraits which have hardly adequate claims to inclusion in a national collection.

As regards the use of portraits and other pictorial representations for the illustration of historical narrative, a considerable advance has, no doubt, been made within recent years; but with the greatly improved and cheap methods of reproduction now available, illustrations might be much more employed than they are by present-day historians, as well as in the reissue of standard historical works. Apart from other advantages, they might not only help to relieve the bald narrative which is too often the complement of learned research, but might even assist the enthusiast for dates and other antiquarian niceties to realise that history is the record of the doings of human beings.

It can hardly, however, be affirmed that illustrations have had any such effect on the compilers of the Oxford Catalogue, which, so far as the biographical part is concerned, is, truth to tell, as dry and perfunctory as it well could be. It is impossible for the 'general reader' to form from it almost any notion of the individualities of the persons represented. Surely the Committee of the Oxford Historical Society might have somehow contrived to supply as much information as, for example, is given in the 'Historical and Descriptive Catalogue' of the National Portrait Gallery, London. They decided to content themselves with giving us, so to speak, the mere skeleton of the personality, if even so much as that,—the dates of the birth and death, and of the principal appointments and honours; and, as was almost inevitable, even according to the method adopted, the statements are in many ways unsatisfactory. Thus in the case of Sir Walter Raleigh, a certain outline of his achievements is given, but from it we can gather nothing as to their real character, while not even the faintest allusion is made to his literary gifts; we are told that Overbury was, on account of intrigue, imprisoned in the Tower and was poisoned there by Lady Essex, but as to the why and

wherefore we have no information; not the slightest reference is made in the record of Leicester's life to his relations with Elizabeth; no mention is made of Jewel's writings, or his prominence as an ecclesiastical controversialist; John Case, we are told, practised medicine at Oxford, but we are not told that he was the author of various works, including one or two on music; of Laurence Humphrey's character as controversialist we learn nothing; nor can we gather from the biography of Richard Foxe the important part he played in political negotiations with Scotland, though it is vaguely stated that in 1516 'he retired from politics.' These examples are taken merely at random, but they sufficiently show that the catalogue, besides being in no proper sense informative, is often misleading. It may be that the Committee found it difficult to draw the line, but the difficulty is surely not insoluble: by the adoption in subsequent catalogues of a method less severely academical, the interest of the exhibitions would certainly be greatly enhanced for the less learned visitors.

T. F. Henderson.

The King's Classics: Alexander Moring, The De la More Press. (1) *Eikon Basilike*, edited by Edward Almack. Pp. xxiv, 313, with Frontispiece. 1904. 2s. 6d. nett. (2) *Kings' Letters*, from the days of Alfred to the coming of the Tudors, edited by Robert Steele. Pp. xvii, 301, with Frontispiece. 1903. 2s. 6d. nett. (3) *The History of Fulk Fitz-Warine*, Englished by Alice Kemp-Welch, with an introduction by L. Brandin, Ph.D. Pp. xx, 125, with Frontispiece. 1904. 1s. 6d. nett.

(1) For better for worse, *Eikon Basilike* helped to colour English history and to draw the gracious, glorified lineaments, not yet wholly effaced, in the portrait of the Royal Martyr. Mr. Almack, as was known from his learned *Bibliography of the King's Book* (1896), is convinced that not time-serving, truculent Gauden but sainted King Charles himself was the author. In this pretty little edition of the *Eikon* he briefly recapitulates the evidences for the faith that is in him, and presents historical students with the text spelt as printed in the edition of 1848-49. (2) Mr. Robert Steele's *Kings' Letters from the Days of Alfred to the Accession of the Tudors*, though mainly derived from Halliwell's selection, shows that pains have been taken to improve on the earlier work, and the letters from Alfred's time to the end of Henry II. are not in Halliwell. Mr. Steele, like Halliwell, understands by 'letters' something much wider than 'familiar epistles,' and so amongst these 115 documents signed by English Kings from Alfred to Richard III. we find state-papers, grants, confirmations, proclamations and other official missives with which the sovereign had personally little enough to do. But they are all interesting, instructive, and well worthy of being read. There are occasional archaisms, somewhat arbitrarily retained or shot in, that will momentarily give pause to uninstructed readers proceeding with the otherwise plain-sailing (though

slightly 'old fashioned') English translations and modernisations—'yolden,' 'liketh it to your royal majesty to wit,' 'scaire of hearts,' 'winking oues,' 'tuition' in the sense of 'defence,' 'the maumit of Scotland,' and the like, which Halliwell glosses but Mr. Steele does not. Another volume of the series contains letters of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. Mr. Steele has failed to discover Halliwell's source for the letter of Edward I. to Robert Earl of Carrick, in which the Earl is praised: 'We shall hold the war ended by your deed, and all the land of Scotland gained.' It is at the Record Office among the Duchy of Lancaster royal charters, No. 203. The bulk of the letters are *from* the English kings. Where there is so much material to choose from, the inclusion of a few letters addressed *to* the kings seems ill-advised. (3) It is to be hoped that many of those who love the medieval atmosphere as now distilled by romancers within sound of Bow Bells may be tempted to try this real medieval romance, atmosphere and all. Mrs. Kemp-Welch's graceful and spirited translation makes also rather too much play with a few selected archaisms: 'afore,' 'tofore,' 'an angered,' 'the which' are a little obtrusive, and 'seventy fighting men and valets' in warfare will puzzle people who would find 'varlets' intelligible and antique enough. Scottish readers should be especially attracted to a story which gives even momentary glimpses of the Norman (or Breton) knight, Alan Fitzflaeu (Fitzflaald), the undoubted ancestor of the royal house of Stewart, in his English lordship of Osbaldestree (Oswestry).

CUNNIE RABBIT, MR. SPIDER, AND THE OTHER BEEF: WEST AFRICAN FOLK TALES. By Florence M. Cronise and Henry W. Wood. Pp. viii, 330. Crown 8vo. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1903. 5s.

TEACHING in Sierra Leone, Miss Cronise gathered from native children these singular pieces of a beast-epic-cycle, in which the most striking character is Mr. Spider, who, though rivalled in wit by Cunnie Rabbit (the little water deerlet or chevrotain), appears here as the impersonation of the genius of the African race, with his qualities of craft and vigilance, and an unfailing capacity to escape from the most desperate straits and snares. Told in the broken English dialect of the Sierra Leone coast, the stories, always curious and often ingenious and amusing, are an original contribution to the psychology of the negro at home and to folklore at large.

J. A. N.

THE INDIA OF THE QUEEN AND OTHER ESSAYS. By the late Sir William Wilson Hunter. Edited by Lady Hunter, with an introduction by Francis Henry Skrine. Pp. xviii, 277. London: Longmans. 1903.

NOT easily can it be determined whether this posthumous collection will strike more forcibly the reader who knows his India or the homekeeping student who turns to these essays by the Scottish historian of British India for authoritative information regarding administrative changes there during the last sixty years. Written for the most part after his retirement in

1887, the papers, although at first sight heterogeneous, find their unity in the author's varied Indian experiences and studies. 'The Orient touched him with her magic wand,' giving him a two-sided sympathy historically invaluable. His narrative of the modifications in government made to suit the shifting conditions, his description of the native movement towards a degree of autonomy, and his account of the great work of amelioration of life under our rule, especially relative to the problem of population continually faced by liability to famine, foster an optimistic conviction that until the standard of administration falls below what it was under Victoria the domination of Britain will stand on secure foundations. Brilliantly written and picturesque as the East itself, though so different in theme, are Hunter's articles on the great but ultimately futile despot Aurangzeeb (1618-1707), and on the incessant struggle of Calcutta against the silt of the Ganges. The story of the pilgrim scholar Csoma de Körös and his Thibetan journeys, sufferings, and studies (1823-42), reads like an Odyssey of philology.

In the *English Historical Review* (July) Mrs. Armitage concludes her important survey of early Norman castles in England. It includes specific examinations of the fifty castles mentioned in Domesday Book, and, with its central feature an effort to track the course of development of military architecture in relation to *motte*, bailey, and keep, must take rank as a fundamental document. In all eighty-seven castles are more or less categorically assigned to their class and period. Scotsmen will be grateful for the veteran industry and zeal of Dr. W. D. Macray, who has had the singular good fortune to recover a lost fragment of Robert Baston the Carmelite's famous poem on Bannockburn. He came north to sing the victories of Edward II.: his Muse instead had to be employed to bewail, in captivity, the issue of battle. Most unfortunately he was so turgid and declamatory that it is difficult to extract much information from his performance which Bower preserved —incomplete as now appears—in the *Scotichronicon*. The recovered fragment, edited by Dr. Macray, adds one fact of interest in the praise it accords to the valour of four Germans who fought in the English ranks:

> Bis duo Theutonici veniunt ad prelia gratis:
> Nescio quid dici poterit super hiis probitatis.

It is not every day that a find of such happiness and value is made among refuse scraps of vellum taken out of old books under process of rebinding. Old bindings, however, are a continual hope.

As usual, the *Reliquary* (July) is profusely and finely illustrated. Ossuaries (for the bones of the dead, small rectangular cases of stone), classical water-organs, pewter plate, metallic portraits of Christ, early Derbyshire crosses, fonts, and rushlight holders are as excellently rendered by photographic processes as they are discussed in the text.

The *Antiquary* continues to furnish sound and useful papers, such as that by the Rev. Dr. Cox in the July number, dealing with social

life in the middle ages, by way of criticism of Miss Bateson's recent notable volume on Medieval England.

A curious discussion appears in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (July) on the proposition that Pope John XXII., 1316-1334, was not a miser as alleged by Murimuth the English chronicler and Villani the annalist of Italy, as well as by Dante. There is a certain Scottish interest in the matter in view of the negotiations at Rome relative to the national independence. Besides, it was this Pope who devised the *annat* which is still a term and fact of Scottish law-ecclesiastic. The argument is not completed. Evidently, however, the difficulty of proving this particular negative is considerable, although the basis of the charge may well have been the extensive rearrangements on the fees of the papal court made by this Pope, who was a consummate administrator and revised materially the whole finance of the Curia.

The Saga Book of the Viking Club (January, 1904) is most attractive in its mixed studies, annotations, and correspondence. Mr. R. L. Bremner treats at some length of the Norsemen in Argyle and on the Clyde, while 'Uist Folklore' and Maeshow and the Stones of Stenness are other Scoto-Norse topics.

Archaeologia Aeliana, vol. xxv., part iii., includes the Annual Report of the Newcastle Antiquaries, whose work has of late followed very hopeful and progressive lines.

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics (July) records the deliberations of an anthropological congress—a digressive debate on the relations of anthropology with archaeology, philology, and sociology.

Silchester bulks large in the *Berks, Bucks, and Oxon. Archaeological Journal* for July, Mr. St. John Hope's lecture giving a clear account of the extremely productive explorations conducted there since 1890.

Good transcripts of old writs appear in *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset.*

The Ulster Journal of Archaeology for July contains, with other interesting matter, an illustrated article by Mr. J. Vinycombe on the Speaker's Chair and Mace of the Irish House of Commons. The articles of union with Great Britain do not seem to have provided for the custody of these interesting relics, and they remain in the possession of Viscount Massereene, grandson of Sir John Foster, the last Speaker of that Parliament. Mr. F. J. Biggar, in an article on Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, takes occasion to narrate the late Cosmo Innes's purchase for Scotland of Brian Vicar Magee's Charter of A.D. 1408, the 'oldest really Celtic record in Scotland,' for the sum of £5. Mr. John J. Marshall contributes an article on the Dialect of Ulster, and concludes with an extensive 'Glossary of Words in the Ulster Dialect, chiefly used in the Midland and North Western Counties.'

The *Celtic Review* has started under very favourable auspices. Along with the increased study of the Gaelic past which for some decades has been demanding, and is finding in various ways, popular expression, there is a growing interest in all things Celtic. So long as such an interest was confined to the peoples inhabiting the Celtic fringes, a quarterly of this nature was well-nigh impossible. Even less ambitious periodicals quickly came to nought for lack of adequate support. But now that the interest in Celtic studies has spread so widely in English-speaking circles there is the promise and potency of a happier fate for this venture. Certainly the first number proclaims the *raison d'être* of the undertaking in the variety and quality of its articles. The *Review*, we are told, will be devoted to fostering and encouraging interest in Celtic, and especially in Gaelic, literature and learning. Its scope will embrace everything which touches the Gael, except that which at present touches him most acutely—current politics and religion. Here the line is doubtless wisely drawn. Otherwise, legend, history, language, philology, archaeology, poetry, music, art, stories and sketches will find a place, as well as translations from Continental and other sources of important articles, and reviews of books on Gaelic and Celtic subjects. The number of important books of this nature recently published and reviewed in the first issue, is itself no mean evidence of the need and scope for this *Celtic Review*. The majority of the articles, as we might expect from the aim of the magazine, are of Scottish origin and interest. But it seems doubtful, at this time of day, in a periodical which makes its appeal so largely to an English-speaking clientele whether it is at all a wise policy to contribute one whole article in Gaelic. The better method would be, as in the contribution of Mr. Alexander Carmichael in this number, and as followed elsewhere in his 'Carmina Goidelica,' to accompany the original with an English translation. Thus every reader could participate. There is no reason, if adequate support is forthcoming, why this Quarterly should not attain the vitality of the *Revue Celtique*, which on French soil has already reached its twenty-fifth volume. MAGNUS MACLEAN.

The Fight at Donibristle, 1316, a Ballad edited by John Smith (MacLehose. Pp. 7, royal 8vo, 1904), is a modern rendering of the incident of King Robert the Bruce's 'owne bischop,' who in knightly arms led his followers to victory against the English on the shores of the Forth.

> 'The English fought like warriors bold
> With loss of many a man,
> Until, to win their cobble boats,
> At length they broke and ran.'

The Land of Prince Charlie, by the author of *The Summer Tenant* (Edinburgh: John Hay. 4to, pp. 34, price 1s.), is a collection of descriptive pieces in prose and verse on the localities round Arisaig. Interspersed are four and twenty satisfactory pictures of landscape subjects.

Record Room

MISSING SECTION OF 'THE DETHE OF THE KYNGE OF SCOTIS,' RECOVERED.

As M. Jusserand has said,[1] the little tract entitled *The Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis*, translated from a lost Latin original, by John Shirley,[2] possibly about 1440, has been several times printed. The last and best edition was that by Joseph Stevenson for the Maitland Club in 1837. This, as well as Pinkerton's earlier edition in the appendix to the first volume of his *History of Scotland*, 1797, was from a Thoresby manuscript amongst the additional MSS. (No. 5467) of the British Museum. It is really a more or less complete biography of King James, so that the blank indicated in the undernoted quotation from p. 48 of the Maitland Club volume deprived the narrative of the interest attachable to the death of Prince David duke of Rothesay and the subsequent steps taken for the safety of Prince James, leading to his capture in England and his detention there as a prisoner until his marriage in 1424. The leaf torn out of the Thoresby MS. leaves a hiatus sufficiently grievous:—

'Wherefore the lordes and the nobles of the rewme of Scotland consideryng that vicious lyvyng of that said duke[3] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Thes traturs furters and contractes ended,' [etc.].

It is a satisfaction to report that the missing passage can now be filled up from a Phillipps MS., No. 27369, not long ago acquired by the Advocates' Library, where its press mark is 17.1.22. A full text of the treatise appears there from the pen of an unidentified 17th century scribe, on the whole a very much more correct version than that of the Maitland volume, and containing numerous better readings, which make intelligible some passages which as printed cannot be understood. Of most general interest probably will be the following extract from ff. 13-14, enabling possessors of Pinkerton's History or of the Maitland book to fill the vexatious gap.

[fo. 14] lyving of that said Duke of Rossaye [fo. 15] soore dreding yf he had regned aftur his fadre that many inconveniences [ne]fortunez and vengeancez myght have fyllowyd and fallen uppon al that region by cause of his lyffe soo

[1] *Romance of a King's Life*, 107-8.

[2] A minor poet who was of more account as a book collector and admirer of Chaucer, and who died in 1456.

[3] A leaf has been here torn out of the manuscript.

opnly knowen vicious, shortly the advysse takyne and fulle purpoosse of the grete lordez of that lande and in especialle by the myghttie and the favourable puissance of the Duk of Albanye and of therlle Douglace, this saide Duke of Rosaye maugre al his helppes by forsce was taken and enprisouned within the Castell of Facland that by dures of famyn hee eat his owne handez and died in grete distres and myserie, the whiche was ageinst Goddez lawe and mannez lawe and pitte to thinke that suche unrighteous malisce schulde be doon to any prince whatso evyr he be: for fferre of whiche tirannous vengeance the said Jamez Stewarde that is to saye the yonger brother of the saide Duke of Rosaye and sonne to Robert than King of Scottez seeing this myschieff, be the advisce of his kyn and of his counseille, fledde purpoossing him in to Fraunce by the see, where by his infortune he was toke by Englyschemen and broughte in to the toune[1] where and in other placez withinne this Reamne he aboode prisonnere many yeeris: during the whorlle bourlle[2] in Scotland the olde King Robert died and in the mene tyme the Duke of Albanye governyd, toke uppon hym the rewlle of Scottlande be yonde the Scottische See, and in the same wyesse dydde therlle Douglas both govern and reule alle on this side the Scottische See. In the whiche tyme as to the rightfulle lineal heire by discent the coroune of Scottlande ffelle to the said Jamez Stuarde the yonger sunne of the said King Robert, be cause of the dissees of his fadyr and of his alder brothur the duke of Rosaye the whiche had none other yssew male but hym, he than being and abiding withe that excellent and[3] prince Harry the fifte than King of the Regioune of Englond, the whiche of his royal exellencie in alle thing that touchid thonnor and the right of the said Jamez the King of Scottez was to him favoureable as father to the sunne in alle that touchid theire bothe kingly estattez, and of his grett gentilles had hym withe his ooste in to Fraunce to instructe hym of the manere of his honorable conquest and werres there, where to-ffoore the seege of Myllane was seen armyd Charles King of Fraunce Herry the fifte King of Englond and the saide Jamez King of Scottez alle withe their banners displaied in oone quarelle ageinste the Kingez rebellez and enemys of Fraunce thanne clepid Arminake: withinne schorte prosses of tyme the saide Jamez King of Scottez married hym in Englonde to a fair ladye of the Kinges blode of Englonde and doughter to the Duchesse of Clarrensce, after the whiche marriage by alle possible haste the Ambassatours of Scottlande by diverse hostages and other sufficeant seureteez founde weyes and menys of trette ffor the ffinaunce of the saide King of Scottez to the Kinge of Englonde for his rainsume to whome he was prisonere as it is to-ffoore rehersid: thees traytez seuretez and contractez endid, [etc.].

As the concluding sentences vary greatly from the print, and in particular make a fuller quotation from Jean de Meun, they may be cited here.

[fo. 25] Therfoore princes schulde take hede of maystre Johanes de Mehunes counseile thus seide in the Frensche tung:

hault homme ne puet a son nulle vice
que tant luy grieve comme avarice:
Il ne pas Sires de son paiis
que de sonne people est haiis,
car bien doyt estre Seigneur clames
que de son people est ames.

[1] *Sic*: not Toure, as doubtless the original reading was.
[2] Whorlle bourlle, hurly burly—an early instance of the phrase.
[3] *Sic*: a word evidently missing here.

whiche is thus moche to meene in owre modres Englische langage:

A grete man may have no more vice
ne hym to greeve thanne avarice;
he nys no lorde in his countree
that of his folke nathe love, levee me:
ffor welle may he be called a lord
whome that hees men love of recorde
merkethe this weel I you beseche:
and thus to godde I you biteche.

The colophon appearing in the Thoresby MS. has no place in the Phillipps, so that we learn nothing additional concerning John Shirley. Some new and some important points are furnished for Scottish chronicle and the biographies of an ill-fated prince, and a scarcely less unlucky king.

G. N.

THE CERTIFICATE OF CONSECRATION OF A 'COLLEGE' BISHOP.

After the death of Arthur Ross, the last Archbishop of St. Andrews, in 1704, the rest of the deprived Scottish bishops, being few in number and advanced in years, found it necessary to consecrate fresh bishops, so as to keep up the succession. The newly consecrated bishops had neither diocesan powers nor charge of any particular district, and until an arrangement was made in 1732, by which each bishop took charge of a particular district as his diocese, the Scottish bishops were merely 'at large,' and formed a college of bishops with equal jurisdiction as regards places. Rigidly loyal to the king over the water, the non-juring bishops felt that they could not consecrate *to any see* without the royal *conge d'elire*. The twelve bishops thus consecrated between 1705 and 1727, without other title than to the membership of the episcopal college, are often known as the 'College Bishops.' In his *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, Keith gives the text of the letters of consecration of Bishop Sage, who was the first of the 'College Bishops.' In the Diocesan Library at Brechin are preserved the letters of consecration of another of them, viz., John Ochterlony, who afterwards acted as Bishop of Brechin. This document is in almost exactly the same terms as that printed by Keith, but as it belongs to the latter part of the 'College' period, and never seems to have been printed before, it is here given in full, with a copy of the letter to the late Bishop Forbes which accompanies it.

[Copy of Certificate of Consecration.]

Apud Edinburgum Die Vicesimo nono Mensis Novembris Anno ab Jncarnato Domino et/Servatore Nostro Millesimo Septingentesimo Vigesimo Sexto.

Nos Andreas Cant Nuper Pastor Edinburgensis, Episcopus Consecratus

et in numerum Episcoporum Scotorum adscitus,/*David Freebairn* Nuper Pastor apud Doning, Episcopus Consecratus et in numerum Episcoporum Scotorum adscitus, et *Alexander/Duncan* Nuper Pastor apud Kilbirnie Episcopus Consecratus et in numerum Episcoporum Scotorum adscitus in timore Domini Ponderantes/plerosque Fratrum nostrorum Charissimorum et in Collegio Episcopali Collegarum (hoc nuper elapso et Ecclesiæ nostræ luctuose curriculo) in Domino obdormijsse, nosque paucos qui Divina misericordia Superstites sumus multiplicibus Curis, morbis, atque ingravescente senio tantum/non Confectos esse.

Quapropter ex eo quod Deo Supremo Servatori nostro, Sacrosanctae ejus Ecclesiæ, et posteris debemus, in animum induximus Officium/Characterem et Facultatem Episcopalem alijs probis fidelibus ad Docendum et Regendum idoneis hominibus Committere: Jnter quos quum/nobis ex propria Scientia abunde constet Reverendum nostrum Fratrem *Ioannem Ochterlony* Artium Magistrum, Presbyterum/et Pastorem apud Aberlemno tanto muneri aptum et idoneum esse; Nos igitur Divini Numinis præsidio freti secundum gratiam no-/bis concessam die, Mense, Anno Suprascriptis in Domo R. Patris *Andreæ Cant* Supranominatum *Ioannem Ochterlo-/ny* Ordinavimus, Consecravimus et in Nostrum Episcopale Collegium Cooptavimus. *In cujus rei Testimonium* Chirographis Nostris munivimus hoc Jnstrumentum.

AND = CANT Episcopus
DAVID FREEBAIRN Episcopus
ALEX^{R} DUNCAN Episcopus

[Copy of Letter to Dr. Forbes.]

FORFAR 23rd August 1870

My Lord

I herewith send you, by the Rev. Mr. Shaw, the original certificate of the of† the† consecration of one of your predecessors in the episcopate. Should you think it worthy of being preserved, among the records of the Diocese of Brechin, it will be gratifyin† for me to know that I have been the means of restoring it to its proper place.

I may add that I found it lately among some tattered old manuscripts that belonged to my great grandfather, the Rev. Norman Sievwright, Minister of the authorised episcopal congregation of Brechin. I have the honour to [be] your Lordship's

humble servant

COLIN SIEVWRIGHT

The Right Reverend
THE BISHOP OF BRECHIN.

The document and the accompanying letter have been printed with strict regard to spelling, use of capitals and punctuation. The obelus † has been used to mark what appear to be mistakes in the original.

F. C. ELES.

SIR WALTER OGILVY'S CASTLE OF FINDLATER.

DR. WILLIAM CRAMOND, Cullen, has, by permission of the Countess Dowager of Seafield, transcribed and printed from the original in the charter-room at Cullen House the charter by James II. in 1455, authorising Sir Walter Ogilvy of Deskford, second son of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, High Treasurer of Scotland, to fortify the castle of Findlater on the Moray Firth. It is a document of feudal interest, and we are glad to borrow the transcript and translation.

Jacobus dei gracia Rex Scotorum Vniuersis et singulis ligiis et subditis nostris ad quorum noticias presentes litere pervenerint Salutem Sciatis quod concessimus et presentium tenore concedimus dilecto et fideli nostro Waltero de Ogiluy de Deskfurde militi nostram licenciam specialem edificandi et construendi turres et fortalicia in castro de Finlatir ipsumque castrum muris lapidiis ac fossis cercumgerendi portisque ferreis firmandi ipsasque turres in altum erigendi et ornamentis et preparatibus bellicis fortificandi connestabularios, janitores, vigeles, carcerum custodes ac alios officiarios ad castri custodiam necessarios cum feodis ad huiusmodi officiarios spectantibus faciendi constituendi et ordinandi et ad omnia alia et singula faciendi que certa permissa necessaria fuerint seu quomodolibet oportuna Quare vniuersis et singulis ligiis et subditis nostris quorum interest vel interesse poterit stricte precipiendo mandamus ne quis dictum Walterum de Ogiluy de Deskfurde militem aut suos factores vel intromissores in edificatione dicti castri turrium et fortaliciorum predictorum aliquatenus vexare inquietare aut perturbare presumat in futurum sub omni pena que competere poterit in hac parte. Datum sub magno sigillo nostro apud Spine nono die mensis februarii anno domini millesimo

James by the grace of God, King of Scots, to all and sundry our lieges and subjects to whose knowledge the present letters shall come, Greeting, Know ye that we have granted and by the tenor of these presents grant to our lovite and faithful Sir Walter of Ogilvy of Deskford our special license to build and erect towers and fortalices on his castle of Findlater, and to surround said castle with stone walls and with ditches, and to strengthen it with iron 'yetts,' and to carry the towers to a greater height and to fortify the whole with abuliements and equipment of war, to make, institute, and appoint constables, janitors, watchmen, jailors, and other officers requisite for the keeping of the castle with fees suitable for such officers, and to do all and everything else unchallangeable, allowable, and necessary or in any way proper. Wherefore we strictly enjoin and command all and every our lieges and subjects whom it concerns or may concern that no one in any manner of way presume to annoy, harass, or trouble the said Sir Walter of Ogilvy of Deskford or his doers or intromitters in building the aforesaid towers and fortalices of said castle in time to come under all pain proper in such cases. Given under our great seal at Spynie on the 9th day of the

quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto et regni nostri decimo nono.

The seal is gone. On the tag appears the following:—Litera licencie construendi castrum pro Waltero Ogiluy de Deskfurde milite

[Dorso] Carta de . . . castrum de fyndletter 1445.

month of February in the year of our Lord 1455 and the nineteenth of our reign.

We are obliged to Dr. Cramond for his note of this hitherto unprinted license. He mentions that the towers of Findlater are now gone, and that little more than the foundations and some underground rooms or cellars remain. Traces of the stone walls and ditches protecting the castle on the land side may still be seen, although the removal of rock for building purposes has somewhat altered the appearance of the place.

A HADDINGTON SURGEON'S ACCOUNT.

Francis Lyll, Chirurgeon in Haddington, charges John Kirkwood in Beltone, now in Skougall, and John Hay in Newtoun, the following account for attending to Henry Wicht, falconer to Sir William Home of Whitelaw, 1611:

Item for makeng incisioun, delaiting of ye said patient his wound trepannaing, elevating and taken away of fractures fra his wound being on his heid four skoir ten pundis.

Item for fomenting of ye wound at divers tymes twelf pundis.

Item for balme to ye wound xx li.

Item for digestiveis to ye said wound xx li.

Item for restrinctaves ten pundis.

Item for defensaves xiij li.

Item for everie dayis travell to and frae be ye said complenar fra Elstanefurde to Luhitlaw ilk day vi li.

Item depursit be him to ye said David Hoppringill for his painis and travel fourtie pundis.

Francis Lyll was 5th son of George Lyll of Stoneypath, and practised as a surgeon in Haddington. He appears to have been temporarily residing in Athelstaneford village when he attended this patient, the distance between Whitelaw and Athelstaneford being about four miles. David Hoppringill was an Edinburgh surgeon whom he had out twice in consultation. This account is taken from the Sheriff Court books at Haddington.

J. G. Wallace-James, M.B.

Haddington.

Queries

CAMPBELLS OF GLENURCHY. In Lord Archibald Campbell's *Records of Argyll* (p. 348) there is a legendary account of a raid by the Campbells upon the Buchanans of Bochastle, in which six of the sons of 'Black Duncan of the Cowl,' including 'Green Colin' who was in command, were slain. Is there any mention of this elsewhere, and can the date be fixed? It was probably between 1583 and 1599. 'Green Colin' must have been a natural son, as he cannot be 'Black Duncan's' eldest lawful son Colin, who succeeded as eighth laird and second baronet of Glenurchy. A. W. G. B.

COLONEL SIR JOHN CUMMING, KNIGHT, was of Scottish descent, and entered the service of the East India Company. He married at Calcutta on 22nd June, 1770, Miss Mary Wedderburn of Gosford, and died at St. Helena on 26th August, 1786. Who were his parents? HENRY PATON.

120 Polwarth Terrace, Edinburgh.

CRICHTON OF AUCHINGOULL. James Crichton of Auchingoull was a Colonel in the Rebel Army, 1745-46. Where and when did he die? Was he married? C.

GILBERT DE BUCHANANE. 'Alicia de Erth, Domina de Cragbernard,' 'a noble and venerable woman,' and spouse of 'Gilbertus de Buchanane,' granted a charter, February 13, 1400 (*Parish of Strathblane*, p. 130 *n.*). Are there any other notices of this Gilbert de Buchanane? He is not mentioned by Buchanan of Auchmar. He can scarcely have been a younger brother, but may have been uncle, of Walter Buchanan of that Ilk, who was probably not born until shortly after 1340. A. W. G. B.

PATRICK MILNE, BOYNDIE. Are any descendants known of Patrick Milne, tacksman of Mill of Boyndie, who married a daughter of Crichton of Auchingoull? They had seven children born between 1734 and 1746. C.

TEMPLARS IN SCOTLAND. Thomas Totti and John de Huseflete [or Useflet] demitted their habit and fled across the sea on hearing that their brethren had been apprehended. So say both Walter

de Clifton and William de Middleton when examined in Scotland in 1309. The former gives the additional information regarding John de Huseflete that he had been Preceptor at Balantrodach for two years before he himself held that office. He states also that both Thomas and John were Englishmen [*ex Anglia oriundi*]. A Thomas Totti was living in 1338, and was drawing from the Hospitallers six marks per annum of pension. [*Hospitallers in England* (Camden Society), p. 209.] Is this the same person?

Regarding John de Huseflete, Preceptor at Balantrodach, he married Loretta, daughter of Gerard de Fornivall, but whether before entering the Order or after its suppression does not appear. In 1313 she claimed her share of her father's estate from the Temple property in England, viz. 5s. 4d. per annum from the Mill of Beckingham, near Sutton. At this date her husband was dead as well as her father.[1] Are any further facts regarding these two Knights-Templars known?

JOHN EDWARDS.

RAIT CASTLE, NEAR NAIRN. The description of this ruin given by Lachlan Shaw (*Hist. Moray*, edit. 1775, p. 111) is 'an old fort, built in the form of a square, which was anciently the seat of Raite of that Ilk, who, having killed Andrew, Thane of Calder, about the year 1404, was banished that country and founded the family of Raite of Halgreen in the Mearns.' In the edition of 1882 of the same work a note by the editor (vol. ii. p. 265) speaks of the castle as 'anciently the seat of the Mackintoshes of Raits' (*sic*), and continues: 'the castellated part is gone, but a religious edifice, apparently of a more modern date than it would have been, remains.' The existing ruins do not give the impression of such age as Shaw's description would imply, and they seem to me to have more of an ecclesiastical than of a baronial character. What is the probable age of the buildings, and how far is it a religious edifice?

As to the history of the building and its occupiers Shaw gives no authority for his statement concerning the family of Rait. Tradition, as reported in the Statistical Account, associates the buildings with the Cummings, and local legend makes it the scene of a slaughter of Cummings by Mackintoshes. Some people say that the Raits were a branch of the Cummings. The Mackintosh connection with the castle is beyond dispute, as appears from writs still extant at Moy Hall, the earliest of which is a precept, dated 5th Oct. 1442, by Alexander de Seton, knight, lord of Gordon, to William, Thane of Calder, as his bailie, directing him to give sasine to Malcolm M'Kyntosch in the lands of Meikle Geddes and the half of the lands of Rait *with the castle thereof*. The charter on which this precept proceeds was dated at Inverness on the preceding day. Towards the end of the century a charter of the land and castle was granted by Alex. Seton of Tullibody, eldest son of the foresaid Alex. Seton (1st Earl of Huntly), to the Thane of Calder, to whose family the other half of Rait

[1] [*Documents illustrative of English History in the 13th and 14th Centuries*, Rolls Publication, p. 229.]

already belonged, but the Mackintoshes still asserted rights, and a dispute arose between them and the Campbells of Calder, successors of the old thanes, which was not settled until 1521. The Ogilvies of Boyne also had claims in respect of Rait.

Is anything known of the history of Rait Castle prior to 1442, or when it ceased to be used as a residence? It is sometimes confounded with Raitts in Badenoch, held by the Mackintoshes of Borlum for nearly two hundred years down to 1788.

A. M. M.

PROVOST JAMES BELL AND HIS HEIRS. Nine years ago, in *Scots Lore*, 1895, p. 141, I discussed the account given by Glasgow's historian, John M'Ure, of the Provost and his family, as amplified though not improved by a writer in the *Glasgow Herald* of June-July, 1864, who asserted that by a daughter who married Mr. John Wilkie of Broomhouse, she became ancestress of the Wilkies of Foulden in Berwickshire, and through their heiress, of the Earls of Glasgow. The information on the subject then available has since been supplemented by the publication of the volume of the *Great Seal Register* (1634-51), issued in 1897 and of another (1652-9), which has just come to hand. The Wilkies who acquired Foulden in 1634, originally belonged to Lanark. The first of them on record was William Wilking, a burgess of Lanark, who represented that burgh in the Parliaments of A.D. 1581 and 1593, and in the former year purchased the small estate of Wamphrayflatt within the burgh from William Inglis of Eist Schiell and his wife. He died before 10th July, 1604, when John Wilking was served his heir in these lands (Retours), and this man, also a burgess of Lanark, was the first acquirer of Foulden. That barony in A.D. 1606 belonged to George Home, Earl of Dunbar, and some time after his death, which occurred on 29th January, 1612, it is found in the hands of James Arnott, junior, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, from whom it was apprised in July, 1620—February, 1621, for a debt of 8250 merks, by Sir Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie and John Seton of St. Germans. On 12th February, 1629, the barony, patronage, etc., of Foulden was resigned by James Arnott, 'son of William Arnott of Colbrandspeth, John Arnott his eldest brother, William Kellie, W.S., John Seyton of St. Germans, Margaret Craig wife of said John Arnott, and Agneta Jackson wife of said William Arnott, with consent of John Arnott of Woodmylne and said James Arnott, junior, merchant burgess of Edinburgh'; and a crown charter followed on 12th January, 1634, in favour of John Wilkin, burgess of Lanark, and his heirs—no doubt the John served heir to William Wilking in 1604, and thus a man of mature age; for the next crown charter of Foulden, on 19th December, 1636, is in favour of his grandson, a third John Wilkin, who is styled son of John Wilkin, eldest son of the said John Wilkin of Foulden (the grandfather) by his late wife Rachael Arnott, reserving the grandfather's life-rent and the right of his then wife, Elspate Craig, under her marriage contract; to be held by John the grandson and the heirs male of his body; whom failing to revert to John the grandfather and the heirs male between him

and said Elspate; whom failing to William Wilkin, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, the grandfather's brother, and the heirs male of his body; whom failing to Mariota and Elizabeth Wilkins, John the grandfather's daughters, and Rachel Wilkin his 'neptis,'[1] equally between them and the heirs of their bodies; whom failing to John the grandson and his heirs and assigns whomsoever.

The next crown charter of Foulden, on 16th July, 1649, is to the grandson, now Sir John Wilkie,[2] fiar (feoditarius) of Foulden, Knight, and the heirs of his body whomsoever (thus including daughters as well as sons); whom failing to the heirs of provision in the preceding charter, the life-rent and right of reversion to the grandfather having been renounced by the latter under the marriage contract between Sir John and Dame Rachael Carmichael his wife on 17th January, 1642, and a contract between the grandfather and Sir John on 3rd September, 1645.

These facts may be thus tabulated :—

WILLIAM WILKING, burgess of Lanark, 1540 ?-1604.

- John Wilking I., burgess of Lanark (?) 1570-1645. = (1) Rachael Arnott + ante 1634. (2) Elspete Craig.
  - John Wilking II. + v.p. ante 1636. = . . .
    - Sir John Wilkie III., b. 1615 (?) m. 1642. = Rachael Carmichael
    - Mariota Elizabeth (living 1636).
  - William Wilking, burgess of Edinburgh (living 1636).
    - Rachael Wilkin 'neptis' (living 1636).

Besides the original William Wilkie's two sons, John and William already referred to, there was another, Robert, who was minister first of Douglas (1603-21), and thereafter of Blackfriars, in Glasgow (1621-40). Robert had several sons, including (1) William Wilkie, minister of Govan, from 1640 till 1649, when he was deposed for 'not preaching against the Duke of Hamilton's engagement, associating with malignants, and being remiss in exercising discipline.' He acquired an estate near Glasgow called Haghill, which descended to his heirs. (2) John Wilkie of Broomhouse[3] who married Isabella, daughter of provost James Bell. (3) Zacharias Wilkie, minister of Ellemford in Berwickshire.[4] On 18th September, 1655, Sir John Wilkie resigned the barony of Foulden in favour of his father's cousins and their heirs, in the following order :—

[1] Either his niece or grand-daughter; probably here the former.

[2] The name thus altered for the first time.

[3] I find that on a plan of the Regality of Glasgow, published in 1773, Broomhouse is shown in the vicinity of the toll-bar of that name, to the east of Glasgow.

[4] *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, pt. iii. pp. 17, 67, 323.

(1) Mr. William Wilkie of Haghill and his heirs male; whom failing (2) Mr. John Wilkie of Broomhouse and his heirs male; whom failing (3) Mr. Zachary Wilkie and his heirs male; whom failing (4) Sir John Wilkie of Foulden, and his nearest heirs male.[1] Isobel Bell was baptised on 19th July, 1639, and as her son James Wilkie was served her heir on 6th October, 1657, she must have married early and died young. A MS. Glasgow protocol dated 7th May, 1662, refers to a disposition granted in the preceding January, 'with consent of Mr. John Wilkie of Broomhous for himself and as factor, tutor and adminstrator of James Wilkie, his son, procreate between him and the late Isobella Bell, his spouse, who was a daughter of the late James Bell, sometime provost of Glasgow.[2] Whether or not James Wilkie, grandson of Provost Bell, eventually got possession of Foulden barony, under the destination contained in the Charter of 1655, or otherwise, will probably be disclosed by coming publications.

Sir John of Foulden, was a man of note and a sportsman. According to the *Caledonian Mercury* in 1661, he gave a piece of plate for Lanark races, and hence it is extremely probable he is the same Sir John Wilkie whose horse won the Berwick Cup in 1654,[3] for Foulden is but a few miles out of the liberty of Berwick. And thus, if the authority of Mr. Raine's extracts from the Berwick Registers is good, it may be he is identical with Sir John Wilkie, Knight in Foulden, who was married at Berwick on 31st October, 1661, to Mrs. Dorothy Orde. She was buried there on 16th October, 1672, their daughter Mary on 8th January after, and Sir John himself on 30th December, 1673. If this be so—and it would be odd to have two contemporary Sir John Wilkies of Foulden—Rachael Carmichael his first wife was thus dead before 31st October, 1661, when he married Dorothy Orde. His heiress (if he left one) must therefore have been by his first wife, whom *Douglas's Peerage* names 'Agnes,' while *Rachael* was her true name. Of this heiress and her marriage in 1676 to William, Lord Ross, we may learn something in the next volume of the *Great Seal Register*.

JOSEPH BAIN.

CLINKING-STAN. About 1675 'Clinking-Stan' was a place name in Scotland. Where was it? O. C. LARRIMER.

1714 Vine St., Philadelphia.

[1] Confirmation Charter by Lord Protector Cromwell, 12th March, 1656 (*Register of Great Seal*, x. No. 533).

[2] *Glasgow Records*, vol. iii. (in the press), p. 39. With reference to my remarks in the *Scots Lore* article regarding Dorothy Bell, it may be mentioned that another consenter to the disposition was 'Mr. Patrick Young, one of the regents of the College of Glasgow, for himself and for Dorothy Bell, his spouse, another daughter of the said late James Bell.' James Bell who was on the town council in 1594, died in or before 1617, when his testament was recorded. Provost James Bell was thus another person, though possibly related.

[3] Raine's *North Durham*, p. 233.

Replies

LADY ANNE BOTHWELL (vol. i., p. 387). In spite of the silence of the Peerage writers, the lady mentioned by Aytoun really existed. The omissions and mistakes in Douglas' Holyroodhouse article are so numerous that this particular omission cannot safely be ascribed to design, though Maidment's suspicion to that effect is not without wit and judgment. Anna Bothwell was not a daughter of Adam, Bishop of Orkney, but the only daughter of John, first Lord Holyroodhouse, and therefore the bishop's grand-daughter. She was her father's executrix, and occurs not unfrequently in record (*e.g. Privy Council Register*, xi. 394). The following, which justifies the scandal concerning her, is taken from the Canongate Register of Baptisms:

'Wad[nesday] 17 April 1622. Bapt[isit] to Alexander Erskin sone to the Earle of Mar grait thesaurar of Scotland a s[on] n[amit] Alexander gotten under promeis of mariag with Maistres Anna Bothvell sister to ane nobill and potent lord John lord Halyrudhous and presentit be Adam Bothvell. W[itnesses] Mr. James Wilkie the said Adam and William Carmichaell.'

The Canongate Burial Register records that Mrs. Anna Bothwell was buried in April, 1625. With all deference to expert opinion, I venture to think that the *data* of the ballad correspond to her case more closely than to that of the Danish lady.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

'WRAWES' (Queries, vol. i., p. 101). May I suggest the following origin? In mediaeval forestry *Robur* means the trunk of any tree (not necessarily the oak) used as fuel, and Mr. G. J. Turner—*Select Pleas of the Forest*, p. 148—quotes *rouere* as another form of *robur* from a Northamptonshire Forest Roll of 1338. Henry IV. granted to the Black Friars at Gloucester 'Sept keisnes (*i.e. chênes*) appellez rowers pour foaile' (C. F. Palmer in *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, vol. xviii. 1879). Henry V. granted 8 'arbores mortuas vocatas Rowers pro focali' to the Prioress of Stanford, near Rugby, in 1413 (*Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*, 261), and now Bishop Dowden has found 'ligna quae dicuntur *Wrawes*' in the Kingdom of Fife.

J. HAMILTON WYLIE.

4 Lawn Road, Hampstead, N.W.

CAMPBELLS OF ARDKINGLASS. Alexander Campbell, Bishop of Brechin, was not the son of John Campbell of Ardkinglass, but was *brother* to Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, both being the sons of Dougall Campbell of Ardcullour, who was the 4th son of Sir Iain Campbell, 4th Laird of Ardkinglass. As Alexander is named in the Entail of Ardkinglass, 10th May, 1550, he was probably born about 1540, for his father was dead in 1550.

I believe the Ardkinglass baronetcy to be only dormant, for it is well known that William Campbell, minister of Kilchrenan and Dalarich, who *ob.* 26th Sept. 1793, inherited the title of Bart. of Ardkinglass, but did not assume it. He was the son of William Campbell, minister of Kilmodan, who was the 2nd son of Sir Colin Campbell, 10th of Ardkinglass.

William Campbell of Kilchrenan Parish left 2 sons: (Sir) Alexander Campbell, minister of Kilcolmonell, *ob.* 7th Jan. 1823; and (2) Patrick, who, in 1742 is called his father's lawful son and executor.

The above Alexander Campbell, who was twice married, left issue, 2 sons:

(1) (Sir) Colin Campbell, Lieutenant in the Royal Marines, said to have been of Peatoun in the Isle of Rosneath, *vivens* 1810, said to have *ob.* s.p.

(2) Robert Campbell, Factor to the Duke of Argyll at Rosneath.

If Robert Campbell is the grandfather to the present Laird of Peatoun, it is highly probable that the latter would have small difficulty in proving his claim to this baronetcy. Further information would be welcome.

NIALL D. CAMPBELL.

28 Clarges Street, Mayfair, W.

Notes and Comments

Vicars of the Choir of Glasgow Cathedral.

THE late Archbishop Eyre took considerable pains to outline the history of the Vicars of the Choir of Glasgow Cathedral, whose function it was to furnish the musical services of the church. These vicars choral were formed into a college by Bishop Andrew Muirhead, whose episcopate extended from 1455 until 1473. Since the archbishop published the result of his investigations a great deal of further information about this musical association has been brought to light in Mr. Renwick's *Protocols*. The 'place' of the vicars was on the north side of the cathedral, but they held lands, and drew annual-rents from property in many other parts of the city—for instance, off Trongate, in Rottenrow, Drygate, Saltmarket, Eaglesham's Croft, Kinclaith, Provanside, etc. A list of these properties and annual-rents occupies ten printed pages in the *Munimenta* of Glasgow University (i. 159-69), and the gross yearly charge, including both 'gud and evill' payment, amounted to £213 3s. 9d.

During alterations on the west side of the Saltmarket a number of years ago an inscribed stone was found embedded in the wall of No. 122, a tenement which had been erected about 1780. This stone has been presented by Mr. Robert Robb, 12 Trongate, to the Glasgow Corporation Museums, and by the courtesy of Mr. Paton, the superintendent, and of his assistant, Mr. T. Lugton, who has devoted much attention to the stone, we are enabled to present an illustration showing the inscription. It runs thus:

'Has pater Andreas antistes condidit edes
Presbiteris choro Glasgu famulantibus almo.'

[These buildings Bishop Andrew put up for the priests who serve the flourishing choir of Glasgow.] This interesting memorial of Bishop Andrew Muirhead is supposed to have been attached to one of some small buildings in Close 122 Saltmarket, removed to form a site for the 18th century tenement, which in its turn made way for the present building at that point. Though the titles now in existence do not indicate that the vicars had any connection with this property, it is possible that they formerly owned the site or drew its ground rent. Still, it is improbable that the inscribed stone belonged originally to this locality. Indications rather support the view that it was originally built into the manse or dwelling-house of the vicars, situated to the north of the cathedral, and presumably erected by Bishop Muirhead. This manse was included in the property conveyed by Queen Mary to the Corporation in 1566-7. As shown by the *Protocols* (No. 1698) the Town

INSCRIBED STONE FOUND IN WALL OF 122 SALTMARKET, GLASGOW

See page 110

Council in 1570 conveyed the building, then in a ruinous condition, to Mr. David Wemys, first Protestant minister of Glasgow. Wemys continued in possession till 1574, when he resigned it to Glasgow University (*Protocols*, 2044), which had in the meantime obtained from the Town Council the bulk of the church property embraced in Queen Mary's charter. The original structure, which was in a dilapidated condition shortly after the Reformation, must have been wholly taken down long ago, and it may be safe to conclude that in the disposal of the building material the inscribed stone found its way to the Salt-market. In any view the stone is an important voucher of history, and duplicates the memorial record contained in the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (p. 616) of the obit of Muirhead, as the bishop 'qui fuit fundator collegii Vicariorum chori Glasguensis.'

Dr. Lapsley on Cornage.

THE July number of the *American Historical Review* contains a couple of articles of considerable interest to students of English history, one at least of which is likely to attract attention and perhaps to provoke controversy. Dr. Lapsley has contributed an able study of the associated institutions of cornage and drengage, in which he reviews all the available evidences of the four northern counties of England. The difficulties of the problem, hitherto so puzzling to scholars, are not underestimated in the most recent effort to unravel its meaning. Dr. Lapsley has not concealed from himself the contradictions and inconsistencies which surround the documentary history of cornage according to the date of the records or the region to which they apply, but amid the apparent confusion he thinks there is evidence of an original and underlying unity which may help to an ultimate disentanglement. Of the national and local documents, the latter are to be preferred, inasmuch as the local charter or chronicle is more apt to reflect the true meaning than the document emanating from any department of the central government. After a discussion of the Durham evidence, with which the author has a wide acquaintance, cornage is explained as a mere incident of unfree tenure, or a seigniorial due not incumbent on the whole of the Bishopric, but occurring only in vills which had pasture. In other words, it was a payment for the agistment of cattle on the lord's land, such payment having been first rendered in kind and afterwards by a composition in money. Then, in the twelfth century, it became a burden on the soil, and as time went on it had a predominant tendency to be identified with forinsec service, but in this process of development there was no evidence that it had attained to the dignity of a tenure like socage or serjeanty. The obligation was rather one of the many incidents of villain-tenure peculiar to such vills as enjoyed certain advantages from their lord. Dr. Lapsley's troubles begin when he proceeds to test these doctrines by the evidences supplied by the other counties. In the time of Henry I. the men of Northumberland regarded cornage simply and solely as a burden or service inherent in their tenure, though Dr. Lapsley oddly suggests that they had already forgotten its original character and meaning. A more striking

advance is observable in the development of the institution as it obtained in the western counties of the Border. In the twelfth century cornage under the name of noutgeld was payable over extensive tracts of Cumberland and Westmoreland, perhaps over the whole area, first in cattle and afterwards in money. While the institution remained at this stage, it did not differ in character from that of Durham. Another interpretation, however, was given when the matter came before a Cumberland jury at the Great Inquest of 1212. It was then declared to be a tenure entailing definite obligations of a defensive or military nature, and from that date tenure in cornage or by cornage became a common term in the law courts. Dr. Lapsley argues that all this does not differ essentially from the conditions previously examined. The tenurial principle was an innovation adopted by the King's officers or the judges to make this anomalous institution fit into the feudal system. Here, he says, is a form of tenure that will not fit into any of the existing categories. One of its incidents is cornage. It is important to the Crown for financial reasons that the obligations of this tenure should be clearly understood: it is important to the Court that, rightly or wrongly, the tenure should be defined, in order that they may know how to deal with it. The King and the judge alike required a name for the tenure and naturally called it cornage after its most unusual and striking incident. In his discussion of drengage the author admits that it was originally distinct from cornage, but he argues that as institutions they were so organically related as to become amalgamated in the thirteenth century under the crushing weight of the feudal superstructure. Spelman's story that the drengs were the descendants of the Englishmen, dispossessed by William at the Conquest, has been placed alongside the evidence of the Gospatric Letter, which appeared in this *Review* in October, 1903, with the view of showing that there was a considerable survival of pre-Conquest tenures beneath the feudal forms which the Normans imposed on Cumberland. This study of a difficult subject is the work of a fair-minded and painstaking scholar; and though the conclusions differ in some important particulars from those of other workers in the same field, Dr. Lapsley has put his points temperately and done full justice to the intelligence and sincerity of those who have preceded him.

Thomas Cromwell.

A NOTEWORTHY contribution on the history of the Reformation is from the pen of Mr. Paul van Dyke, who discourses at some length on the character of Thomas Cromwell and the untrustworthiness of Cardinal Pole's estimate in the *Apologia*. After contrasting the rival portraitures of King Henry's famous minister and discussing the events of the period, the writer suggests that there is far more reason for rejecting Pole's portrait of Cromwell in the *Apologia* than the portrait of Cromwell in Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, now very properly set aside by modern writers as one-sided. The true portrait is to be made from the positive record of his acts. It is true that Thomas Cromwell was no 'Martyr of the Gospel,' but it is also true that the diabolically inspired disciple of Machiavelli is a creation of the excited imagination of the Cardinal.

The
Scottish Historical Review

VOL. II., NO. 6 JANUARY 1905

Knox as Historian

KNOX'S *History of the Reformation in Scotland* has coloured all other histories, from that of Buchanan to the present day, and yet has never, to my knowledge, been closely criticised.[1] The learned David Laing has traced the inception and progress of Knox's work, from October 23, 1559, when Knox, then in Edinburgh with the Congregation, wrote to Railton that 'we are to set forth in manner of History our whole proceeding from the beginning of this matter,' much of the part styled Book II. being then already written. Book II. was apparently intended for instant publication, as a defence against the charge that 'our fact tended rather to sedition and rebellion than to reformation of manners and abuses in religion.'[2] This is the motive and purpose of Book II., which was clearly designed as a tract for the times. Is it an honest tract?

Knox, in the preface to the Book, says that from it 'as well our enemies as our brethren in all realms may understand how falsely we are accused of tumult and rebellion, and how unjustly we are persecuted by France and by their faction.' That the Reformers were not guilty of 'tumult and rebellion' was their strange contention, even when they were allying themselves with a foreign power, and attacking the lawful Government. After their triumph, after the surrender of Leith, the death of the Regent, and the conclusion of the Treaty of Edinburgh (June-

[1] It is not within my scope to offer a thorough critique, in this place, but a few notes on his Book II. may not be inopportune.

[2] Knox, I. pp. 297-298.

July, 1560), Knox could not have expressed himself as he does in the preface to Book II. His party was no longer 'persecuted by France.' The Book is a statement of the case of the Reformers *before* their victory, an appeal, mainly, to English sympathies. Thus Book II. may be a κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί, but we must never forget that it was composed as an ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα, that it is a party pamphlet. Knox left Book II. as it stands, however, while he worked, as late as 1566, at the Introductory portion of his *History* (Book I.), and also at the chronicle of occurrences subsequent to the triumph of 1560. Events moved so rapidly, and the face of things changed so completely, that Book II. was not needed as a separate pamphlet. It was completed by September 23, 1560, as Randolph writes to Cecil on that date.

The pen of Knox was swift. He must have written a large part of Book II., even before he imparted his intention to Railton on October 23, 1559. This is clear, for Book II. opens on page 298 in the first volume of Laing's edition, and Knox had reached page 383, in that edition, by October, 1559—the month in which he writes to Railton. Eighty-five pages of Laing's text were already completed, at a period when the author was actively engaged as Secretary of the Congregation, as preacher, as Scottish correspondent of the Huguenots, and as diplomatist.

This haste may account for Knox's initial error. After describing very briefly in Book II. some events of (?) 1557 (the election of Elders by 'the Privy Kirk,' which as yet had 'no public ministers of the Word,' and the rise of Paul Methuen, the preaching baker of Dundee), Knox comes to the arrival of Willock, which Laing dates in October, 1558.[3] *After* the occurrences of the last months of 1558, 'shortly after these things,' Knox introduces the Martyrdom of Myln, dating it April 28, 1558, and thence goes on to the Parliament of November-December, 1558.[4]

Knox (I. p. 307) says 'that cruel tyrant and unmerciful hypocrite falsely called Bishop of St. Andrews,' apprehended and burned Myln, but (I. p. 360) declares of Hepburn, Bishop of Murray, that 'by *his* counsel alone was our brother, Walter Myln, put to death.' However this may be, the misplaced death of Myln causes great confusion in Knox's account of events, and,

[3] Knox, I. p. 245, note 2, p. 256. *Wodrow Miscellany*, I. 55 ("Historie").

[4] I know not why Laing says that Buchanan places Myln's martyrdom 'in April, 1559.' He places it in April, 1558. *Rer. Scot. Hist.*, p. 568. Elzevir, 1668. Knox, I. Appendix, XIII. p. 550; c.f. Knox, I. 301-307.

at the same time, though he may not have observed the fact, serves his party purpose, the reiterated charge of perfidy against the Regent, Mary of Guise. For it is *after* she had 'fully contented' the brethren 'with her answer,' that Myln, according to Knox, was burned (I. p. 307). Preliminaries being thus arranged or confused, Knox pursues the tale of the Regent's perfidy. The peace of Cateau Cambresis (April 2, 1559) being concluded, 'she began to spew forth and disclose the latent venom of her double heart.' She made her household 'use all abominations' (that is, communicate), 'at Easter.' The Devil then took stronger possession of her, it is thought (as in the case of Judas), and 'incontinent she caused our preachers to be summoned.' (Knox, I. 315.)

Buchanan makes this summons appear thus 'omnes Ecclesiarum totius Regni Ministros Sterlinum in jus vocavit' (p. 573). Dr. Robertson, following Buchanan, puts it that the Regent 'at once threw off the mask, and commanded all the Protestant preachers in the kingdom to be summoned' (Robertson I. p. 149, 1759). Even Tytler writes that the Regent 'with a rigour for which it is difficult to account . . . summoned the most distinguished among the reformed ministers. . . .' Most writers make the Regent act thus rigorously to please her brothers, the Guises—this is a commonplace of our historians. We ask, on the other hand, what in the circumstances, even if there had been no Guises, was the Regent to do? It does not appear that she meant to preside over a persecution. She was in bad health, she intended to leave Scotland for France, at this very time.[5] The Congregation, in December, 1558, had threatened to disturb Catholic services, and had 'contracted themselves out of' all legal penalties for so doing, and for consequent 'tumults and uproars.'[6] Here was *malum minatum* The Regent, in February and again on March 26, 1559, replied by proclamations against such disorders as were threatened. The preachers, namely Methuen, Harlaw, Christison, and Willock, set the proclamations at naught, preached, administered the sacraments, and gave occasion (says their summons)[7] to 'seditions and tumults' in Forfarshire, at Easter, 1559.

We must remember that public Protestant preaching had for long meant the bullying of priests, interruption of services, riots, and the wrecking of churches. The Regent, before the peace of

[5] Throckmorton to Cecil, May 18, 1559. Forbes, p. 97.
[6] Knox, I. pp. 313-314. [7] M'Crie, Appendix. G. G.

Cateau Cambresis, forbade these things, they all occurred, none the less, in the stereotyped way, and she summoned, for these *new* offences of March-April, 1559, four preachers who had already been summoned more than once or twice, on similar counts. But she now made no mention of their previous disorders. Could a ruler possibly do less than the Regent did, and is it necessary to suppose that she was 'Moved by the devil and the Duc de Guise?'

Knox's account leads the reader to conceive that the Regent summoned the preachers 'incontinent,' after she had 'used all abominations at Easter,' and heard of the conclusion of 'the peace betwixt King Philip and France and Us.' But it is clear that the four preachers were summoned not merely because they were preachers, but for *new* 'seditions and tumults,' their reply to her proclamations of February and March; which, again, were replies to their threats made in December.

Governors must govern. The Regent must have done as she did, if there had been no Guisian influences, and no peace of Cateau Cambresis.

Matters were at a deadlock.

Public preaching meant public rioting. Not to be allowed to destroy 'monuments of idolatry,' was identical with not being permitted to enjoy 'liberty of conscience.' Yet the Regent could not permit eternal tumults: she was obliged to summon the preachers. To 'account for her rigour' is, therefore, not 'difficult,' as Tytler supposed. If we understand Knox, the Regent must at first have withdrawn this summons, in deference to remonstrances which were probably threats. Glencairn and Campbell of Loudoun 'plainly forewarned her of the inconveniences that were to follow.' She at first, says Knox, replied impiously that the preachers should be banished, 'albeit they preached as truly as ever did St. Paul.'[8] Buchanan, whose use of Knox's manuscript is a curious topic, is here misprinted. The ministers, 'et si paulo sincerius concionabuntur, tamen exulabunt.'[9] The English translation (Aberdeen, 1799), renders the passage, 'though they preach never so sincerely,' an error unavoidable, where *paulo* is printed for *Paulo*. The Regent yielded to the threats, says Knox, but finally 'did summon *again*' the preachers for May 10, at Stirling.[10]

Was the Regent guilty of perfidy at this point? When the

[8] Knox, I. p. 316. [9] *Rer. Scot. Hist.*, p. 573. Elzevir, 1668.
[10] Knox, I. pp. 316-317.

town of Dundee and the gentry of Angus and Mearns met at Perth, to support the preachers, did the Regent give her promise to Erskine of Dun that, *(a)* if he would send home the mob *(turba non necessaria)*, or, *(b)* not allow them to march on Stirling, she would take no steps against the preachers in the meanwhile? Did many of the multitude then withdraw, and did the Regent seize the opportunity to put the preachers to the horn? This is Buchanan's account, and Tytler says that the Regent's action was 'as treacherous as it was short-sighted.'

But we do not know exactly what occurred. Buchanan probably condensed Knox's statement as given in his *History*, omitting what did not suit his case. According to Knox, in the *History*, 'the whole multitude with their preachers did stay,' in Perth, consequent on a promise of the Regent to Erskine of Dun that, if *he* would 'stay the multitude and the preachers'—from coming *en masse* to Stirling, *she* would 'take some better order.' The promise is of the vaguest, as David Hume observes. Suppose the Regent meant that, if Erskine made the multitude disperse (*domum remitteret*, as in Buchanan), she would 'take better order,' then her condition was not fulfilled, for 'the whole multitude did stay'—at Perth, according to Knox. Hearing of this, the Regent might say that, her condition not being accepted, she might outlaw the preachers, as she did. When Erskine brought news of this fact, the brethren sacked the monasteries of Perth. On this showing, there may have been a misunderstanding between Erskine and the Regent.

On the other hand, an account of what passed is given in a letter of Knox to Mrs. Locke, dated from St. Andrews on June 23, 1559. Here Knox accuses Regent, *and Council*, otherwise. The multitude was not to 'come to Stirling, which place was appointed to the preachers to appear,' in that case the summons would be postponed 'till further advisement.' Some of the brethren therefore went home—'the whole multitude' did *not* remain at Perth, as in Knox's *History*. The Regent then outlawed the preachers in their absence.[11]

One difficulty in accepting this version is that the *Historie of the State of Scotland*, a good authority, much more coherent than Knox's book, gives a different account. The Regent, in spite of the 'earnest request' of the brethren, remained obstinate, and would not postpone the summons.[12] Nothing is said by this author, nor in any manifesto by the Congregation, about her

[11] Knox, VI. pp. 22-23. [12] *Wodrow Miscellany*, I. p. 57. Lesley corroborates.

breach of promise.[13] Hume, in his *History of England*, is sceptical (it was his function) about Knox's account of the Regent's perfidy, and suggests that there was some *malentendu*. It is not clear why Knox, in his *History*, gives a vaguer version than in his letter to Mrs. Locke.

The Regent's position was difficult. She had several times dropped summonses against these very preachers, under threat of civil war, yet two of them, at least, Methuen and Harlaw, were already 'at the horn,' unless they had been released, of which we know nothing. She probably amused Erskine of Dun by some promise of 'taking better order,' and then seized the opportunity to put the preachers to the horn, which two of them had already found to be mere *brutum fulmen*, where local authorities connived at their proceedings. These two were Paul Methuen, who was 'at the horn' in November, 1558, but was protected, and Harlaw, also 'at the horn,' whom Alexander Stewart of Garlies had maintained, at Dumfries (Keith I. 495-496). If this view be correct the Regent was repaid, many times over, in her own coin, by her godly opponents, as we shall see, and was often accused of treachery when her conduct was either defensible or needed no defence.

Knox next, in Book II., gives his famous account of the wrecking of the monasteries in Perth (May 11) by '*the rascal multitude*,' in the absence of the gentlemen and of 'them that were earnest professors.' To Mrs. Locke, however, Knox makes no such pretences. 'Deceit being spied,' on the part of the Regent, '*the brethren* sought the next remedy. And first, after complaint and appellation from such a deceitful sentence' (a formal protest), 'they put their hands to reformation in St. Johnstoun, where the places of idolatry of Grey and Black Friars, and of Charter House monks, were made level with the ground . . . *and priests commanded, on pain of death, to desist from their blasphemous mass.*' Here it is not the rascal multitude, but 'the brethren,' who wreck the dens of idolators. Again, in his *History* Knox says nothing of the threat of the death penalty against priests, nor have I observed any mention of the fact in modern histories or biographies of the Reformer. The point is very important. Who had the privilege of executing the penalty? Not the preachers, of course, and law-abiding reformers would not entrust

[13] The account of Sir James Croft, writing from Berwick, on May 19, is clearly misinformed, but his words, in his MS. are less explicit than in the printed version, in *Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth*, I. pp. 212-213.

the duty to the mob, or to the gentlemen of Mearns and Angus. Clearly the magistrates of Perth must have been they who bore the sword, must have been 'the secular arm' to which the 'true ministers' of the Kirk handed over the 'idolators.' This view is confirmed by the circumstance that the bailies and Town Council of Edinburgh, in June, 1560, threatened death against non-convertible Catholics, while the Church had not yet been abolished by the Estates of August, 1560.[14]

These facts, not given by Knox in his *History*, explain the conduct of Mary of Guise in later removing the magistrates of Perth, and leaving four companies of Scots in French service. To do less was to abandon the priests who did their duty to the mercy of men who had denounced death against them. In his letter to Mrs. Locke, Knox, after mentioning this brutal and lawless threat, says 'which thing did so enrage the venom of the serpent's seed' (the Regent) 'that a sentence of death was pronounced against man, woman, and child,' Perth was to be razed and burned. The Reformers were accused by the Regent of intending 'subversion of authority,' not unnaturally, as they threatened death against law-abiding men.[15] In the *History* the Regent's threat is given—without mention of the threat against priests, which, in his letter to Mrs. Locke, Knox represents as the provocation that maddened the Regent.

That Mary of Guise intended to act in the spirit of Knox's favourite texts in Deuteronomy and Chronicles, nobody can suppose. Indeed the Reformers did not believe in her cruelty, and many left Perth, returning, 'some of us,' and fortifying the town, on May 22. The Regent was calling in her French troops, and the levies of several counties, when the brethren wrote several letters, to her, to her French officers, to the Nobles, and to the clergy, 'The Generation of Antichrist.' To the Regent they represented her threat of massacre as 'the only cause of our revolt,' as if the revolt had not preceded the threat, if ever it was made. They menaced with excommunication all nobles of their party who did not join them: they shall be cut off 'from all participation with us in the administration of Sacraments.' The judgment 'which apprehended Ananias and his wife Sapphira shall apprehend you and your posterity. Ye may perhaps contemn and despise the excommunication of the Church now by God's mighty power erected amongst us, as a thing of no force, but yet

[14] Hay Fleming, *The Scottish Reformation. Burgh Records of Edinburgh.*

[15] Knox, VI. p. 23.

doubt we nothing but that our Church, and the true ministers of the same' (five in all!)[16] 'have the same power which our master, Christ Jesus, granted to His Apostles in these words: "Whose sins ye shall forgive, shall be forgiven, and whose sins ye shall retain, shall be retained. . . ."'[17]

This is perhaps the earliest claim of the preachers to the privileges of excommunication, and of absolution of sins. It caused more than a century of strife. The Kirk, self-established, was already as fierce as in the best days of Andrew Melville. Ruthven, Provost of Perth, would not yet go to these lengths, and left Perth on May 24. On the same day, Argyll and Lord James Stewart came to parley, from the Regent, and returned to her next day, being given to understand that no rebellion was intended. On May 28, all strangers were bidden to leave Perth, on pain of treason. But, hearing of Glencairn's approach with a force of 2,500 horse and foot, the Regent requested a parley at Auchterarder, where she lay, fourteen miles off. In his *History* Knox gives the terms requested by his party thus: No Perth men to be troubled for the late uproar; Protestantism to 'go forward'; no garrison of French soldiers to be left on the Regent's departure. Glencairn now arrived in Perth, and Argyll with Lord James accepted the terms, promising to join the brethren if the Regent broke them. To Mrs. Locke, Knox adds, as two of the terms, that 'no idolatry should be erected, nor alteration made within the town.' We have not the terms of capitulation in writing, unluckily, and we shall see how Knox deals with terms of another treaty which do survive, duly recorded. Buchanan says, Knox does not, that no Frenchmen were to come within three miles of the town. We really do not know the exact conditions of the treaty. 'Before the Lords departed,' a Band was signed (the Band is dated May 31), Argyll and Lord James heading the signatories. The Regent's envoys bind themselves in this Band to continue in 'destroying and away putting, all things that does dishonour to God's name.'[18] Did Argyll and Lord James thus commit themselves *before* the Regent had been accused of breaking treaty? As they say that they are *all* in Perth, and as the Congregation departed on May 29, the dates are confusing. Knox had prophesied, on May 28, that the terms would be broken: and, he says, they were. The shooting of a boy was attributed to design—a similar accident, to a Jacobite lady,

[16] No more seem to have been concerned. [17] Knox, I. p. 333.

[18] Knox, I. p. 344.

occurred when Prince Charles entered Edinburgh after Prestonpans. Writing to Mrs. Locke, Knox turns the child into 'children.' The Catholics performed their rites (was this forbidden by treaty?), the Magistrates were deposed—why, we have explained—and Scots in French service, four hundred in all, were left to preserve order. They certainly were not Frenchmen. *After* this, Argyll and Lord James may appear, really, to have made the Band already mentioned, with Ruthven, Menteith, and Tullibardine.[19] But this theory scarcely holds water, for the names of Ruthven, Menteith, and Tullibardine do not occur among those who sign. Argyll and Lord James, in any case, left Perth for St. Andrews on June 1, summoning the faithful in Angus to meet them for the reformation of St. Andrews on June 3. Knox represents himself (I. p. 347) as 'minding to preach in St. Andrews' on Sunday, June 3 (really June 4), but (I. p. 349) he actually preached there on Sunday, June 11. What happened in the intervening week? Writing to Mrs. Locke, on June 23, he dates the beginning of the Reformation, at St. Andrews, on June 14, which, he implies, was 'that Sabbath.' It was a Wednesday. He says that he preached on Sunday, and the three next days, and that the 'reformation' began on June 14. As Sunday was June 11, it would seem that four days of sermons were needed before St. Andrews began to be 'reformed,' or wrecked.

The next important event was the conference at Cupar Muir, on June 13, which, as Knox in his *History* truly remarks, was a Tuesday. In this case we have the written terms—or some of them. The Regent is to transport all her forces out of Fife, except three small garrisons: the truce is to stand for eight days, during this time some nobles may meet to discuss the situation, 'such things as may make good order and quietness.'[20] The brethren, during this time, shall not be 'troubled' by the Government. The Regent, Knox alleges, now showed her 'craft and deceit' by sending no envoys to the Lords at St. Andrews. This so-called breach of terms may be explained by the fact that these Lords, at Cupar Muir, professed their purpose to go on wrecking, putting down 'idolatry,' and, in the eight days' truce, did wreck the Abbey of Lindores. So Knox tells Mrs. Locke. Where was the use of sending envoys to prattle of 'good order and quietness' to men who, during the interval of truce, were burning mass

[19] Knox, I. pp. 346-347. [20] Knox, I. p. 353.

books, overthrowing altars, and forcing the religious to wear lay apparel? In the *History* Knox omits the wrecking of Lindores, which, we may argue, explains the failure to send envoys to parley about 'good order and quietness.' *A Historie of the Estate of Scotland* mentions, as a term in this treaty, 'that the Congregation should enterprize nothing, nor make no invasion for the space of six days following, for the Lords and principals of the Congregation read the rest on another piece of paper'—whatever these last words may mean (*Wodrow Miscellany*, I. p. 60). So they invaded Lindores! Knox here publishes an undated letter written to the Regent, during the interval, by Argyll and Lord James. They complain of but one infraction of the Regent's promises, that no soldier should remain in the town [of Perth] after her departure. 'And suppose it may be inferred' (according to Knox it was explicitly stated) 'that it was spoken of French soldiers only, yet we took it otherwise, as we do yet, that Scotsmen, or any other nation, taking the King of France's wages, are reputed and held to be French soldiers.' If 'Frenchmen' was the term of treaty, the treaty was not infringed: we have no means, we repeat, of ascertaining the actual conditions. The two Lords ask for the removal of the Scots companies, and the restoration of the Bailies of Perth.

Meanwhile Knox tells neither Mrs. Locke nor the readers of Book II. that, during or just after this interval, he and Kirkcaldy of Grange began to intrigue with England. This intrigue, which involved a proposal of the marriage of Arran, son of the next heir to the Scottish crown, the Duke of Chatelherault, with the Queen of England, was to be, and is kept dark, in the pamphlet, now Book II. Knox in the tract, now Book II., gives Mary of Guise the lie, when she asserts that the brethren were trafficking with England, as we shall see. He could not confess it, and keep up his pretence of loyalty, the burden of the pamphlet. But, later, in Book III,[21] when he could glory safely in his intrigue, the Reformer tells us how, 'in St. Andrews, after Cupar Muir,' he 'burstit forth,' in talk with Kirkcaldy on the necessity of 'craving support' from England. The letters of Kirkcaldy to Cecil, one undated (in the Calendar dated, by an unlucky guess, 'May 23?'), others of June 23 and June 25, with one from Knox, exist, and the Arran-Elizabeth marriage is already hinted at very plainly. Whitelaw, a friend of Knox, about June 28, had suggested it to Throckmorton, in Paris.[22] The marriage would bring the

[21] Knox, II. p. 22.

[22] Forbes, p. 147.

Hamiltons, the last hope of the Regent in Scotland, over to the Congregation, and would naturally oust Mary Stuart from the throne of her native land.

This, at least, was Knox's design. He shows his hand plainly in a letter to Cecil of July 19, 1559. He says that they must be careful lest, in permitting the rule of a woman 'judged godly' (namely Elizabeth), they 'make entrance and title to many, by whom not only shall the truth be impugned, but also shall the country be brought to danger and slavery.'[23] The 'many,' to whom 'entrance and title' are to be denied, are clearly—Maria, Franciae et Scotiae Regina. The details of the scheme, Knox is 'not minded to commit to paper and ink,' but Kirkcaldy, in June, had twice pointed to Arran's marriage with Elizabeth.

As Laing observes, in Book II., 'the application made by the Protestants for aid from England is scarcely alluded to.'[24] It was not likely to be alluded to, much, in a passage written forty pages earlier than the part dealing with October, 1559, while Knox (I. p. 365) was denying that the brethren had any dealings with England. 'There is never a sentence of the narrative true,' he has the assurance there to write, with reference to the Regent's proclamation of July 1, 1559, in which she accuses the Lords of trafficking with England 'daily.' And, indeed, they did *not* write to England every day, if any one likes to shield Knox under that rather 'Jesuitical' reply!

Whatever the exact measure of the perfidy of Mary of Guise, at this time, as a politician, it may be admitted that, in Knox as a historian, she had a pretty apt pupil. 'We are loyal, though pious, we intend no alteration of Authority,' he was proclaiming, with the pen and from the pulpit. The Regent's plain tale 'did not a little grieve us, who most unjustly were accused.'[25] The Regent herself did not know how deeply Knox and Kirkcaldy were really implicated.

The next point of importance is Knox's account of the 'appointment,' or terms of truce, made by the Congregation with the Regent on the links of Leith, July 24, 1559. She had them at an advantage, many of their faction had scattered, Erskine, from the Castle, threatened them, if they did not make terms. Here we must quote Knox in full.

'Heirupoun was consultatioun tackin; and in conclusioun, it was found less domage to tak ane Appointment, albeit the

[23] Knox, VI. p. 45. [24] Knox, II. p. 33, note 1. [25] Knox, I. p. 365.

conditionis war nocht suche as we desyred, than to hasard battall betuix two suche ennemeis. After lang talkin, certane Headis war drawin by us, whiche we desyred to be granted:—

'First, That no member of the Congregation should be trubled in lief, landis, goodis, or possessionis by the Quene, hir Authoritie, nor any uther Justice within the realme, for any thing done in the lait innovatioun, till a Parliament (whiche should begin the tent of Januar nixt) had decyded thingis in contraversie.

'2. That *idolatrie should nocht be erected, whare it was at that day suppressed.*[26]

'3. That the preacheouris and ministeris should nocht be trubled in thair ministrie, whare thai war alreadie establessed, nather yit stopped to preache, wharesoever thai should chance to come.

'4. That no bandis of men of warr should be layed in garneshing within the town of Edinburght.

'5. That the Frenche men should be send away at a reasonable day, and that none uther should be broght in the cuntrey without consent of the haill Nobilitie and Parliament.'[26]

But these our Articles war altered, and ane uther forme disposeth, as efter followeth:—

'At the Lynkis of Leith, the 24. of Julij 1559, it is Appointed in maner following:—

'In the first, the Congregatioun and thair cumpany, utheris than the inhabitantis of the said Town, shall remove thame selffis furth of the said town, the morne at ten houris befoir none, the 25. of Julij, and leaf the same void and red of thame and thair said cumpany, conforme to the Quenis Grace pleasour and desyre.

'*Item*, The said Congregatioun shall caus the irnes of the Cunze-hous, tacken away be thame, be randered agane to Maister Robert Richardsone—and Holyrood to John Balfour or another—in the same maner as it was receaved, and that betuix the making of thir Articles and the morne at ten houris.—(For observing and keaping of thir tua Articles abovewrittin, the Lord Ruthven and the Lard of Pittarrow hes entered thame selffis pledges.)

'*Item*, The saidis Lordis of Congregatioun, and all the memberis thairof, shall remane obedient subjectis to our Soverane Lord and Ladyis authoritie, and to the Quenis Grace Regent in thair place; and shall obey all lawis and lovable consuetudis of

[26] This does not occur in what I regard as the real terms actually granted.

this realme, as thai war used of befoir the moving of this tumult and contraversie, exceptand the caus of religioun, whiche salbe heirafter specifeid.

'*Item*, The said Congregatioun, nor nane of thame, shall nocht truble nor molest a Kirkman be way of dead, nor yit shall maik thame any impediment in the peaciable bruiking, joising, and uptaking of thair rentis, proffittis, and deweties of thair benefices, bot that thai may frelie use and dispone upoun the same, according to the lawis and consuetude of this realme, to the tent day of Januar nixt to cum.

'*Item*, The said Congregatioun, nor nane of tham, shall in no wayis from thynefurth use ony force or violence, in casting down of kirkis, religious placis, or reparrelling thairof, bot the same sall stand skaithles of thame, unto the said tent day of Januar.

'*Item*, The town of Edinburght shall, without compulsioun, use and cheise what religioun and maner thairof thay please to the said day; sua that everie man may have fredome to use his awin conscience to the day foirsaid.

'*Item*, The Quenis Grace sall nocht interpone hir authoritie, to molest or truble the preacheouris of the Congregatioun, nor thair ministrie, (to thame that pleasis to use the same,) nor na uther of the said Congregatioun, in thair bodyis, landis, goodis, or possessionis, pensionis, or whatsumever uther kynd of goodis thai possess; nor yit thoill the Clargie, or any uther haveand spirituall or temporall jurisdictioun, to truble thame, in ony maner of sort, privatlie or openlie, for the caus of religioun, or uther actioun depending thairupoun, to the said tent day of Januar within writtin; and that everie man in particular leife in the meantyme according to his awin conscience.

'*Item*, That na man of warr, Frenche nor Scottis, be layed in daylie garnesoun within the town of Edinburght, bot to repair thairto to do thair lefull besynes, and thairefter to reteir thame to thare garnesounis.'

This alteratioun in wordis and ordour was maid without knowledge and consent of those whose counsale we had used in all cases befoir.[27] For sum of thame perceaving we began to faynt, and that we wald appoint with inequall conditionis, said, 'God hath wonderfullie assisted us in our greatest dangeris: He hath strikin fear in the hartis of our ennemeis, when thai supposed thame selffis most assured of victorie: our case is nocht yit sa disperat that we nead to grant to thingis unreasonable and

[27] This must refer to Knox and the other preachers.

ungodlie; whiche, yf we do, it is to be feared that thingis sall nocht so prosperouslie succeid as thai have done heirtofoir.'

When all thingis war commoned and aggreed upoun by myd personis, the Duke and Erle of Huntlie, who that day war against us, desyred to speak the Erlis of Ergyle and Glencarne, the Lord James, and utheris of our partie: who obeying thare requeastis, mett thame at the Querrell Hollis, betuix Leyth and Edinburght, who in conclusioun promest to our Lordis, 'That yf the Quene breake to us any one joyt of the Appointment than maid, that thai should declair thame selffis plane ennemeis unto hir, and freindis to us.'

Alsmuche promeshed the Duke that he wold do, in case that sche wald nocht remove hir Frenche men at ane reasonable day; for the oppressioun whiche thai did was manifest to all men.

This Appointment maid and subscrived by the Duke, Monsieur Dosell, and the Erle of Huntlie, the 25. of Julij, we returned to the town of Edinburght, whare we remanit till the nixt day at none; when, efter sermone, dennar, and a proclamatioun maid at the Mercat Croce in forme as followeth, we departed.

Forme of the Proclamatioun.

'Forasmuche as it hath pleased God, that Appointment is maid betuix the Quene Regent and us the Lordis, hole Protestantis of this Realme, we have thocht good to signifie unto yow the cheafe Headis of the same, whiche be these:—

'First, That no member of the Congregatioun shalbe trubled in lief, landis, goodis, or possessionis, by the Quene, by hir Authoritie, nor by any uther Justice within this realme, for any thing done in this lait innovatioun, till that a Parliament hath decyded thingis that be in contraversie.

'2. *That idolatrie shall nocht be erected, whare it is now at this day suppressed.*[28]

'3. That the preachearis and ministeris shall nocht be trubled in the ministratioun, whare thai ar already estableshed, nather yit stopped to preache whairsoevir thai shall happin to travaill within this realme.

'4. That no bandis of men of warr shalbe layed in garnesoun within the town of Edinburght.

These cheafe headis of Appointment concerning the libertie of religioun and conservatioun of our bretherin, we thoght goode

[28] This does not occur in the real terms.

to notifie unto yow, by this our Proclamatioun, that in case wrong or injurie be done, by any of the contrarie factioun, to any member of our body, complaint may be maid to us, to whome we promese, as we will answer to God, our faithfull support to the uttermost of our poweris.'

At this proclamatioun, maid with sound of trumpett, war offended all the Papists: for, first, Thai alledged it was done in contempt of the Authoritie: secundarlie, That we had proclamed more than was conteaned in the Appointment: and last, That we, in our proclamation, had maid no mentioun of any thing promished unto thame. To suche mummeris we answered, 'That no just Authoritie culd think the selff contempned, becaus that the treuth was by us maid manifest unto all, who utherwayis mycht have pretendit ignorance. Secundlie, That we proclamed nathing, whiche [was] nocht finallie aggreit upoun in word and promeiss betuix us and thame with quhame the Appointment was maid, whatsoevir thair scribeis had efter writtin, quha in verray deid had alterit, bayth in wordis and sentenceis, oure Articles, as thay war first consavit; and yitt, gif thair awin writtingis war diligentlie examinit, the self same thing sall be found in substance.[29] And last, To proclame any thing in thair favouris, we thocht it nocht necessarie, knawing that in that behalf thay thame selfis sould be diligent anewch.' And in this we war not desavit; for within fyftene dayis efter, thair was not ane schaveling in Scotland, to wham teyndis, or any uther rentis pertenit, bot he had that Article of the Appointment by hart, 'That the Kirk men sould be ansuerit of teyndis, rentis, and all uthir dewties, and that no man sould trubill nor molest thame.'

Knox in Book II. gives, (1) the terms demanded by his party. (2) The terms actually accepted. (3) The terms as mendaciously proclaimed by his party to have been accepted. These are the same as (1) their demands, except (I. No. 5) that the French should be expelled the country and no more brought in. The real terms are those (2) which are verified by the French version.[30] It was never conceded by the Regent that the French should be sent out of the country. Buchanan honestly gives the real terms (2) though he had Knox's MS. *History* before him.[31] It is inexplicable that Knox not only accuses the Regent's scribes of fraudulently altering the real terms, but that he, or Kirkcaldy, or both, sent the false terms to Cecil, on July 24. Again, it is

[29] This, in my opinion, is absolutely false. [30] In Teulet, I. p. 334-335.

[31] *Rer. Scot. Hist.*, p. 581.

inexplicable that Knox, in a secret visit to Croft, Governor of Berwick, orally assured him that under the treaty of July 24, the French were to leave Scotland on August 15.[32]

How could Knox, the secretary, and the messenger to England, of the Congregation, fail to be aware that the terms of July 24 made no mention of sending away the French? How could he keep asserting that they did contain this clause? On August 28, the Regent replied: 'She ashamed not to set out a proclamation,' says Knox, denouncing the 'seditious persons' who 'have maliciously devised' the story about the false article in the treaty of July 24: specially the story that to bring in more Frenchmen was contrary to that treaty. The bearer of the Regent's proclamation had the text of the treaty to show.[33] The writer of the Lords' reply could not deny the fact,[34] nor could the framers of another reply.[35] Yet the brethren kept on averring that the article about sending away the French, and bringing in no more was part of the treaty, when Balnaves met Sadleir in September.[36] (Sadleir to Cecil, Sept. 8.)

The conduct of Knox, as politician and historian, in this matter may admit of some explanation which I cannot imagine. It has been suggested that a *verbal* promise to dismiss the French had been made. If so, the Lords do not attest the fact in their later proclamations. At present I only argue that, as his statements about the treaty of July 24 are, or seem, singularly false and deliberately misleading, we cannot confide in him where we cannot check his evidence. The charges against the Regent gave Chatelherault his desirable excuse for deserting the Regent when Arran came safely home in September. 'We have tempted the Duke by all means possible,' write Argyll and Lord James to Cecil, on August 13, 1559.[37] When Arran arrived, after a meeting with Elizabeth in England, the Duke made up his wavering mind; the brethren had come up to his price, and he joined the Congregation.

It is true that, later, in January, 1560, the Regent had a letter forged on a sealed blank of the Duke's, which came into her hand. 'Evil communications corrupt good manners.' During 1559, I do not think that the balance of perfidy lay on the side of Mary of Guise.

Since this paper was in type I have made, I think, a little

[32] Croft to Cecil, August 3, 1559. *Bain's Calendar*, I. 233, 234, 237; cf. *S. P. Scot. Eliz.*, Vol. I. No. 74.

[33] Knox, I. pp. 397-398. [34] Knox, I. p. 402. [35] Knox, I. p. 409.

[36] Sadleir Papers. [37] Knox, VI. p. 66.

discovery. On p. 122, lines 3-8, is a reference to the account of the truce of Cupar Muir, as described in 'A Historie of the Estate of Scotland,' in *Wodrow Miscellany*, I. p. 60. The author includes in the terms, and Knox does not, that the Reformers shall make no 'invasion' during truce, 'for the Lords and principals of the Congregation read the rest on another piece of paper.' I add 'whatever these last words may mean.' Now what they mean is no mystery, on reflection. Knox (I. 353-354) prints the assurance given *by the Catholic party only*, the document is signed only by Chatelherault, and an indecipherable name, of which an attempted facsimile is given. I suppose it cannot have been 'Marie R'? Laing suggests that the facsimile may not have been 'minutely accurate.' The Regent was consulted, at Falkland, and Riddell's conjecture (Knox I. 354, Note 1) is impossible. So is mine, I fear! However this may be, Knox's document gives only the assurances of the Catholics. The Reformers must also have given corresponding assurances of quiet during the truce, and these, as the Author of the 'Historie' says, they read 'on another piece of paper.' They broke these terms of non-invasion at Lindores, and no biographer of Knox has here quoted the 'Historie.'

Now the phrase 'The Lords and principals of the Congregation read the rest on another piece of paper,' is the expression of an eye-witness and hearer of what occurred. Their written assurance would be given to the Catholic leaders. In editing the 'Historie,' Laing says that it 'contains nothing that enables us to identify the writer,' and doubts if he lived at the time and 'described events as an eye-witness.' But the phrase cited is that of an eye-witness. Now Knox (I. 307) cites 'the Chronicle gathered by the Laird of Earl's Hall,' for a story that the clergy in 1558 (1559 probably) gave the Regent £40,000. Our 'Historie' (*Wodrow Misc.*, p. 56) states the sum as 'within 15,000 lib.' The fact is not elsewhere mentioned, and the discrepancy in figures may be a slip of Knox's memory, if he did not verify his reference, or a copyist's error, our MS. of the 'Historie' being as late as 1663. At all events Pitscottie also mentions Sir William Bruce of Earl's Hall as a chronicler. He was alive in 1563. Now I think that the statements in the 'Historie' about events in Fife (pp. 76-77) show the hand of a Fife man: compare the criticism of the efforts of Lord James and Arran against the French, and their 'pretence' of having 'hindered' the French, 'albeit they were not parti,' and 'for

twelve days durst scarcely show themselves,' with Knox's flourishing version of their valour 'that passed all credibility' (Knox II. 9). If, then, the 'Historie' is by a man of Fife, we know no such chronicler (Pitscottie is out of the question), except Bruce of Earl's Hall. That house is within four miles of Cupar Muir, and Bruce may very well have been there when the Lords 'read the rest on another piece of paper.' At all events I offer the suggestion to criticism.

My conclusion is that, as a party pamphleteer, in 1559, Knox exceeded the limits of honest journalism. His plan was to deny the existence of any scheme against 'the Authority,' though he aimed at nothing less; to deny the intrigues with England in which he was taking the foremost part; and to accuse the Regent of perfidy, by asserting the existence of terms which assuredly did not exist in the Treaty of July 24. On that point is it conceivable that the Lords of his party were so stupid and false as to deceive their secretary and secret envoy? The English could not but discover their blundering perfidy, if they really took this line, and Knox himself would have justly resented their deceit. On the other hand, if he knew the facts, and misrepresented them to the English, his diplomacy was equally foolish and false. In his *History*, as far as I can discover, he deliberately concealed the truth on several essential points, and sometimes accused the Regent of perfidy when she was not guilty. I shall be happy if I can be shewn to have misapprehended the matter. Knox's curious errors, in Book I., as to past events of which he was an eye-witness, may be due to illusions of memory, and neglect of the evidence of other eye-witnesses, but several statements in Book II. cannot thus be explained. It must be observed that I am not denying the right of the Protestants to rise in arms, to ally themselves with a foreign power, and to change the dynasty, if they could. I am only asking whether Knox's account of the events is honest, candid, and veracious. My reference to State Papers (MS.) in Note 32, discloses a strange blunder in Mr. Bain's Calendar (I. 234). Knox, or Kirkcaldy, or both, sent to Cecil some of the true but also the false terms of treaty. Mr. Bain alleges that they sent the true, those of the French version.

ANDREW LANG.

The Influence of Knox

THE great influence exercised by Knox was strikingly manifested on various occasions, and is vouched for both by his friends and opponents. In 1552, when he was one of the chaplains of Edward the Sixth, he made his indelible mark on the Second Book of Common Prayer. If he had had his way, kneeling in the act of receiving the elements in the Lord's Supper would have been abolished in the Church of England. He did not manage to accomplish that; but it was in consequence of his action that the rubric known as the Black Rubric, and also as the Declaration on Kneeling, was inserted in the first edition of that Second Book after the sheets were actually printed off.[1] That rubric declares that the kneeling does not mean 'that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or to any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians.'[2] The far-reaching and distinctive Protestant teaching of this rubric is unquestionable, whether the critic be a high-churchman or a low-churchman. It was in reference to this declaration that Weston, in his disputation with Latimer at Oxford in April, 1554, said: 'A runagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last Communion-book: so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time.'[3]

The English exiles at Frankfort on the Maine, who were bent on using King Edward's Book of Common Prayer, accused Knox of *lèse majesté* against the Emperor.[4] Had these men not

[1] Lorimer's *Knox and the Church of England*, pp. 98-119.

[2] *Two Liturgies of Edward VI.*, Parker Society, p. 283.

[3] Cattley's *Foxe*, vi. 510.

[4] *Troubles at Frankfort*, 1846, pp. xliiii., xlv.

realised that his opposition was otherwise insurmountable they would not have stooped to such an expedient in order to get rid of one who was a fellow-Protestant and a fellow-exile.

The reforming nobles of Scotland must have early recognised Knox's power and popular gifts, or they would not have pressed him, once and again, to return to his native land, when they thought they saw a prospect of success. He reached Edinburgh on the 2nd of May, 1559; and nine days later he preached, in Perth, a sermon which 'was vehement against idolatrie.'[5] The crash which followed reverberated far and near. On the 13th of next month, Throckmorton, the English Ambassador in Paris, urged Elizabeth to forget Knox's 'former faultes,' considering what he 'is hable to do in Scotland, whiche is very muche, all this turmoile there being by him stirred as it is.'[6] Two years later, Throckmorton, again writing from Paris to Elizabeth, informed her that he understood that the Queen of Scots—who was then on the eve of her return to her own kingdom—was thoroughly persuaded that Knox was the most dangerous man in all the realm, and that she was therefore fully determined to use all means for his banishment, or else to assure her nobles that she would never dwell there so long as he was in the country. He added that, to make the reformer the more odious to Elizabeth, she intended to send to her, if she had not already done so, his 'First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women.' Elizabeth did not require this treatise; she had long known of it, and resented it; and it was to it that Throckmorton alluded, in 1559, when he asked her to forget the 'former faultes.' Again he pleads that, whatever Mary may insinuate against him, Knox is as much for Elizabeth's purpose as any man of all that nation, and that his deeds and his zeal sufficiently atoned for his fault in writing that book.[7]

A few days after Mary arrived in Scotland, Randolph, writing from Edinburgh, assured Cecil that the voice of one man was able to put more life in the Protestants in an hour, than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in their ears. The one man, of course, was Knox, and in the same letter it is related that he had already had an interview with Mary, and that the report of this 'maketh the Papists dowte what wyll become of the worlde.'[8] As a preacher Knox roused opposition as well as enthusiasm. So early as May, 1560, a citizen of St. Andrews

[5] Laing's *Knox*, i. 318, 321. [6] Forbes' *Public Transactions*, i. 130.
[7] *Foreign Calendar Elizabeth*, iv. 179, 180. [8] Wright's *Elizabeth*, i. 72, 73.

was charged with having said: 'The divell knok owt Johne Knox his harnes, for, quhen he wald se him hanged he wald gett his sacrament.'[9] It was only natural that those who leaned to the old church should dislike him to whom they attributed its subversion. His influence as a preacher was not confined to the populace, nor exercised only in denunciation. After the Protestants were constrained to evacuate Edinburgh in November, 1559, he so comforted them by a sermon on the eightieth Psalm that they were wondrously emboldened;[10] and at the funeral of the Regent Murray, in February, 1569-70, 'he moved three thowsand persons to shed teares.'[11] His persuasiveness as a preacher is admitted by Father Alexander Baillie, who hated him, and who lamented that 'one apostat priest' should have had such authority and power.[12]

His power in religious and ecclesiastical matters was exercised, not only by his pulpit ministrations, but by his private letters and publications. Over and above the works which were entirely his own, he took a prominent part in the preparation of three books, which gave a distinctive tone and character to the Reformed Church of Scotland, and continued to do so long after his death. These were: (1) The *Book of Common Order*, (2) the *Confession of Faith*, and (3) the *First Book of Discipline*. Of the two last named, Spottiswoode, the Superintendent of Lothian, was one of the six joint-authors, nevertheless his son, Archbishop Spottiswoode, says that the *First Book of Discipline* was 'framed by John Knox.'[13] It may be held, therefore, that he was to a large extent, if not altogether, the author of the notably far-seeing and far-reaching scheme of education unfolded in that book. The scheme—though not carried out even yet in its entirety—has been fraught with blessing to the country.

When Kirkcaldy of Grange held Edinburgh Castle for the Queen he quarrelled with Knox. It was rumoured that he intended to slay him. Immediately on hearing this, the leading brethren of the West, headed by the Earl of Glencairn, wrote to Kirkcaldy, reminding him that God had made Knox 'both the first planter and also the cheif waterer of his kirk' in Scotland, and that, in their judgment, its prosperity and increase depended

[9] *Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session*, i. 36.

[10] Laing's *Knox*, i. 467-473.

[11] Calderwood's *History*, ii. 526.

[12] *Catholic Tractates*, Scottish Text Society, pp. 272, 273.

[13] Spottiswoode's *History*, i. 371.

on his life.[14] After his death, Beza referred to him as the Apostle of the Scots in the restoring of the true worship of God;[15] and his faithful servitor, Richard Bannatyne, described him as 'the lycht of Scotland,' and 'the comfort of the kirke within the same.'[16] These friendly estimates were not mere panegyrics. The men who made them knew what Knox had done for his native land; and they knew something of the ignorance, the corruption, and the depravity, from which he had done so much to set it free. The opinion of his friends was unwittingly corroborated by his ecclesiastical enemies, whose malignant hatred found vent after his death in heaping up slanders and abuse on his memory. And the great influence which he exerted in moulding the Church of Scotland is thus indirectly acknowledged by a cautious and competent historian of the Church of England: 'Had there arisen in England such a reformer as John Knox showed himself to be in Scotland, the liturgy, the sacraments, the orders, the historical continuity of the English Church, might have been lost.'[17]

In the sixteenth century, it would have been utterly impossible for such a man as Knox to confine himself, in the pulpit, to matters which were strictly religious; and, consequently, he frequently proclaimed his opinion on pressing political problems, in no ambiguous terms, to the most influential audience in the kingdom. For example, Throckmorton, writing from Edinburgh five weeks after Queen Mary was thrown into Loch Leven Castle, informs Elizabeth that Mr. Knox daily prays for the continuance of the amity with England, and likewise admonishes his auditory to eschew the old alliance with France, as they would fly from the pots of Egypt, which brought them nothing but sugared poison.[18] A week before this, Throckmorton had informed his queen that he feared Knox's austerity against Mary as much as any man's.[19] In private conference, as well as in the pulpit, Knox had many opportunities of influencing the nobles. It may suffice to refer specially to one of these, mentioned by Randolph as having occurred in November, 1562, a month after Huntly's death at Corrichie. Chatelherault and Randolph supped with Knox on Sunday evening. In Randolph's presence,

[14] R. Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, pp. 81, 82.

[15] Beza's *Icones*, sig. Ee iii. [16] Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, p. 289.

[17] G. G. Perry's *History of the English Church*, second period, p. 11.

[18] Stevenson's *Selections from Unpublished Manuscripts*, p. 240.

[19] *Ibid.* p. 208.

the Duke promised three things to Knox, to continue in his profession of Christ's Word, to show himself an obedient subject to his sovereign as far as in duty and conscience bound, and to fulfil his promise for the maintenance of peace and amity between Scotland and England.[20] When Bothwell wished to be reconciled to Arran he went to Knox for advice. When the Queen desired that Argyll and his countess should be reconciled, she invoked the aid of Knox. When James the Sixth was crowned, Knox preached the sermon. The position he occupied was unique, as was also the influence he possessed.

It was, no doubt, largely due to the feeling and interest roused by his preaching, all over the country, that there was such an unprecedented attendance of the lesser barons in the Parliament of 1560—that Parliament which abolished the Papal jurisdiction in Scotland, and ratified the doctrines of the Reformed Church. The popular and representative character of the courts of the Reformed Church gave a new power to the people, and taught them how to use it. To Knox, more than to any other man, Scotland was indebted for the Reformation. The intrepid independence and unflagging zeal manifested by him were not lost upon his countrymen, who continued to cherish his memory; and to his teaching, example, and labours they are still indebted, in part at least, for those qualities which have enabled them to hold their own in the stern battle of life.

D. Hay Fleming.

[20] Stevenson's *Selections from Unpublished Manuscripts*, p. 106.

Periodical Literature of the Eighteenth Century

IT is not from acts of parliament, state papers and charter chests alone that history is to be learnt. This may appear a trite saying, yet it is one that many people are apt to forget. When Carlyle delivered his famous rectorial address at Edinburgh in 1866, he reminded his hearers that it was necessary 'to look into side sources and inquire in all directions,' and his warning holds good for all time. It is well, therefore, to turn aside now and then from the beaten track, and ascertain how our forefathers amused themselves, how they occupied their leisure, and what they read; and it is my purpose in this paper to give some account of the early Scottish periodicals, their principal contributors and the nature of their contents. And to the student of character the subject thus approached in its social aspect is a fascinating one. We have it on the authority of Charles Lamb, that when disinclined for more serious study, he would wile away an hour or two skimming over the pages of some old magazine, in which perchance he might alight upon an entertaining piece of antiquated scandal or amusing anecdote.[1] So far from reckoning periodicals amongst the catalogue of 'books which are no books,' such as court calendars, directories, almanacks, scientific treatises and the like, he has enlightened us as to how a set of magazines should be suitably bound so as to withstand the wear and tear of constant use. In the libraries of many individuals these trim volumes may often be met with, and being regarded as mere lumber, they are as a rule relegated to the top shelf, a fate to which they would not be subject if Lamb's practice of desultory reading were generally adopted.

[1] *Last Essays of Elia*, No. 3. Another brilliant essayist, the late Sir Leslie Stephen, recommends the 'great art of skipping' in reading a miscellaneous collection such as the old *Gentleman's Magazine*, and even ventures to say that no man can be an enthusiast for letters unless he is sensible of this pleasure (*Studies of a Biographer*, 1899, i. 29).

The rise of periodical literature in Scotland dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The influence of Addison and Steele was soon felt, since, as early as 1711, there appeared another *Tatler* by 'Donald MacStaff of the North,' which was printed on a single sheet at the shop of James Watson, next door to the Red Lion, opposite to the Lucken-booths, Edinburgh. Amongst the literary wares provided by its author, who is supposed to be Robert Hepburn of Bearford,[1] were reflections on wits and politicians and remarks on beaux and the ladies; but despite the fact that the paper was sold for the small sum of one penny, it does not seem to have been a success. The fourth issue, which is still extant in the British Museum Library, is concerned with the nature and origin of the evils resulting from the undue severity of parents towards their children, a topic upon which there was doubtless much need to insist.

The *Scots Magazine* (1739-1826) produced by William Sands, bookseller and quondam magistrate of the city of Edinburgh, was the first publication of the kind in Scotland, and it outlived all its contemporaries. It was modelled on the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which had commenced in London eight years earlier, and professed to give its readers a succinct account of public affairs, foreign and domestic, as well as a general view of religion, politics and entertainments. The contents must have appealed to persons of diverse tastes, and the opportunity of affording the public useful information is never lost sight of. In glancing over several of the volumes at random we find amongst the papers :—An easy method of extracting Cubic Roots of Binomials; A receipt to make Hasty Soup; Dr. Turnbull's cure for the Gout; A Narrative of the many horrid cruelties inflicted by Mrs. Elizabeth Brownrigg upon her poor apprentice girls; A method of building chimneys that will not smoke, of reaping honey without destroying the bees and of sweetening sea-water; Advice to young gentlemen on leaving the University; and A history of the late Comet. A special feature of the *Scots Magazine* was the list of marriages, births, deaths, and preferments, which regularly appeared and which must have added to the popularity of the magazine, the record of these domestic events not being confined to persons of high station, nor to Scotland, and newspapers being scarce. For instance, in February, 1769, the wedding was announced at Carnarvon,

[1] A. H. Millar's *Literary History of Scotland*, p. 482.

Wales, of Davy Davis, a labouring man, aged 96, and a widow of that town, aged 84. The children and grandchildren of this couple attending the ceremony were 48 in number. Two years before this date another enterprising widow, Mrs. Mary Cheetnam of Leeds, whose age is given as 66, had married a youth belonging to the same place, 43 years her junior. It is evident that the proposal did not come from the intended husband, if we may believe what is said as to the other contracting party :—'She stood godmother to him and declared (probably in excuse for her folly) that she conceived an affection for him at his christening, and retained it ever since.' In December, 1770, the deaths of no fewer than seven centenarians are given, but none of these wonderful persons lived so long as Martha Preston of Barnsley, Yorkshire, who died the previous year, aged 123. She had been married to five husbands, by whom she had been blessed with 27 children, and attributed her remarkable vitality to a walk uphill which she took every morning before breakfast until within ten years of her death.

An idea of the aim and scope of the *Scots Magazine* may be gained from the preface to the 56th volume (1794), which is the first of a new series. Utility and variety are still to be kept in view so as to blend instruction with amusement. Particular regard is to be paid to new discoveries and inventions in agriculture and manufactures. The great events then in progress on the continent and the proceedings of the British Parliament are to be notified. In many respects the publication partook more of the nature of a newspaper than a magazine in the modern signification of the term, and whatever may have been the intention of the publishers in preparing elaborate indices and summaries to their work, there can be no doubt that this repository of literature, history and politics has been largely drawn upon by writers of every description in succeeding generations. Lord Cockburn in his *Memorials* speaks of the magazine as being in its dotage in 1800 and as existing upon its antiquity alone, yet it continued to be published during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. 'She was really an amusing chronicler o' the by-gane times,' says the Shepherd in *Noctes Ambrosianae*, with a touch of regret,[1] 'and it was pleasant now and then, on a Saturday night, to tak' a dish o' tea wi' her, and hearken to her clishmaclavers about the Forty-five.'

[1] November, 1826.

The only important rival of the *Scots Magazine* was *The Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Miscellany*, established by James Sibbald in 1785. He kept a bookseller's shop and owned a good circulating library in Parliament Square, to which, amongst others, Sir Walter Scott resorted. After praising the collection the novelist writes in the *Autobiography*: 'Mr. Sibbald himself, a man of rough manners but of some taste and judgment, cultivated music and poetry, and in his shop I had a distant view of some literary characters besides the privilege of ransacking the stores of old French and Italian books which were in little demand among the bulk of his subscribers.'[1] The magazine begins well with a biographical sketch of Dr. Johnson, Remarks upon some passages of Shakespeare, An account of a newly-invented electrical machine, Proposals for instituting a society for the cultivation of vocal harmony, and An eastern tale. In later numbers there are reviews of plays and of books, pieces of poetry and short stories, and each instalment gave a register of the weather, showing the rise and fall of the barometer and rainfall during the preceding month. It was illustrated with engraved frontispieces representing views in Scotland, principally of castles and mansions supplemented by brief descriptions, which must have been highly valued in those days when guide-books were scarce, if not unknown. That voluminous writer, Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, more eminent as an antiquary than as a judge, became one of the contributors, whilst Sibbald himself wrote many of the articles—chiefly those on Scottish antiquities. He befriended Burns, and his paper on the Kilmarnock volume was the first review the poet had. The criticism was distinctly appreciative, and it certainly influenced Burns in his determination not to emigrate to the West Indies, but to set out for the Scottish capital.[2]

In the *Edinburgh Magazine* for October, 1786, Sibbald writes: 'The author is indeed a striking example of native genius bursting through the obscurities of poverty and the obstructions of a laborious life. He is said to be a common ploughman, and when we consider him in this light

[1] Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, 1848, i. 64. There is a striking portrait of Sibbald by an unknown artist in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, which represents him as a young man, and which was probably taken before he started his bookselling business in Edinburgh.

[2] *Robert Burns*, by Principal Shairp, 1879, p. 39.

we cannot help regretting that wayward fate had not placed him in a more favourable situation. . . . His observations on human characters are acute and sagacious, and his descriptions are lively and just. Of rustic pleasantry he has a rich fund, and some of his softer scenes are touched with inimitable delicacy. He seems to be a boon companion, and often startles us with a dash of libertinism which will keep some of his readers at a distance. Some of his subjects are serious, but those of the humourous kind are the best.' He then proceeds to quote the 'Address to the Deil,' 'Halloween,' and other poems. Sibbald severed his connection with the magazine in 1792, which was edited for a time by Dr. Robert Anderson, the biographer of Johnson and Smollett, and friend of Thomas Campbell.[1] Its circulation is said to have been between 600 and 700 copies. In 1803 it was incorporated with the *Scots Magazine*, which came to be published by Archibald Constable and Company, and which, twenty-three years later, was in turn merged in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* on the failure of Constable's firm.

Before the end of the century Edinburgh had become the chief centre of culture in Britain. The Literary Club of Dr. Johnson and his friends which used to meet weekly at the Turk's Head in Gerrard Street, Soho, had its counterpart in Scotland. As early as 1777 Henry Mackenzie and his acquaintances, principally Edinburgh advocates, founded the Mirror Club, and assembled once a week, sometimes at Somers' opposite the Guardhouse in the High Street, but oftener at Lucky Dunbar's, a house close to Forrester's Wynd.[2] It was customary on these occasions for those who were present to produce their essays and read them aloud for the edification of the company. When any of the papers, either owing to defects of style or from the nature of the subject, was condemned, the author was compelled to put it in his pocket and drink a bumper to its *manes*. The idea of starting a journal similar to the *Spectator* apparently originated with William Craig, a relative of Mrs. MacLehose, the celebrated 'Clarinda' of Burns' letters,[3] and Mackenzie

[1] *The Scottish Nation*, by William Anderson, 1862, vol. i., p. 135.

[2] *Old and New Edinburgh*, by James Grant, vol. i., p. 120.

[3] *The Scottish Nation*, 1862, vol. i., p. 692.

became editor.[1] *The Mirror* commenced on January 23rd, 1779, and ended on May 27th, 1780, having latterly been issued twice a week. Its principal contributors besides Mackenzie, who wrote 42 out of the 110 papers to which it extended, were certain literary lawyers, who became eminent as judges of the Court of Session, namely: Lord Cullen, Lord Abercromby, Lord Craig, Lord Bannatyne, Lord Wedderburn, and Lord Hailes. The aim of the *Spectator* was to set up a standard of morals for imitation. But Addison promised his readers that he would spare no pains to make their instruction agreeable and their diversion useful. Mackenzie echoes the same thought when he says: 'I mean to show the world what it is, and will sometimes endeavour to point out what it should be.' His ostensible correspondents are numerous, and write under various disguises. Posthumous Agricola tells of a whimsical proposal for an improvement in agriculture; Eugenius criticises the doctrines of Lord Chesterfield; Modestus discourses on good company; Lorenzo describes his difficulty in finding a suitable wife,[2] and so forth. Much speculation existed at the time as to who the authors were. Mr. Abercromby, a member of the club, relates that one day when at Mr. Cadell's shop in London, a certain noble Lord asked the bookseller whether he could give him some information on the subject. He was assured that all the *literati* of Scotland were concerned in the enterprise, but Cadell, who seems to have been in the secret, refused to mention any names.

The letters of the Homespun family, in which are set forth the evils resulting to persons of moderate means of intimacy with the rich and worldly, are excellent. In place of Sir Roger de Coverley we have Mr. Umphraville, whose resemblance to that worthy knight is indeed remarkable. He too has had a love affair in early life, spends much of his time at his country seat, is noted for his benevolence and proves

[1] It is not strictly accurate to describe him as 'editor,' but the term, failing another equally suitable, will suffice for the purposes of this article. Sir Leslie Stephen, in an interesting paper on 'The Evolution of Editors,' has pointed out that the name, as implying the commander of a periodical, was not recognised until 1802. It is synonymous with 'publisher' or 'commentator' in Johnson's *Dictionary* of 1785 (*Studies of a Biographer*, 1899, i. 37).

[2] This letter was clearly suggested by Addison's essay, 'On asking advice on Affairs of Love.'

himself, in short, a model landlord. The foibles and fashionable affectations of the fair sex are similarly treated as in the *Tatler* or *Spectator*. In acknowledging that women are more susceptible of good impressions than men, and that they never fail to improve by wise counsel if approached in a proper manner, Steele, it will be remembered, assures his readers that he is devoted to their service. 'But,' he adds, 'I must not omit at the same time to look into their errors and mistakes, that being the readiest way to the intended end of adorning and instructing them.'[1] With equal diffidence and yet with equally good intentions, Mackenzie administers a mild rebuke to the other sex. 'As to my fair countrywomen,' he says, 'it is ever with reluctance that I am obliged to take notice of any little impropriety into which they inadvertently fall. Let them, however, reflect that a certain delicacy of sentiment and of manners is the chief ornament of the female character, and the best and surest guardian of female honour.'[2] The pathetic story of Nancy Collins illustrates the distresses to which the families of soldiers and sailors were subject during the time of war; and in 'The Tale of La Roche,' perhaps the most popular of all the contributions to *The Mirror*, Mackenzie depicted his friend David Hume as the man who, whilst he felt no devotion, never quarrelled with it in others, and, although not himself a Christian, was the best of unbelievers. Mr. Joseph Fielding, who is capitally portrayed, is taken as the typical macaroni of the eighteenth century. Having squandered his patrimony and refused to adopt a profession, he is content to lead a lazy life entirely dependent on the generosity of his elder brother Sir George, and he prides himself on his powers of fascination over his countrywomen.

'As I am a good shot,' he writes to Mr. Mirror, 'I spend a great part of my time in shooting; and Mr. Joseph, for that is the name I go by, is made a welcome guest at all the gentlemen's houses in the neighbourhood; the more so, as I seldom make a visit without carrying along with me some of the game I have killed. I never fail to make one at all the sports in the neighbourhood. At a village wedding I am a considerable personage; and there is not a country girl who does not think it an honour to dance with Mr. Joseph. When Lady Fielding

[1] *Tatler*, No. 139. [2] *Mirror*, No. 9.

makes a visit, I generally attend her in the absence of Sir George. The only part of my employment which I find disagreeable is that sometimes in the winter evenings I am set a-reading to my lady; and, among other publications, I have read over to her most of the *Mirrors*. My lady likes them exceedingly, so do I too, but not for the same reason as she does; I like them—because they are short.'[1]

In the 36th number, Craig drew attention to the genius of Michael Bruce, the author of that touching 'Elegy—Written in Spring,' in which he foretold his own end. He died a victim to consumption, aged twenty-one, on July 5th, 1767, and his poems were published three years later by his friend, John Logan, tutor to Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, and himself a poet of some eminence. When the paper was re-published in volume form, and the authors' names were disclosed, the proprietors obtained a large sum for the copyright, out of which they presented £100 to the Orphan Hospital, and purchased a hogshead of claret for the Club. The members always held an anniversary dinner on the day on which the first number was published.

Its success induced Mackenzie to start another periodical, *The Lounger*, which continued from February 6th, 1785, to January 6th, 1787. The most important contribution to this journal was undoubtedly his review of Burns' poems, which appeared shortly after the latter's arrival in Edinburgh in November, 1786.[2] As has been pointed out by more than one of the poet's biographers, Mackenzie was the first to claim that Burns should be recognised as a great original poet, and was the means whereby his fame was perfected in Scotland. Burns himself writes of his benefactor in terms of enthusiastic praise to Mrs. Dunlop, but it is apparent that in his reference to a greater essayist than Mackenzie, his inclination gets the better of his judgment. Writing from Ellisland on April 10th, 1790, he says: 'I have just now, my ever honoured friend, enjoyed a very high luxury in reading a paper of the *Lounger*. You know my national prejudices. I had often read and admired the *Spectator*, *Adventurer*, *Rambler*, and *World*, but still with a certain regret that they were so thoroughly and entirely English. . . . You must know I have

[1] No. 69, by Craig.

[2] *Lounger*, No. 97. It is called 'Extraordinary account of Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Ploughman,' and is quoted at length in *The English Essayists*, compiled by Robert Cochrane, Edinburgh, 1892.

just met with the *Mirror* and *Lounger* for the first time, and I am quite in raptures with them; I should be glad to have your opinion of some of the papers. The one I have just read, *Lounger*, No. 61,[1] has cost me more honest tears than anything I have read for a long time. Mackenzie has been called the Addison of the Scots, and, in my opinion, Addison would not be hurt at the comparison. If he has not Addison's exquisite humour, he as certainly outdoes him in the tender and the pathetic.'[2] We are enlightened as to the requirements of the so-called reading public by a contributor, Dr. Henry, who projects a scheme for a new sort of periodical publication, namely, a lady's magazine, or, as he euphoniously has it, 'a work for the improvement of the fair sex.' It is to be feared, however, that the learned doctor, in his ingenious article, is merely poking fun at the ladies, for he promises them all kinds of interesting anecdotes of private characters, with tea-table conversations, as well as a dictionary of French phrases to assist those who have not hitherto arrived at much perfection in that language.[3] Mr. Cullen, in a quizzical number, dilates upon the idiosyncrasies of a company assembled at an election dinner, from a survey of their hats ranged on the wall behind them, and observes that in the slightest particulars of dress people are apt to stamp the image of their minds—an approximation to Carlyle's 'Philosophy of Clothes,' which it is strange to find propounded by a sober-minded lawyer of the eighteenth century.[4] Several of the traits of Sir Roger and Mr. Umphraville re-appear in Colonel Caustic, a country gentleman of the old school, who delights in reminiscence and anecdote. And in this connection it must be confessed that the later essays in *The Lounger* are inferior to the earlier efforts of the same authors, who are too prone to harp upon the old themes, and who in their laudable desire to inculcate wisdom and regenerate mankind appear to have overreached themselves. At all events, the magazine came to an abrupt termination in the beginning of 1787, not without an expression of regret on the part of its promoters, who were candid enough to admit that a second publication based on similar lines might not be equal in merit to its predecessor.

[1] *The Story of Albert Bane.* It treats of the relations between masters and servants.

[2] *Correspondence of Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop*, edited by W. Wallace, 1898, pp. 251 and 252.

[3] *Lounger*, No. 60.

[4] *Ibid.* No. 12.

This is quite true in the present instance, where the ethical element came to be pushed too far. We may smile, for example, at the moral platitudes interspersed throughout the story of Mr. Saintford,[1] a spendthrift reclaimed from extravagance to a life of industry, sobriety and independence. But, after all, much of interest remains; and it is on account of the vivid glimpses of the society of a bygone age that *The Mirror* and *The Lounger* will be read in the twentieth century, although they can lay no claim to originality in conception and design, as is evident from the outset.

Between 1768 and 1784 appeared another periodical, which professed to be a register of the writings and transactions of the times, and which attained a circulation of 3000 copies. It was founded by Walter Ruddiman, a nephew of the grammarian, and its portentous title ran thus: *The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, containing the essence of all the magazines, reviews, newspapers, etc., published in Great Britain; also Extracts from every new Work of Merit, whether political, literary, serious or comical.* Besides light articles, others of practical utility were included in the collection, suitable, as the publisher says, for the requirements of physician, virtuoso, country gentleman, merchant, mechanic or farmer. The poetical department of the paper was specially reserved for 'the tribe of juvenile readers,' for whose delectation were provided verses on 'Reason,' 'The Power of Virtue,' 'Love and Resolution,' and kindred subjects. In discussing political affairs, the editor, more concerned for the prosperity of his enterprise than the peace of the world, regards with the utmost complacency the prospect of war. 'The flames now kindling,' he writes, 'may embroil the half of Europe before they are extinguished. In that event every post will be looked for with anxiety, and the intelligence he brings devoured with greediness.' It is stated that the publishers soon came into conflict with the Inland Revenue authorities for evading the newspaper stamp duty,[2] and this result is not surprising. As further proof that the weekly chronicle constituted an important item, it may be noted that when Mrs. Siddons played at the Theatre Royal in 1784 the *Edinburgh Weekly Magazine*, as it was then called, gave a full account of her performances, and recorded that the manager

[1] *Lounger*, No. 70.

[2] A. H. Millar's *Literary History of Scotland*, p. 481.

took the precaution, after the first night, of having an officer's guard of soldiers at the principal door for the purpose of regulating the crowd, which began to assemble round the theatre at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. Both Telford and Mayne contributed poems to the magazine, and in this way an intimacy sprang up between them which continued until the great engineer's death in 1834.[1] This paper was soon followed by two others, *The Edinburgh Eighth-day Magazine* (1779) and *The Scottish Register* (1794), both of which lasted but a year, and were obvious imitations of Ruddiman's magazine.

More interesting and certainly more useful in its day was *The Bee or Literary Weekly Intelligencer*, which was circulated in Edinburgh between the years 1791 and 1794. It was edited and in great part written by Dr. James Anderson, a distinguished agriculturalist and author, who published many works on natural history, planting, draining, fisheries, commerce and manufactures in Scotland, topics which also found a place in his magazine. He had entered upon the management of his father's farm at Hermiston, near Edinburgh, at an early age, had studied chemistry under Dr. Cullen, and in 1780 had received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Aberdeen. In that county he became the tenant of Mr. Udny of Udny, and settled upon the farm of Monkshill, which extended over about 1130 acres.[2] His experience as farmer had taught him the necessity for a literary and scientific miscellany, which would inspire a taste for belles-lettres, and at the same time be of assistance to those engaged in outdoor pursuits. In 1783 Arthur Young had started *The Annals of Agriculture*, to which amongst others George III. contributed under the name of 'Ralph Robinson, farmer at Windsor,' and Anderson probably thought that Scotland should not be behindhand in promoting the interests of the rural community. The title which he chose was doubtless suggested to him by Goldsmith's publication of the same name, which, undeservedly neglected by his contemporaries, is now appreciated, whilst Anderson's magazine is forgotten. It is true that it will afford no brilliant fragment as, for instance, the oft-

[1] Notes to 'The Siller Gun,' a poem in five cantos by John Mayne : London, 1836. This poem, which is commemorative of an annual wapinschaw instituted at Dumfries by James VI., was printed in *The Weekly Magazine*, vol. xliv., 1780.

[2] *Northern Rural Life in the Eighteenth Century* : Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1877.

quoted *City Night Piece* of its more famous predecessor, yet the nature of its contents is such as should appeal to the practical agriculturalist of to-day, if only that he may understand the changed conditions under which farming operations are now carried on. Lord Gardenstone, a judge of session and a noted improver, was an occasional contributor to the magazine, and he must have found in Anderson a kindred spirit. He established the village of Laurencekirk adjoining his property of Johnstone in Kincardineshire, and encouraged strangers to settle in the place and promote various industries. His peculiarities, according to Dean Ramsay, who records a sheaf of anecdotes, were an extreme fondness for pigs and an abnormal taste for snuff.[1] Soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution certain essays appeared in the *Bee* on the political progress of Great Britain, which were perhaps naturally regarded with suspicion. Anderson was called before the Sheriff, but, magnanimously preferring to take the responsibility on his own shoulders, refused to name the writer. The magistrates were induced to let the matter drop, out of respect for his character and attainments, but shortly afterwards the real author, one Callendar, preparatory to his departure for America, went out of his way to insinuate that Lord Gardenstone had written the papers; and Anderson, on hearing of his conduct —'so becoming the spirit of a genuine Democrat,' says the Tory *Gentleman's Magazine*[2]—no longer hesitated to clear himself of the charge.

It has been said that the secret of success is constancy of purpose, but an exception to this rule is to be found in the career of James Tytler, who, during twenty years, projected no fewer than five periodicals, *The Gentleman's and Lady's Magazine* (1772), *The Weekly Mirror* and *The Weekly Review* (1780), *The Observer* (1786), and *The Historical Register or Edinburgh Monthly Intelligencer* (1792), all of which soon came to an end. The personality of this eccentric character is more worthy of study than his works, which seem to have been full of blunders, since he composed both type and text with marvellous rapidity at the same time on a printing press of his own construction.[3] He was educated for the medical profession, took to writing songs and essays on revealed and natural religion, was employed

[1] *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*, 1874, p. 151.

[2] Vol. lxxviii., December, 1808.

[3] H. G. Graham's *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*, 1901, p. 357.

by the publishers to compile scientific treatises, and translate classical authors at a miserable salary, and was always on the verge of starvation. Burns says that he 'was an obscure, tippling, but extraordinary body, who drudges about Edinburgh as a common printer with leaky shoes, a sky-lighted hat and knee buckles.' He endeavoured to rival Lunardi, the aeronaut, and was known to fame as 'Balloon Tytler.' His exploits are duly recorded in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1784:—'Mr. Tytler of Edinburgh, having perfected an air balloon on the 27th of August last, made a successful attempt to navigate the air. The balloon being filled at Comely Gardens, he seated himself in his basket, and the ropes being cut, he ascended very high and again descended very leisurely on the road to Restalrig, about half a mile from the place he rose. He *claims* the honour to be the first person who has navigated the air in Great Britain.' Having advocated Parliamentary reform in *The Historical Register*, he was forced to flee the country; and at the time of his death, in 1803, he was conducting a newspaper at Salem, Massachusetts, but it is not certain that he managed to make it pay.

In the history of periodical literature of the time the name of Mackenzie stands pre-eminent. He has been called by Scott the 'Northern Addison,' and, if he cannot be placed on a level with that essayist, he at any rate imitated him to some purpose. The attraction of his style is its perfect simplicity, and it is entirely free from that taint of artificiality and pedantry which marred the work of contemporary editors. It was the age of laudatory dedications and elaborate introductions that combined high-flown phrases with fulsome flattery. In the preface to the 56th volume of the *Scots Magazine* occur these words, and they may be quoted as typical of the way in which several of the publishers we have named sought to conciliate public opinion and control the course of political events:—'The Editors unequivocally declare their sincere attachment to our present happy constitution; in their bosoms they deeply cherish respect to their Sovereign; and it will ever be their pride to disseminate a veneration for the sacred faith of their fathers, a love for their country and subordination to the magistrate. This glorious constitution, civil and religious, they will zealously support, and will reject with indignation such sentiments as may in any degree tend to shake the foundations of the one or diminish that regard and reverence which are due to the other.'

Hazlitt, in one of his essays, has condemned this manner of writing as mechanical, conventional, and formal, and we imagine that he would have found an apt illustration for his argument in such a passage, which, perfervid in patriotism, is obviously intended to attract the sentimental reader, and thus bring grist to the mill.

G. A. SINCLAIR.

Mary Queen of Scots and Her Brother

THE following letter, so far as can be ascertained, has never been fully published in this country. A brief extract from it appeared in the report of the Historical MSS. Commission upon the Malet Papers, and it is given in full in Philippson's *Marie Stuart*. Its importance is so great as to justify its publication here: it throws fresh light upon the relations between Queen Mary and her brother—a point that has given rise to so much controversy. This letter proves that he gave her sound advice; it shows that he never could have told her, as alleged by Conæus and Stevenson, that Scotland's allegiance to the Pope was still unshaken. He makes no secret of his affection for the reformed religion, and there is a ring of manly independence about some of the sentences which disarm suspicion as to his sincerity. If this letter stood alone, the often-discussed point as to whether he betrayed his sister would assuredly be answered in the negative. He points out in very vivid language the danger ahead should she pursue certain courses; but we shall see that, notwithstanding his excellent advice, he had already betrayed Mary. Was the letter then written under feelings of remorse for the double part he was acting? He evidently, for conscience' sake and to avoid future reproach, desired to give her a fair chance of maintaining her position—if she could. He points out the way, and there his responsibility ends; for there can be little doubt that he was already playing for the high stake which could only be won through her ruin. The allusions in his letter will be better understood by reference to the terms of the agreement, in July, 1560, between Queen Mary, her husband, and the Estates. Among other provisions it was then stipulated that:—

No strangers or clergy shall occupy high offices; the Estates were to consider the complaints of aggrieved clergy and make reasonable reparation; no foreign soldiers should be sent into Scotland, and only 120 of the French troops were to remain at

Dunbar and Inchkeith; the property and persons of the clergy were not to be disturbed, and the nobility were to pursue all who molested them; as to matters of religion the Estates were to send representatives to Mary and Francis with a ratification of the treaty, and these envoys, on behalf of the Estates, were to receive the Queen and King's ratification thereof.

But difficulties arose: neither Mary nor her husband would tolerate Queen Elizabeth's interference between themselves and their subjects. Besides, the Estates never adhered to the agreement. After the death of Francis the Scots Queen, in 1561, resolved to return to her own country, where there was seething discontent and all-round distrust. The people had not yet recovered from the effects of anarchy; and, although there was a lull in the strife, the victorious party acted too much on the principle that 'might was the measure of right' to suit the views of a powerful minority. The Queen was merely a name, her patrimony had been depleted, but with rumours of her return factions were beginning to adhere to her for their own selfish interests. Lord James, in his letter, shows how perfectly he understood the motives and designs of the several parties in the State. The Queen was thus, as she had been from the cradle, the centre of religious, political, and dynastic intrigue. A certain section of her subjects desired to hinder her return, and wished she might never come home, as Lord James frankly tells her. There was a great deal of uncertainty as to what line of policy she would adopt; she might, like her mother, fight strenuously for her religion and prerogatives. But, in any case, the Protestants were determined to hold all they had won; the Roman Catholics fondly hoped that they might, through Mary's countenance, retrieve the position in the State which they had lost. As both parties were very anxious to 'fully grope her mind,' they decided to send representatives to visit her. The reformers selected the Lord James Stewart as the most fit person to represent them. He could the more readily gain her confidence, 'nature must move her to bear him some good will, and it is like that she will rather trust him than any other.'[1] Besides, he had personal reasons for seeing the Queen. Before he set out Commissioners arrived from Mary, which, to some extent, altered the situation; so he was provided with no formal commission from the Estates. Yet he was given plainly to understand—so Knox states—that if he condescended that Mary should have the mass privately or

[1] Bain's *Scottish Papers*, I., p. 510.

publicly in Scotland, then he betrayed the cause of God. To this he demurred, because she might have the mass secretly in her chamber, and who was to prevent her? John Lesley, afterwards the famous Bishop of Ross, was the representative selected by those of the ancient faith, and he was to counteract the influence of Lord James by warning Mary not to be deceived by his fine phrases. Lesley's mission was to try to induce the Queen to throw in her lot with her co-religionists, land at Aberdeen and advance upon Edinburgh with an army! That certainly would have brought about a speedy crisis. Lord James and his companions left Edinburgh all clad 'in dule weid without ane commission,'[2] and on his journey through London he was received by Queen Elizabeth and her ministers because he had to tell her the policy of the lords.[3] It is significant that she quietly began to prepare for emergencies. An unpublished letter from Randolph to Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, dated 28 April, 1561, deals with Lord James's visit to Mary. It seems that he left many sorrowful hearts behind, and there is proof that his friends were not over confident as to his integrity. Maitland and Randolph regarded him as staunch enough, but every one thought the enterprise a dangerous adventure. They imagined he might be detained in France through the influence of his opponents; or he might be induced to change his mind. Randolph assured Throckmorton that Lord James was:

> another way farther bent then to chrowde hymself under a knave cloke. That bayt hath byn layde for hym long sens with larger promises then ever wer ment to be performed. If they wolde attempte hym any other waye then with a redde hatt I wolde better allow their wytts.

Thus Lord James's friends, as well as the Papist party, seemingly believed that he had higher ambitions, *i.e.* wanted the crown. But a red hat had no attraction for him: 'Our soyle,' we are told, 'being suche that it will not beare so unkoothe a beist as a Cardinal!' Randolph makes a 'merrie point' about the fate of Cardinal Beton, and gives an anecdote of Queen Mary's childhood which has not hitherto appeared in print.[4] But the most important item in this gossiping letter of Randolph's is the

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents* p. 64. [3] Bain's *Scottish Papers*, I., p. 510.

[4] One day Cardinal Beton, evidently in his robes—Randolph says 'disguised garments'—entered the room where the little queen was and she cried out in alarm: 'Kyll, Kyll the Redeaton, he will carry me away.' This shows that Queen Mary was threatened, when naughty, with a bogey, for she evidently thought the Cardinal was the 'Reid Etin'—the giant or monster of nursery fables.

clue given to the personal reasons for Lord James's visit to France. It throws a flood of light upon after-events in Scotland, events very obscure but of vital import to Mary. His mission, according to the prevalent belief, was undertaken from selfish motives. Randolph puts the matter very clearly:

> There were maynie who sprede abrode that his chiefe arrand unto his syster was to conspyre against others to make hymselfe greate; to assure to hymselffe the Erledome of Murraye and Fyffe, that beinge allied with the Erle Marshall whose daughter he shall marrie, and also with the Erle of Argile who hathe married his syster, being of kyn unto the Erle of Athole and joyned in intere friendschip with the Erle of Glencarne, Mr. of Maxwell, and maynie other noblemen and gentilmen of this country he shalbe hable to torne all thyngs topsye torve, work what he lyst and leade by the eare whom he please.[5]

Queen Mary also must have believed that Lord James 'came only to do his duty to her without any commission relating to anything else'—so she tells Throckmorton in her letter of 22nd April. Thus she did not look upon him as a representative of the reformers. His visit then resolves itself into one for personal aggrandisement with the role of a spy 'to grope her mind' for the purpose of betraying her secret intentions to his colleagues! Yet in his letter he poses as being faithful to God and his sovereign. Save for the revelations of Throckmorton, there is little to indicate the nature of the discussions between Mary and her brother. But Lord James's references, in his letter to the Queen, proves that Mary was inclined to adopt broad and liberal views as regards religious matters. She decided to accept accomplished facts, and also indicated that she would be guided by the Lords. Now Lord James perfectly understood her attitude, and was so satisfied with it that he prays God to continue her in the same mind. It is very probable that Queen Mary advised her brother to break off his relations with the English Court. But on this point Lord James took up an unflinching attitude, and, according to Throckmorton, showed that neither the displeasure of his sovereign 'could waver him, nor great promises winne him' from his devotion to Elizabeth and his religion. On this account, so it is alleged, Mary's attitude towards her brother changed. It appears—Throckmorton's letter is the authority—that she intended to give Lord James a temporary commission as regent until her arrival, but owing to his pro-English tendencies this was not now to be done.[6] This allusion to a temporary regency acquires startling significance

[5] Add. MSS. 35830 f. 79. [6] *Foreign State Papers* (*Eliz.*), vi. p. 91.

when taken in conjunction with Lord James's advice to Mary, and his real attitude towards her return. He urges upon her the necessity for her presence in Scotland, and insists that in the event of delay she should direct an ample commission to 'sic as your Majesties hart can trust to govern your hienes people during your hyghnes absence.' No one can deny the soundness of the advice as to a proper authority for 'receiving resignations and subscribing signatures,' nor can any one now doubt as to who Lord James intended should be regent. After a brief stay with Mary, he set out for Scotland to prepare for her home-coming, and the Queen may have advised him to visit neither Paris nor England. But on this point he evidently cared little whether he displeased her or not, at all events he made no secret of his interviews with Throckmorton or Elizabeth, though it certainly does seem that the former understood his visit was a secret one. It is in connection with this interview that Mr. Tytler accuses Lord James of having betrayed his sister. Throckmorton states that in the course of conversation Lord James 'declared all that had passed' between Queen Mary and himself, so the question arises as to whether he was a traitor to Mary? Dr. Hay Fleming, whose hostility to Mary is scarcely concealed, combats Mr. Tytler's view, and Mr. Andrew Lang has given a special note upon the point without arriving at any definite conclusion. But is there any room to doubt Lord James's treachery? Was not his mission to some extent to fully 'grope' the Queen's mind for the express purpose of betraying her intentions to his colleagues and to Queen Elizabeth? And so far as he was able to do so, he betrayed Mary to Elizabeth and Cecil as well as to Throckmorton. Is it then of any avail to say that he did not betray her because he never concealed from her the fact of his interviews with these people? Does it lessen his perfidy one iota that he makes allusion to these visits in his letter? But this is what he wrote to Throckmorton in an unpublished letter from London on 20th May:

After my most harty commendaciounis this shalbe to certifie your honor that incontinent after my arryvall to London I past to the Court wher it pleased the Q[enes] Majestie and the Counsale to schew me more favour nor ever I culd deserve. And as it pleased the Q[uenes] hienes to gif me all oportunytie of communication I did oppen the mater at length unto her g[race] which we conferrit amangs us at our last departing in Paris. And not only to her hienes bot also to secretary Cecill as I suppose ye sall understand afterwards.[7]

[7] Add. MSS. 35830 f. 117.

The extent of his treachery is shewn by Throckmorton's letters of 1st and 4th May. Little wonder then that the English minister at Paris kept insisting that Lord James, 'one of the most virtuous noblemen' and such an upright man, 'should be rewarded!' 'If all King Henry VIII. rich furs of sables and black genets be not spent and made fees I could wish that he had two of the fairest.' What a reward for the betrayer of his queen and his country! If we credit Camden, and there is no reason to doubt it, he tried to induce Elizabeth to capture Mary on her way to Scotland. Lethington we know vilely suggested the same thing when he wrote in August 'marvelling' that Mary should communicate anything to her officials which she desired to preserve secret from the English ministers. 'If two galleys,' he wrote, 'may safely pass I wish the passport had been liberally granted. To what purpose should you open your pack and sell none of your wares or declare you enemy to those whom you cannot offend.' Now Randolph's letter of 9th August proves that Lord James and the Earl of Morton (who both so ardently urged Mary to return, promising not to spare their lives or substance in her service) were among those who wished that her return might be delayed.[8] The Privy Council of England, in an unpublished letter to Throckmorton, declare that Mary's return would prove very hurtful and prejudicial, and it was not 'mete for us to furder it.' The longer Queen Mary's affairs were uncertain the better shall Queen Elizabeth's prosper, and if Mary attempted to return by sea without safe conduct 'yet could we not think it good counsell to offer such gentleness as might entice her to pass thither.'[9] On 12th August Cecil wrote that the English Fleet will be sorry to see Mary pass. Queen Elizabeth held, of course, that Mary's presence in Scotland would lessen devotion to England, so she intrigued and did all she could to delay Mary, even to the extent of urging that the latter's Privy Council might find some method of hindering their Queen's return.[10] Lord James hurried to Scotland, and the question arises, did he deliberately deceive Mary as to the true state of affairs? He gave her to understand that he found the nobles and barons assembled 'as it appearyt for the parliament.' Yet he tells Throckmorton, in another unpublished letter, a very different story. It is interesting to compare the two versions; this is what

[8] Bain's *Scottish Papers*, I., p. 543. [9] Add. MSS. 35830 f. 144.

[10] Bain's *Scottish Papers*, I., p. 537.

he wrote on 3rd June, exactly a week before he sent his letter to Mary:

After most hartly commendacions; being arryved heyr at Edinburgh the xxix. of Maji I fand ane great parte of the Nobilitie assemblit upon hope of the parliament, as wes spokin, bot of treuth ane devised propose be the wikked papists wha braggit (as myght be) to sette oup the messe again; whilk cumyne to the knawledge of the protestants caused in nomber of thaym alsua to convene. Sa that or my arryvall the papists hade quyt that point, and now after the declaratour of my souverain's mynd the mater brought to this point: that almaist universally it is aggreeit that the Idoll sall doun throughout al pairtis and execution to pass on continuars and all meynteynaris, conforme to ane act made in the last parliament. Whereunto also has condiscended ane great number evin of thayme that expreslie came for the meyntenance thairof, praysed be god, wha I trust sall lykwyss turn in uther realmes the crafts of his adversaries to thayre confusion.[11]

Two days later he wrote to Cecil to the same effect, so we see that Mary's declaration for tolerance and her expressed intention of being guided by the Lords only led to a renewal of religious persecution. The Roman Catholics, of course, assembled in expectation of the Parliament, like the others, but once the Protestants knew the Queen intended to be guided by themselves, they straightway decided to annihilate the papists. Neither Mary's declaration nor the terms of the treaty bound the reformers. They tore the treaty to rags, as Mr. Andrew Lang states, yet we see how tightly they tried to bind Mary over the Villemore incident, which was a tactical blunder on her part—seeing he was no Scot. Villemore, according to Randolph, 'was a false flattering varlet.' In the opening paragraphs of his letter to Mary the Lord James gives a plain hint at the necessity for appointing a governor or regent. His urgent appeal to Mary not to interfere in religious matters, which had to come up for adjustment in terms of the treaty of July, 1560, shows how fully he appreciated the dangers of pressing for a settlement. But apart from these matters, what a lurid light his letter throws upon his opinion of his contemporaries. He could read them like an open book, and this was the reason why he was able to secure his *alibi* when Riccio and Darnley were murdered. He was one of those 'mayr secret and coverit' persons most to be feared, and never scrupled to take advantage of the black deeds and treason of his associates. Surely his hypocrisy stands revealed when he tells Mary that those most experienced in affairs were easily known through the fear of God manifesting itself in

[11] Add. MSS. 35830 f. 121.

their conversation. It was such as they who wrought vile things in Scotland. Some were honestly concerned for the welfare of the State, but bigotry overcame their reason; others were the very men who lived in open adultery, yet were of the elect; they sang psalms and cheerfully plunged their dagger into their neighbours. Whether they suspected it or not, they were all pawns in the game of Lord James, who stood aloof until the time came for throwing off the mask. Then this saintly person did not hesitate to use the Casket letters (which he well knew were forgeries, as can now be proved) to dishonour and dethrone his sister. The concluding paragraph of his letter discloses his inveterate hatred of the Hamiltons: more especially of 'my lord of St. Andrews,' the reference to this prelate seeming really prophetic considering his baneful influence upon Mary's destiny.

D. Murray Rose.

LETTER FROM JAMES STEWART TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The letter from James Stewart to Mary Queen of Scots is preserved in the British Museum.—Add. MSS. 32091 fol. 189. The contractions have been extended and are shown by italics.

MAY it pleis your majestie upon my journey at London being advertyst of your majesties disease I depeschit incontinent my cusing my Lord of Sanct Colm toward your *grace* abuif all thing desyrous to knaw your majesties welefair. Thairafter I maid diligence towards Scotland and arryving at your *hyghnes* toun of Edinbourgh upon the xxix. of May fand ane verray great number of your hyghnes nobility, barronis and uther estates assemblit (as it appearyt for the Parliament). Notwithstanding that I supposed William Henderson be spetial directioun from your *grace* hade dischardged the same, and I according to your hyghnes commandement hade wryttin to that same effect to my Lord Duk's *grace* Whilk wrytting he hade receaved lang of befoir. Wherfor finding the opportunitie maist comodious declared to your *grace's* nobilitie your *hyghnes* will towardis the deferringe of the parliament unto your majesties haym cumying, and als the reassembling of the same in the end of Julii or beginning of August for receaving of your hyghnes. As to the first they maist willingly obeyt, sua that no parliament wes halding at this tyme. As tuiching the reassembling declared they wald be in all radynes upon deu advertisement in thair maist honest maneir with als glade hartis as evir subjects receaved thair Souveraine.

Anents the commission of thesaurer direct to maister Robert Rychartson[12] he hayth acceptit the same in presence of the counsele and nobilitie wha hes promisit to him ane assured concurrence and fortification in the execution of his chardge. And I for my part hes not only offerit but sall performe to my uttermaist the same as evir he sall requyir, and thairof hes assured him. Treuth it is, madame, as then it was propounded, sa judge I, that the said commission sall litill advance the weal of your hyenes service in sa far as during your *grace's* absence thair is nayn that hes any commission to receave resignatioun, or subscryve signatouris, the whilks enforce man be done befoir the thesaurer cum to ony composition as the custum of this your majesties realme hayth evir obteyned. In utheris your *hyghnes* affaires besydes sic as requyris resignatiouns, and subscrivit signatour, thair sall be na diligence omyttit as I suppon your hienes sall hayf guid experience.

And as to your majesties office of Controllour I fand the haill nobilitie maist willing that your *hyghnes* patrymonye the revenue of your crown suld be in all quarters ouplifted and imbrought be your majesties Controllour to your *grace's* comoditie, and thairunto hes promisit thair assystance and fortification as evir necessite sall requyir. Tuiching the admission of Willemore thair ansuer wes that they wald haif bein maist glade to haif fallowed your majesties command thairin, but in respect he wes na born man of your majesties realm it seymeth to thayme prejudicial to ane of the chief capitulatiounis of the last treatty past betuix your majesties deputes and thayme. Without observation of the whilk, madame, I find your haill nobilitie of that resolved mynd that na suirty remaneyth to thayme. And yit for declaracion of thair good affection towardis the wele of your *hyghnes* service callit in before thayme Thomas Grahame and ernistly requyred him for this cause to accept the full chardge, lest your *hyghnes* affayres suld in onywyis ly behind: assuring him of all concurrence and fortification as evir he wald. Whilk he acceptit and Willemore fand verray guid and will assist the said Thomas Grahame with his advise and counsale in all things that may promote the wele of your hienes service (as I haif advisit him to do) in sic sort as your *grace's* service sall haif na hinder hereby.

Tuiching your hyghnes desyr of not troubilling of the ecclesiasticall persounis in thare possessionis to thame apperteyning, thair ansuer wes that indede thay thought it manifest wrang to trouble any man in the possession of sic things as of deu did apperteyn to thame, they doing the chardge requisit for the same. But to grant sic things to thai persounis whilk, notoriously to the haill people, wes knawin unhable for sic chardge,

[12] By instructions to her Commissioners Mary, on 12th January, 1560-1, states that as she intends to come to her realm as soon as she has settled her affairs 'she desired that her rents and revenues that had been handileit sen hir motheris deceis, and siclyk the revenue that come not to her said derrest motheris knawlege induring the lait trublis, be als hastelie and diligentlie lukit on as possible maye.' The estates shall choose certain capable persons of whom her Majesty will choose a Treasurer and Comptroller.—Bain's *Scottish Papers* I, p. 507.

als wele for evil example of lyif or doctrin, they thought that verray prejudiciall to your *hyghnes* commoun wele and alsua verray dangerous for suddand emotion and ouprayr amangst your majesties subjects; being at this present, als wele nobilitie as commonte, sa ernistlie bent upon ane reformation of sic abuses. Not doubting but your hyghnes wald wele considder the same being treuly informed be gude and wele advisit counsale. And seing, madame, I culd obteyn no farther in this point I thought best to refer the same to your *hyghnes* haym cumyng in considderation of the present estate of all things. And at that tyme I doubt not but your *hyghnes* sall obteyn herin whatsoevir may stand with the gloir of God, the wele of your hyghnes realme and advancement of your service. Your *grace* inclyning to the gude advise of your nobilitie fearing God and wisshing from thair hart the wele of your hyenes service, conform as your *grace* gef me to understand, being present with your *hyghnes*, your majesties affection thairin whilk God contineu with your *grace*. As for my awin opinion in this mater your *grace* hard the same in your presence wherein I did not dissemble as I sall nevir God willing in ony case that sal concern your majesties wele.

I haif also desyred your *hyghnes* Controllour and uthers your *majesties* officiars to prepair your *hyghnes* palaces and mak provision for your *grace's* house againe the latter end of Julii: unto the whilk and all utheris your *hyghnes'* affayres I will hald hand unto my uttermaist conform to your majesties desyre.

The ferd of this instant I receaved your *grace's* lettre dated at Joinville the xvi. of May wherein your *grace* desyris to be surely informit of me tuiching the alledgit sute of the Quene of England to cause your *grace's* subjects tak armoure for expulsion of the Franch Garrisounis out of Dunbarre and Inch Keyth and of sic preparationis als wele be sea as be land at Barwick. Whereof your *grace* wryttis ye ar be sure meanes informit. Madame, I assur your *grace* as I spak the Ambassador Throgmorton or my departour out of Paris, and lykwiss the Quene of Eng*land* in my journey toward Scotland yit culd I never find ony sic meaninge of eyther of the twa. And lat your *grace* be maist assured (as I am faythful to my God and you my souverane) gif I hade hard that or ony the lyk practise to your *grace's* prejudice I wuld not nor suld not haif ommitted to haif signified the same to your *hyghnes* be my said cusing Sainct Colme. As alsua I promise your *grace* in presence of my God to aventure my bluid and my lyf in the defence of your *hyghnes* realme when evir that or the lyk occasion salbe offerit without exception of any persoun under God. As for preparation of schippis I culd nevir heyre of nane in Eng*land* being at the Courte or elswhere. Nor yit of ony amass of viveris or munitions at Barwick bot after the accustomat maneir. Not doubting but yff sic things wer I wuld get knawledge as supson als soone as utheris, but madame it appearyth to me thair is ovir mony willing to gif your *hyghnes* fals alarmes; thinking thairby eyther to lett your *hyghnes* cumyng in your realme which they wiss wer nevir (and yit plainly dare no say sua) or then be sic fals reportis wald dryve

ane suspition in your *hyghnes* heid agaynst yor *grace's* maist faythful subjects whereupon they considder wele that first ane division and syn ane vehement trouble man enseu betuix your *hyghnes* and your maist luiffing subjects whilk is the mark they shoot at, and that for their pryvay advantage. From sic conselouris and thair masquit messengeris for God saik (as your *hyghnes* tenders your awin wele) be war. Your majestie (beleif me for I tak it on my liff) hes ane great number at this present of als faythful and als luiffing subjects as hayth ony ane prince in Europe. Whais advise gif it pleis God to inclyn your majesties hart to fallow as I knaw thaime affectionet to your *hyghnes* common wele and advancement of your service, I dar answer for it that neyther hade your majesties father, gudeschir, grandsire nor ony your *hyghnes* maist noble progenitors evir sic obedience, nor yit sa flurishing ane realme as your majestie sall haif in feu days. This my conscience muiffis me to testifie of deuty unto your *hyghnes*; God grant your majestie weye it als hyghly as I speik it treuly and frome the botome of my hart. For gif your majestie upon the ane part, or your nobilitie and estates upon the uther part, sall haif earis oppin to all taill tellaris, than sall neyther of you ever be red of sinister suspition the ane of the uther. Whereupon what may follow is easy to your *hyghnes* to judge, and the experience mony ane tyme hayth declared be the miserable calamiteis of realmes and nationis. God preserve your *hyghnes* and your realme from the lyk.

As tuiching my advise in this thing, and in all utheris concerning the wele of your *hyghnes* affayres, seeing your *grace* requyris, as I am double bound to gif it, as treuly sall your *grace* haif it, and that in the presence of my God whom I reverence and fear abuif all things in heaven or earth. Thair seymeyth to me, madame, na thing sa necessair for quyetting of your realme and wele of your haill affayres as your majesties awin presence whilk I wald wiss wer unfailzeand at the time affixit be your *hyghnes*; and when be Godis grace your *hyghnes* is prosperouslie arryvit your *grace* man aluterly lean you to the counsale and advise of your nobilitie, especiallie of sic as ar indewyt with the knawladge and lang experience of the affayres of your *hyghnes* realme and thairwith haif the feare of God in thair harte, ane ernist zeal to justice and ernistly and treuly desyris the wele of your hienes service. For in this a point (thar is madame) in chusing of ane faythful counsale whereupon your *grace* may repose you standeyth under God your hyghnes advancement or ruyn. As tuiching sic as hayth experience of the affayres of your *hyghnes* realme they are easely knawin and the feare they haif of God will manifest the self in thair conversation. Sa will alsua thare affection towards justice: rests only to knaw the affection towards the wele and advancement of your hyghnes service whilk I may refer to your *hyghnes* awin judgement albeit I am assured your *hyghnes* hes ane guid number of sic whilks your majestie may gather be this or the lyk conjectures. For sum thair be that unfeindly desyris your *grace's* advancement, and will employ thameselves faythfullie thairto only for thair conscience saik; because they knaw perfytly it is the will and command of God that sa they suld;

utheris for this cause and for natural affection: sum for bayth thir causes and farther because that thair particular wele hingeyth haill herupon, in sa far as thair particular wele and advancement man stande and fall with your *grace's* wele. Utheris their be I confess of the plat contrair conditionis in all points whais consalis only, and na thing else, is to be feyred not only in thair awin persounis bot als in thair secret and masquit boutefeus. Your *hyghnes* doing this, I speik plain, I see not what your majestie needs to feare under God within or without your realme.

But, yf, as God forbyd, your *grace* sal be lett ony urgent impediment to keep your said affixit tryst the best and the only remedye in that cace salbe evin agains that same tyme to haif your *hyghnes* commission bayth large and full direct to sic as your majesties hart can trust to govern your hienes people during your *hyghnes* absence. For I speik my conscience before God it seymeyth to me utherwiss impossible to contayn your *grace's* subjects in that queytnes whilk presentlie they joyse gif neyther your *hyghnes* self (the only assured way) nor nain under your grace sall tak the government at the tym lookyt for. That your people, madame, hayth sa lang contineuyt in sic quyetnes without ony ordinarie government (as prayse to God to this they haif) it passes the judgment of all men of experience within your *hyghnes'* realme, and is reckkonyt by thayme ane manifest miracle of God for thair hayth bene na ordinayrie Government the space of twa yeirs bygane, saiff only that sum of your hyenes nobilitie, moved only of zeal towards your *grace* commonwele far beyond thair puissance, wald now and then convene at Edinburgh for that effect; gif ains it brek it will not be lytly quyettit and what sall fallow thairupon your *hyghnes* may judge.

Abuiff all things, madame, for the luif of God presse na maters of religion, not for ony mans advise on the earth. I doubt not bot your *hyghnes* sall haif uther counsellars anew in contrarye heirof, but my conscience bearis me; veroly I say and wryttis this na les for wele of your service, nor for the affection I bear towards the religion, whilk alwais maist willingly I will confess before God and man. Of your *hyghnes* counselleyris in the contrarye sum are moved be haytred against the religion they knaw not, and far less knawin or regarding what danger may enseu to your *hyghnes* affayres thair through. Uthers will not cayr to put all in hazard thinking the prikking forwards of your *grace* hyrin to be the only way for thame to recover thair lost estates and dignities; wherefra they haif bene deposed by the oppynning of the treuth of God whereby theyr unworthynes wes discoverit lytill suffering what may fallow upon your *grace* and your realme. But thir madame ar plain and oppin thairfor not mekle to be feyred, but utheris thair be mayr secrit and mayr coverit and thairfor far mayr to be feyrd. Of thir sum be ane class of idill vagabones and ignorants whais good qualities wes nevir hable to obteyn thame lyfe in ony quyett commonwele; mary, in sic ouprayr and tumults as may onforce fallow division amongst the prince and subjects, ungodly and fals reports dois purchase them sum credit at the ane or uther hand or els bayth, and be lyk meanes daylie gaips for mair at the hands of the princes whome they miserablie abuse. But

ane uther sorte there is, mair wytty and mair crafty, wha perceaves a feire that the yssue of sic troubills sall alwais serve to thair purpose and pryvay advancement, for that cause dois hound on boldly, and to that effects promytts wounders to haif the mater anis brought aloft, whilk they nevir propose to sett doing but rather be all meanes to hald the cart thereof gangand, because that in quyetnes of commonweles sic may nevir abyde justice, and in destruction of princes and commonweles standeyth thair chief surety and advancement as thai think. Your *grace's* mother wha restis in God hade gude experience heirof, God saif your *hyghnes* from the lyik. To be short, madame judge this with yourself that thair is na man that knaweth perfectly the present estate of your realme, and desyris with ane treu affection the advancement of your graces securite that evir wull advise yor *grace* to mell with mattiris of religion at this tym. Gif it sall pleis your *grace* to credit me and fallow my forsaid advise, proceading from ane unfeind hart that treuly willeth your *hyghnes* advancement, then feare not bot your *grace* sall haif ane perfyt obedience in despyte of ony will presse the contrair whatsoevir thai be (God willing); and thairupon I will bestow my awin lyiff maist willinglye.

I understand alsua be John Acheson your maister cungzeoure ane commission to haif bene direct from your *grace* to my Lord of Sainct Andrews and me tuiching the said coyn; wherof I taik occasion maist humilie and maist ernistly to desyr your *hyghnes* to shaw me that favour that it may be your *hyghnes* pleasure nevir to joyn me in tymis cumyng in ony commission with that man nor with ony his lyik. For besydes that I knaw weale as wele the dyversitie of naturalls as religion will nevir permitt ony sic conjunction betwix that man and me as ony fruict may redound thairof to the wele of your hienes service. Sa am I fully persuaded in my hart that man nevir myndeth treuly the advancement of your *hyghnes* service, quhairof he hayth gevin ample and dyverse significationis and apparand to gif mair. And thairfor your *grace* will pleis nevir joyn me with ony sic in ony commission concerning your *hyghnes* service. As to the particuleyr affayres of your hienes realme and the lyik materis, because it wer to lang and tedious to your *grace* to wrytt thayme, I haif reserved thaym to the berar whome I haif amply instructit for that cause, to whom thairfor it may pleis your majesties give creddence as myself.

And this after maist humble commendations of my service unto your hienes I pray the eternall God replenishe your majesties hart with his haly spreit. From your majesties town of Edinburgh the x day of June 1561.

Your Majesties maist humble and
obeysant servitour and subject,
(Signed) JAMES STEWART.

[Endorsed]
To the Queenes Grace.

The Siege of Edinburgh Castle, March-June, 1689.

THE military history of the Revolution in Scotland is the sum of two episodes. The more vital and engaging is the adventure which saw Dundee's death at Killiecrankie and flickered out at Cromdale. The second is the siege of Edinburgh Castle and its surrender on 13th June, 1689. Of it no considerable account exists. A pamphlet bearing the promising title, *The Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh*, is reprinted by Mr. Henry Jenner in his edition (1903) of the *Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee*. But the information it contains is of the slightest. The Minutes of the Convention of 1689 furnish a few details, and other contemporary authorities eke out scanty information. There exists, however, a source of information which has been practically overlooked. From March, 1689, while the issue of the Revolution was still in the balance in Scotland, a series of bi-weekly newsletters were published in London, giving information transmitted by Scottish correspondents. Under the title *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland* (Lond. 1689), this series of letters furnishes interesting and, for the most part, reliable information regarding the progress of the siege of the Castle. Upon it the account given in the following pages is chiefly based.

When the Convention opened at Edinburgh on 14th March, 1689, Edinburgh Castle was held for King James by the Duke of Gordon. His Jacobitism was of a timorous character. In February he had been on the point of evacuating his command, when a timely visit from Dundee and the Earl of Balcarres, on their return from the Stuart *débâcle* in England, induced him to stiffen his back, and 'to keep it out until he saw what the Convention would do.'[1] The opening of the Convention on 14th March found him at his post. The Castle's menace was

[1] Colin, Earl of Balcarres, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland*. Lond. 1714, p. 58.

intolerable, and on the first day of its session (14th March) the Convention commissioned the Earls of Lothian and Tweeddale to demand its surrender on 'ane act to Exhoner his grace and other papists there for bygons.' The message was verbal; and Gordon demanded the undertaking in writing, with 'tyme alloued him to advyse.' The two Earls made their report to the Estates, and returned to the Castle with a written summons and undertaking, signed by the Duke of Hamilton, as President.[2] Dundee and Balcarres watched the negotiations with anxiety. That afternoon (14th March) their messenger got into the Castle, and exhorted the Duke to stand to his guns. Gordon asked of them a written declaration that it was 'of absolute necessity' for James's affairs that he should hold out. He had no mind to immolate himself unless his party proved to have a kick in it. Dundee and Balcarres hastened to assure him that the retention of the Castle was vital. Early next morning (15th March) Dundee himself got access to the Castle, and 'confirmed him [Gordon] absolutely in his Resolution of keeping it out.'[3] A few hours later (15th March), Gordon's reply was communicated to the Convention. He had written it before Dundee's visit, and it no longer reflected his present resolution. It expressed his willingness to remove from the Castle, but desired that before doing so he should be allowed to await the Prince of Orange's reply to his request for conditions. He offered bail in £20,000 sterling that he would not molest the Convention's 'illustrious assemblie' in the meanwhile. The conditions he required were: A promise of indemnity for himself and his friends, 'both protestants and papists,' to be ratified by the next ensuing Parliament; permission to the Protestant members of the garrison to continue their employment; to himself, and to others who preferred that course, license 'to goe beyond seas or remane within the Kingdome as our occasion shall lead us'; and payment to the garrison of arrears due to it. The Convention rejected Gordon's request to be allowed to await the Prince's reply before surrendering, but was otherwise sympathetic to his conditions. It was, therefore, with considerable surprise that the Estates received a further communication (15th March) from the Duke. Gordon now refused to surrender the Castle, 'notwithstanding what the

[2] *The Minutes of the Convention of Estates of the Kingdome of Scotland holden att Edinburgh* 14 *March* 1689 (Advocates' Library MS. 33. 7. 8), fol. 3.

[3] Balcarres, pp. 64, 66.

meeting had agried to,' but, in a letter to Dundee, offered to vacate his Captaincy of the Castle in favour of the Earl of Airlie. It is probable that Dundee himself had suggested the proposal. Airlie had served in his regiment, and could be better relied on than Gordon. For that reason, no doubt, among others, the 'overture' was not agreed to. In place of it, the Convention ordained two heralds, two pursuivants, and two trumpeters to formally require Gordon 'and other papists in the Castle of Edinburgh to remove themselvis therfrom immediatly on paine of treason.' Proclamation was also made 'discharging the leidges to converse with, abbet, or assist the Duke' and his adherents. A reward of six months' pay was offered to any of the garrison who should succeed in expelling the Duke and possessing themselves of the Castle.[4] Orders were given 'to block up the Castle' forthwith.[5]

The third day's meeting of the Convention (Saturday, 16th March) proved critical. A plot against the lives of Dundee and Sir George Mackenzie was communicated to the Estates, and the managers of the Jacobite party that evening resolved to leave Edinburgh and summon a rival Convention at Stirling. A hint of what was maturing probably reached Gordon. On the night of the 15th he appears to have ventured from the Castle into the town to confer with his colleagues.[6] On the 16th he wrote to Tweeddale begging him to see him at the Castle, with a hint that 'what I have to communicat shall not be disagriable.' Captain Lawder, 'commander of the Edinburgh guards,' received a similar invitation, and had permission to report 'what should be overtured by the Duke in wryting subscribed be the Duke.'[7] Gordon's 'overture' proved to be a threat 'to rame doun his cannon on the toun nixt week.' He had written to the Provost and Magistrates to desire 'a correspondence with the good toun.'[8] In the course of the afternoon (16th March) 'several Barrels of Provisions' on their way to the Castle were impounded.[9]

On Monday, 18th March, Dundee rode out of Edinburgh, and held his famous interview with Gordon as he skirted the Castle rock. That he exhorted the Duke to hold the Castle at all hazards can easily be inferred. Gordon, however, within

[4] *Minutes of the Convention*, ff. 5-8. [5] *Account of the Proceedings*, etc., p. 6.

[6] See *Minutes of the Convention*, ff. 8, 10. [7] *Ibid.* fol. 10. [8] *Ibid.* fol. 12.

[9] *The London Gazette*, No. 2438.

a few days again made overtures to the Convention. Their purport was a proposal that he should be allowed to visit James in Ireland to gain his sanction for the surrender of the Castle. With greater daring he proposed that he should be commissioned to act as intermediary between James and a Convention assembled in defiance of his authority.[10] His proposals were naturally rejected, and on 25th March he proclaimed defiance in a message to the Convention and to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, asserting his intention to 'set up King James's Standard, and give the ordinary vollies of Cannon, which he desired them not to fear, or mistake, and accordingly he fired the Cannon without Bullets, but not without fear to those that lie at the mercy of his Cannon.'[11]

The blockade of the Castle had so far been entrusted to the Western levies, or Cameronian 'rabble,' which had been brought into Edinburgh on the eve of the Convention. Besieged and besiegers fired 'often one at the other with Small Shot,' but without serious casualty.[12] According to the pamphlet printed by Mr. Jenner, the blockaders had drawn 'a trench from the West Port to the West Kirk, which was performed with so great ignorance, that if his grace [the Duke of Gordon] had not been merciful, and a lover of his countrymen, he might have killed the most part of them, and done great mischief to the city of Edinburgh.'[13] On 27th March, Major-General Hugh Mackay of Scourie, who had lately arrived with the regiments of the Scots Brigade in Dutch service, took the blockade of the fortress under his care, and was empowered 'to parley with the Duke of Gourdon from time to time, as he shall see cause.'[14] The next day (28th March) the Western levies marched from Edinburgh, leaving the conduct of the siege to more experienced forces.[15] Batteries were raised, one at 'the Mouterhouse Hill,' another at 'the castle of Collups,' a third at 'Heriot's work,' behind which a bomb battery, under Captain Brown, was emplaced. The second of these batteries was alone successful in effecting a breach in the wall, 'near the back gate,' though the steepness of the hill made it impracticable.[16] To mask and protect the batteries from the Castle's guns, Mackay made a requisition for the supply

[10] *Account of the Proceedings*, pp. 14-16.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 19. [12] *Ibid.* p. 20. [13] *Memoirs of Dundee*, ed. Jenner, p. 30.

[14] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 21. [15] *Ibid.* p. 22.

[16] *Memoirs of Dundee*, p. 30.

of wool-packs, and placed them on the Castle Hill, 'near the Blew Stone.'[17] On 2nd April, upon the petition of the Magistrates, the Estates guaranteed compensation 'for what damage shall happen to the Wool they furnish'd to Major General Mackay, to build up a Defence against the Cannon of the Castle.'[18]

The siege was now in full swing. The garrison 'fired so hotly' upon the wool-pack screen that the besiegers were forced to abandon that enterprise.[19] There was 'great shooting' on both sides, and several were killed, though not many.[20] On 3rd April Gordon beat a parley, and communicated his willingness to allow the besiegers to carry off their wounded, 'to whom they durst not send Chyrurgeons, because of the danger.' Gordon's courtesy was curtly repulsed by his enemy, who replied: 'That they would take off their wounded Men when they pleased, without his leave.'[21] Mackay pushed on his attack with vigour. By 5th April preparations were in train for an assault, 'which is intended to be done in few days.'[22] The entrenchments were heightened and strengthened, so that by 9th April the Castle's guns were no longer able to 'prejudice' them.[23] A few days later (18th April), 'more Cannon, Mortar-pieces, Bombs, etc.,' arrived from England, and 'smart work' was anticipated.[24] Gordon again beat a parley (25th April), but for what purpose is not clear. At least he was resolute not to surrender, and the besiegers resorted to another expedient. Directions were given to drain the North Loch, 'of design to find out the bottom of the Well of Water that furnishes the Castle, and some think with a further design, to undermine the Castle on that side.'[25] The plan failed of result; 'for the castle well had always two fathom of water.'[26]

The siege caused considerable danger and discomfort to the town and its non-combatants. James Nimmo, who lived in the Grassmarket, 'could hardlie go out or in but in vew of the Castle,' and some of his neighbours were killed 'upon the streat.'[27] At the beginning of the siege, 'some foolish easie

[17] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 30. [18] *Ibid.* p 24.

[19] *Memoirs of Dundee*, p. 31. [20] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 22.

[21] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 27. [22] *Ibid.* p. 28. [23] *Ibid.* p. 30.

[24] *Ibid.* p. 42. [25] *Ibid.* p. 46.

[26] *Memoirs of Dundee*, p. 31.

[27] *Narrative of Mr. James Nimmo*, Scott. Hist. Soc., p. 92.

Countrey People kept their ordinary Road to the Markets by the Castle-wall, and so a few of them were reach'd and destroy'd by the Garison.' Experience taught, 'That the furthermost way about is the safest,' and the markets were removed to 'the other remotest end of the Town.'[28] On 13th May the Castle 'plays fiercely against the Trenches and the Town, to the loss of some Lives.'[29] A few days later six men and one woman were killed by a bomb. The citizens were indignant, and on 24th May 'The Duke of Gourdon beat a Parley, with this Message, That he had been sick for eight days, and declared that the shooting into the Town was without his knowledge, and passed his Paroll of Honour, That during his life he would never prejudice the Town; which gives great satisfaction to the Citizens.'[30]

Gordon, in fact, was already running short of ammunition. On 28th May 'The Besiegers and Besieged in this Castle play warmly one at the other: The Besiegers constantly throw in their Bombs and other Fire-works into the Castle, tho often for whole days the Garison is so uncivil as not to return one Bullet.' 'By this constant firing,' the newsletter adds, 'the Garison will certainly fail, and surrender, tho it's believed the Rock of the Castle cannot be destroy'd by the Bombs.'[30] Gordon was perhaps of a similar mind as to his chance of success. Elsewhere the outlook was not hopeful. Save for his meteoric raid upon Perth and the Lowlands, Dundee had so far done little. From James and Ireland the prospect of relief was as remote as ever. On 15th May Gordon had been proclaimed a rebel, and the lieges were forbidden to intercommune with him.[31] A fortnight later (30th May) he beat a parley, and sent a letter to Lord Ross desiring 'to speak with him about some important Affairs.' The interview led to nothing; for while Ross was instructed not to enter the Castle, Gordon refused to venture out of it. He represented, however, that as a result of the bombardment the public Registers preserved in the Castle were in danger, and offered the opportunity to have them removed. The Committee of Estates refused the proposal, 'looking upon it as a contrivance to delay time, whereby he [Gordon] might cover his Bartisons and Roofs of his Houses with Earth; and that in the removal of the Registers, Letters and other things might be conveyed to or from the Duke.' The Castle was, in fact, in dismal plight.

[28] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 48. [29] *Ibid.* p. 56. [30] *Ibid.* p. 69.
[31] *Ibid.* p. 64.

'Several bombs' had fallen through 'the whole stories of the Houses in the Castle, so that many of them are destroyed, and they [the garrison] have neither safety, nor Rest to refresh themselves.'[32] A few weeks later (4th July), when Balcarres was sent to it a prisoner, the Castle was so battered that there was 'scarce a roome' in which he could be confined.[33]

The persistent bombardment, failure of ammunition and supplies, at length told upon the *morale* of the garrison. In the early hours of 1st June fifteen men and two women deserted, 'the Men having their Musquets ready cock'd, well charg'd with a Brace of Bullets.' One of the women made off 'through the North-Logh.' The other woman and the fifteen men were made prisoners, and were conveyed to the Duke of Hamilton for examination. Upon the woman were found a large packet of letters and many keys, 'particularly the Keys of the Outer-gate of the Castle, and the Key of the Postern-gate of the Castle.' The other woman was apprehended later, near Leith, bearing 'many more Letters.' The prisoners upon examination declared, 'That the Garison is in great want of Provisions, and that they fear that their Water will fail them by constant shooting. They say further, That there is great Discontents and Repining amongst the Soldiery in the Garison; so they believe that it will turn to an open Mutiny, if they get not Relief.' The newsletter adds: 'The Castle holds out still, though they are grown very sparing of their Powder and Bullets, seldom firing on the Besiegers, though there is constant firing against them. The throwing of the Bombs into the Castle is so ordered, to keep the Garison in motion, and without sleep, and to destroy the Houses and other Buildings where the Garison lodges, and where the Store and Magazines are kept.'[34]

Upon their re-examination, the deserters captured on 1st June gave a more particular account of the Castle's ability to hold out. They declared that there were eighty barrels of powder remaining; that the garrison numbered one hundred and twenty men and eighteen women; that provisions would last for a month or two. They added that 'Drink and Mault' would be

[32] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 71.

[33] *Letters and State Papers chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville.* Bann. Club, p. 142.

[34] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 72. In an account printed in *The London Gazette*, No. 2460, the deserters are described as 'the Centinels of the Outward Gates.'

exhausted 'in three weeks time,' and that there would have been a water-famine already 'had it not been for the extraordinar Snow that fell here lately.' Gordon, they averred, was 'forced, for his own safety, to retire and lodge in the strongest Vaults, the Bombs making their way through the principal Houses, into the Cellars, where great part of their Beer, Wine, Bread, Meal and Mault were spoiled by them.'[35] Some exaggeration the circumstances invited. The fact that a part of the garrison had deserted is sufficient proof that the deserters' story is, in the main, reliable.

An incident on the evening of 1st June went some way to substantiate the story told by the defaulting fifteen. A woman was apprehended on her way from the Castle 'to buy fresh Provisions.' She also carried intelligence: letters to Sir James Grant were found upon her.[36] The faithless fifteen were instrumental in her capture. They made also a valuable communication to their late enemies by discovering 'the design of a Grandchild of the late Bishop of Galloway, who lodged in the uppermost House on the Castle-hill (next to the Castle), and did use to write in large, or Capital Letters, any News in a Table or Board, over her Window, whereby the Duke might read it through his Tellescope. When any thing of good News, she hung out a white cloth, and when bad, a black cloth.' The daring Jacobite and her mother were at once seized, and were imprisoned in the common gaol.[37]

Fruitful of incident was 1st June. About three o'clock in the afternoon, 'three several persons came walking quietly to the side of the North-Logh at the foot of the Castle, and went through all the Mud to the very Rock.' The guards investing the Castle 'fired briskly at them all the way.' In spite of the fusilade, one of the adventurous three, 'a Genteel-like Man in black Cloaths,' drew his sword 'and scrap'd off the Dirt which stuck to his Shoes, and so calmly and unconcernedly walked up to the Castle-gate, into which they all safely entred, to the admiration of all men, there having been some hundreds of Shots fired at them in their passage to the Castle.'[38] Clearly the threat to drain the North Loch was not an empty one.

[35] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 73.

[36] *Ibid.* p. 73. In the *Warrant Book, Scotland*, vol. xiii. fol. 216, there is the docquet (dated 10 August 1688) of a warrant creating James Grant, Advocate, a Knight.

[37] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 73. [38] *Ibid.* p. 74.

Meanwhile the siege was nearing its end. A newsletter of 6th June reports: 'The Batteries continue to play still upon the Castle, and a great Battery is ordered to be raised above the Weighhouse, as high as the top of the Houses in the Street.'[39] A week later (12th June) Gordon beat a parley, hung out a white flag, and intimated his willingness to consider terms of surrender. Commissioners were appointed to treat with him. But 'while they were communing together in the Castle, the Duke demanding unreasonable terms, a Man run suddenly into the Castle (during the Truce) and delivered several Letters to the Duke, as it's supposed from Dundee, or the late King in Ireland.' The Commissioners demanded the messenger's surrender, 'since none ought to come in during the Truce without their consent.' Gordon refused, asserting, 'That since he had come to him, he would protect him. And so the Treaty broke off.' Gordon resolved to make a final effort to convince his foe that he was still capable of giving trouble. That night 'the Garison fired both their great and small Shot against the Town it self, and every way that they thought to do mischief, several persons being killed, others wounded, and some Houses prejudiced by the Canon.' The morning (13th June) brought calmer counsel. Gordon agreed to the articles of surrender proposed to him, marched out his men to the Castle Hill, where they laid down their arms, and surrendered the keys of the fortress. Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, Scourie's brother, and Major Somerville, with a force of three hundred men, thereupon entered the Castle, and took possession of it.[40]

So the three months' siege ended. Give Gordon and his garrison their due for a memorable exploit. Yet it ranks with Dundee's campaign in its futility to stem a current which carried the nation at flood tide to its destined haven. The defence of the Castle had been conducted in the spirit of conciliation. 'Tho it hath been very dreadful to us in this Town,' says a newsletter from Edinburgh, 'to lye at the mercy of the Cannons of the Castle during this Siege, yet we must confess, that Gourdon hath not done us so much Mischief as he might have done if he had pleased.'[41] The beleaguered fortress had not been so tenderly handled. 'I have been all through the Castle,' writes

[39] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 76.

[40] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 79. The articles of surrender are printed in *The History of the Affaires of Scotland* (London, 1690), p. 81.

[41] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 78.

another correspondent, 'and seen the Desolations of War: It is not credible what Havock the Bombs have done upon the House, and all the other Buildings.'[42] Partly on the ground that ammunition was becoming scarce, an order to the besiegers to suspend their fire upon the Castle was issued upon the very day that Gordon surrendered.[43] That the Castle capitulated from lack of ammunition to continue the defence seems certain. A Jacobite pamphlet accuses one of the officers of the garrison of 'embezzling' it. The statement matches the assertion that 'all the loss he [Gordon] sustained was a brewing of ale, and one sentinel, Patrick Kelley.'[44] The writer was not without humour. And Patrick Kelly was clearly an Irishman!

C. SANFORD TERRY.

[42] *Account of the Proceedings*, p. 80.
[43] *Letters chiefly addressed to George, Earl of Melville*, p. 57.
[44] *Memoirs of Dundee*, p. 31.

Six Early Charters

IN the spring of this year there was found in the office of a well-known firm of Writers to the Signet in Edinburgh a small envelope containing six early charters which deserve notice. We will take the more modern first, summarising the least interesting, and numbering them as they are endorsed.

No. 8 is an acknowledgment by John de Ogilvile to William de Kindelouch, that he had received from him charters of the lands of Partebrothoc[1] and Kyndesleue,[2] of pasture on the island of Inchecostin in the tenement of the Mount pertaining to the land of Partebrothoc, likewise of Forthir and Lediferine,[3] pertaining to the right and property of Cristina, wife of the granter, and discharging the said William and his heirs of all actions claims and demands competent now or hereafter to the granter and his spouse by reason of the said charters. Dated at Dervesin,[4] on Wednesday in the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, 1315, in presence of William de Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews; and whereas the seal of the granter was not known, he procured the seal of the said bishop to be set with his own to the writ. The tag with the seal is torn off.

The next three are undated, but, from the similarity of the witnessing, they would appear to be nearly contemporaneous, and Roger de Quincy's dates are well known. He was neither Earl of Winchester nor Constable of Scotland before 1235, and he died in 1264.[5]

No. 6 is a confirmation by William Malerbe to John de Kyndelouh and his heirs of the privilege of a millpool between the granter's land of Colethin and Kinloch's land of Pethclouchyn, where John Kinloch shall think it most convenient, and a mill lead to the pond and from the pond to the mill; for two white gloves yearly at Whitsunday.

[1] Parbroath. [2] Kinsleith. [3] Lindifferon. [4] Dairsie.
[5] G.E.C.'s complete peerage.

Witnesses,—Sirs, William de Haya, Duncan Sibaud, William de Bosco, Warin de Tunderle, Master Eustace, Elyas Sweyn, Robert de Trafford and others.

The seal, which is of brown wax, and 1¼ inches in diameter, carries the legend 'Sigillum Will Malerbe' around a shield on which are three undecipherable charges.

No. 5 is a charter of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winton, Constable of Scotland, to John de Kindeloue and his heirs of all the lands of Brekinge for his homage and service.

Witnesses,—Sir Duncan Sibaut, Sir Wal de Burge, Sir Robert de Betun, Master A. Malcarwestun, Patric de Petglassin and others. Seal missing.

No. 4 is a charter by Roger de Quincy, Earl of Wynton, Constable of Scotland, granting to John de Kyndelouh and his heirs for homage and service a free mill within his lands of Petclokyn to grind his grain of the lands of Petclokyn, which Ness son of William[6] gave to Ucthred his grandfather quit of multure, which grant the Earl confirms with the additional lands of Petbaudoc and Galwel, and the shielings which Ness gave to Ucthred for his sheep in Kalcos.[7]

Witnesses,—Sirs Warin de Tundurle, Yvo de Nauntun, John de Karle, Symon de Noysiac, parson of Locres, Patric de Petglassyn, Elyas Sweyn, then Constable of Locres, Radulf de Byseth, Robert de St. Andrews, and others.

Attached is a fragment of the great equestrian seal of Roger de Quincy, showing mascles on the shield and horse trappings. It is brown wax, and if complete would be three inches in diameter.

No 3 and 2 must be given in full, and, their owners having been kind enough to allow them to be photographed, we are able also to show them in fac-simile.

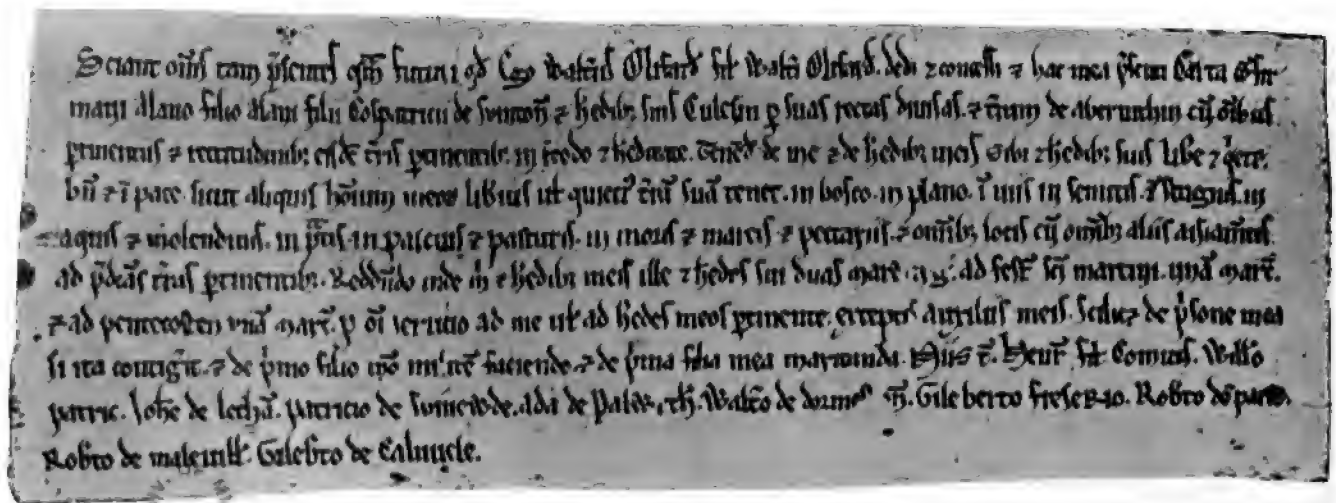
No. 3.—Charter by Walter Olifard the son of Walter Olifard, to Alan the son of Alan the son of Cospatric de Swinton.[8]

Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri, quod ego Walterus Olifard filius Walteri Olifard dedi et concessi, et hac mea presenti carta confirmaüi Alano filio Alani filii Cospatricii de Svinton et heredibus suis, Culesin, per suas rectas diuisas, et terram de Abernithin cum omnibus pertinenciis et

[6] Ness, of Leuchars in Fife, son of William, was father of Orabilis, the wife of Robert de Quincy. Ness was therefore Roger's own great-grandfather.—*The Genealogist*, vol. iv. p. 179, note.

[7] Kilwhiss.

[8] The contractions in the originals are here written out in full.



CHARTER OF WALTER OLIFARD.
(Reduced; original is 9 inches by 4 inches).

Facing page 174

rectitudinibus eisdem terris pertinentibus, in feodo et hereditate; Tenendas de me et de heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis libere et quiete, bene et in pace, sicut aliquis hominum meorum liberius uel quiecius terram suam tenet, in bosco, in plano, in uiis, in semitis, in stagnis, in aquis et molendinis, in pratis, in pascuis et pasturis, in moris et mareis et pettariis, et omnibus locis cum omnibus aliis aisiamentis ad predictas terras pertinentibus. Reddendo inde mihi et heredibus meis ille et heredes sui duas marcas argenti ad festum Sancti Martini unam marcam et ad Pentecosten vnam marcam pro omni seruicio ad me uel ad heredes meos pertinente exceptis auxiliis meis, scilicet, de prisone mea si ita contigerit et de primo filio meo militem faciendo, et de prima filia mea maritanda; hiis testibus, Henrico filio Comitis, Wilelmo Patric, Johanne de Letham, Patricio de Svinewde, Ada de Palwrth, Waltero de Dormeston, Gileberto Freserio, Robertode Parco, Roberto de Maleuille, Gileberto de Caluuele.

Fragment of seal.

No. 2.—Confirmation of No. 3 by King William the Lion.[9]

Willelmus Dei gracia Rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue, clericis et laicis, salutem, Sciant presentes et futuri me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Alano filio Alani filii Cospatricii de Swinton donacionem illam quam Walterus Olifard filius Walteri Olifard ei fecit de Culesin per rectas diuisas suas et de terra de Abernithin; Tenendam sibi et heredibus suis de predicto Waltero Olifard et heredibus suis in feudo et hereditate cum omnibus ad predictas terras iuste pertinentibus ita libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut carta predicti Walteri Olifard testatur, saluo seruicio meo, Testibus Oliuero Capellano meo, Philippo de Valon[iis] camerario meo, Willelmo de Boscho et Hugone de Sigillo, clericis meis, Henrico filio Comitis David. Apud Edenburch viii. die Nouembris.

Seal missing.

Apart from their age and the beauty of their caligraphy, they have several points of special interest. Here we find the authority for there having been two Walter Olifards, father and son. This was always suspected, as a Walter Olifard was found appearing over so great a length of time, and because on one occasion he is called 'Walter Olifard junior';[10] but there was no certainty. Both were Justiciars of Lothian. Still attached to No. 3 is Walter's seal, but so wofully mutilated as to be useless for reproduction. On the fragment which remains can be deciphered the points of a star and a large crescent. If we rule out the highly problematical seal of David Olifard, said to be appended to a grant by King David, for which

[9] Contractions written out.

[10] *Reg. Epis.*, Glasg.

our sole authority is Crawford writing nearly two hundred years ago, this is the earliest seal of the family. There is, moreover, only one other Olifard seal. That is attached to a Coldingham charter[11] of *c.* 1220, granted also by one of the Walters, but whether the father or the son it is impossible to be certain. Canon Greenwell of Durham writes of this seal: 'The principal part is wanting. It was probably equestrian. The secretum is in excellent condition. A crescent enclosing a star of wavy lines.' He goes on to say that this device was a common one, and that he questions whether it has any armorial significance; but family heraldry grew from the very commonest devices, and not only are the Oliphants' three crescents and the Murrays' (they succeeded the Olifards at Bothwell) three stars suggestive, but we have Nisbet's testimony that he saw a charter of the date of 1282 granted by Hugh Arbuthnott, to which is appended Hugh's seal, 'having thereon a crescent and a star.'[12] For undoubtedly the Arbuthnotts held inheritance somehow from the Olifards.

Then the writ refers to a feudal custom, known in England, but of which this instance is perhaps unique north of the Tweed, a contribution to the ransom of the granter if imprisoned, and a payment on the occasion of the knighthood of his eldest son and the marriage of his eldest daughter. I have failed to hear of any other instance in Scottish Charters.[13]

As regards the Swintons,[14] these three, Cospatric, and Alan, and Alan son of Alan,[15] though their exact relationship was not proved, were all well established before, but here we find them in their proper order, and the grandson, though he retained his ancestral lands in the Merse, pushing out also into the broad track, which, whether the crossing was by North Berwick and the Earl's Ferry, or by the Queen's Ferry and Inverkeithing and Dunfermline, led on to the fat country further north, the track along which the invasion of the new people, Normans, Flemings, English, and Northumbrians, carried the civilising effects of landed possession and settled government.

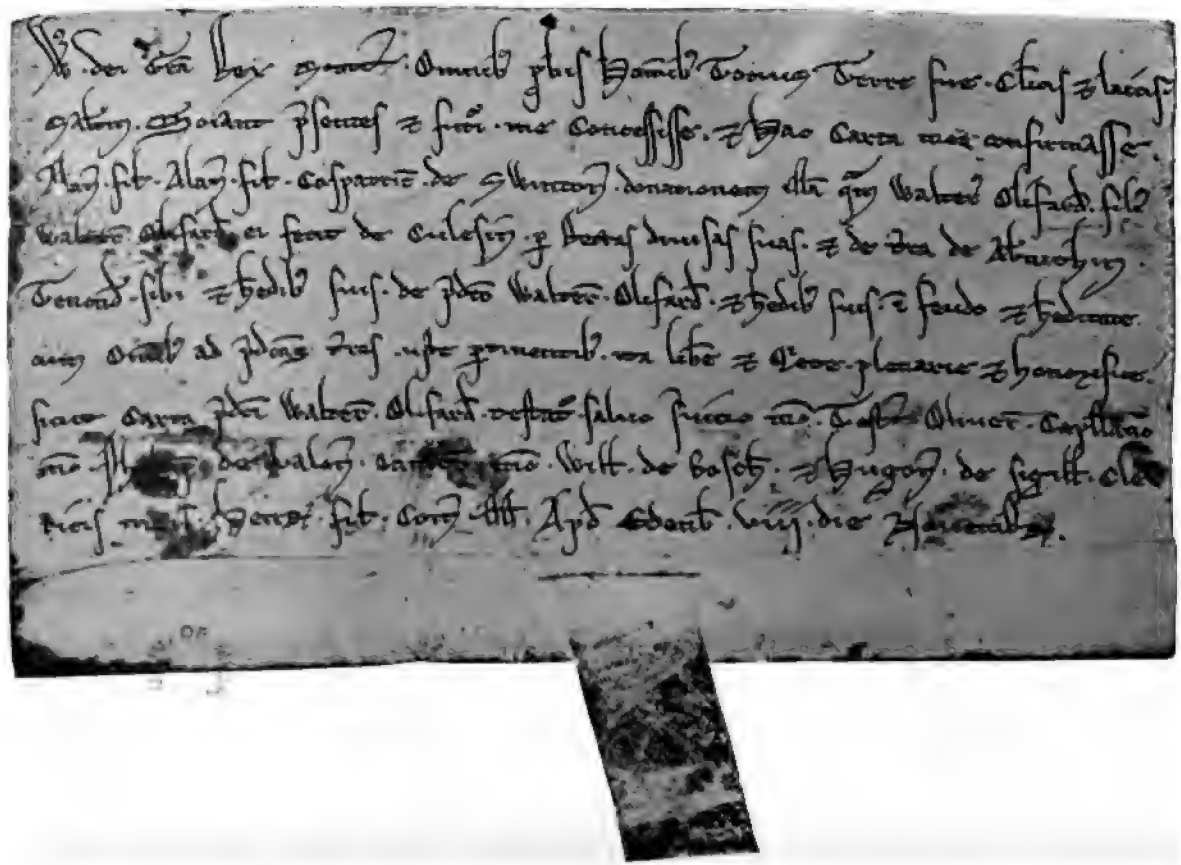
[11] Raine's *History of North Durham*, appendix, No. clix.

[12] *Heraldry*, vol. ii., app. 82.

[13] *v.* Sir Thomas Craig's *Jus. Feudale*, Lib. ii. p. 291.

[14] *The Genealogist*, new series, vol. xv.

[15] Besides many Alan de Swintons, an Alan, son of Alan, appears in Coldingham charters about this time or shortly after. Raine, app., No. cxviii., etc.



CHARTER OF WILLIAM THE LION.
Reproduced same size as original.

Facing page 176

Lastly, the witnesses of course claim attention, and we see, in a charter relating to North Fife, the Berwickshire names of William Patric,[16] of Letham, Swinewood, and Polwarth. But in No. 3 we have no further clue as to where and when the grant was made.

No. 2, the confirmation of William the Lion, helps us to this. It is given at Edinburgh on the 8th of November, and as William de Bosco, who here appears as one of the King's clerks, became Chancellor in June, 1211, at the latest the charters must be of November, 1210. It is improbable that they can be much earlier. On the tags are still traces of a seal, some two inches in diameter. A century and a half ago the Great Seal is stated to have hung there.

For, after all, this is not a discovery but a re-discovery. The packet has been long hidden away, but so late as in 1777 careful copies were taken of the two early charters, and one copy somehow found its way to the Lyon Office, only to lie unknown and forgotten from that day to this. They have even been referred to in print. Nisbet, or whoever was responsible for his second volume, mentions all six as 'in the hands of Hamilton of Wishaw, a learned antiquary,'[17] but he can hardly have seen them, for he garbles them strangely. Douglas followed Nisbet, and made confusion worse confounded.[18] In both we find the curious mistake, if it is a mistake, that they are all said to be Kinloch charters. Probably for many a long year they have lain side by side, perhaps there was a tradition, that they belonged to each other, but now that we have them all before us we see that between the two earliest and the four latest there is on their face no connection whatever. There is a gap of a generation, and, save that a William de Bosco appears in both, evidently a case of two different men, not one name is the same. Beyond the statement that he had a grandfather, whether paternal or maternal we can only conjecture, called Ucthred, we have no clue to the origin of John of the head of the Loch. The lands also do not help us much, for, though all are situated in North Fife, they are scattered about. Weddersbie, *alias* Wester Collessie, was, indeed, part of the ancient estate of Cruvie, but there is no record of the Kinlochs having in after times had any rights over Abernethy.

[16] William, son of Earl Patric of Dunbar.

[17] *Heraldry*, vol. ii., app., p. 26. [18] *Baronage*, p. 533.

Still we cannot dismiss altogether the possibility of a line running through these charters. All six are endorsed and numbered by apparently the same straggling hand, which may be of the fifteenth century, and, if so, a witness that they have been together for at least four hundred years, while it will be noted that two numbers are missing. John of Ogilvie's is No. 8., William the Lion's, placed royally out of its turn and before the charter which it confirms, is No. 2. No. 7, which should come somewhere between 1235 and 1315, is not here. No more is No. 1, perhaps an earlier royal grant. How interesting it might be to trace these to some other charter chest.

Nor must we neglect the help that heraldry can give us. Nisbet points to the Kinloch arms, and, describing Roger de Quincy's seal and its seven mascles, goes on: 'which mascles the name of Kinloch now carrying, took their three from Roger Quincy as their patron or superior of some of those lands so disposed by him to them, and laid aside the old arms, the bishop's pall, above mentioned; but bears a boar's head erased betwixt two mascles.'[19]

Of the bishop's pall we know nothing; it is more likely to have been the personal coat of some clerical member of the family; but the mascles or lozenges and the boar's head appear on the seal of a David de Kinloch in 1418,[20] and with these charters before us we recognise not only the charges of de Quincy, but a suspicion of an inheritance from Alan de Swinton. With the further knowledge that this Alan had, as well as a third Alan who succeeded him at Swinton, another son, John, who in 1248 makes his only appearance in charter history,[21] we might think that we had now arrived at a solution of the parentage of John of Kinloch, the more so because, though no actual recorded connection between Alan and the Earls of Winchester has come down to us, we can advance some curious pieces of circumstantial evidence.

Not only did Earl Roger grant the church of Culessin to Lindores,[22] but his father, Earl Seyer, before him is mentioned in connection with the place.[23] Were not the Dalswinton lands a portion of the Dumfriesshire inheritance which Roger got

[19] *Heraldry*, vol. ii., app., p. 26.

[20] W. R. Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 1507.

[21] Raine's App., ch. ccclxiv. [22] *Chartulary of Lindores*, p. 169.

[23] De Quincy Charters at Magdalen College, Oxford.

with his wife Helen of Galloway, and which passed with their daughter to the Comyns? But whence, and at what date did these lands get their name? How comes it that when Roger and the Abbot of Holyrood discuss their milling arrangements they should fall back as a last resource on the mill at Inveresk, 'quod vocatur Shireuif milne'?[24] For this mill belonged to no Sheriff, but to Alan de Swinton.[25] Oddest chance of all, considering that the Monks of Coldingham valued their Swinton possessions as the 'chief de lour sustenance,'[26] and therefore might have been expected to know how to spell the name of the place, that when in 1235 a list was drawn up of those Mersemen owing homage to the Prior of Durham, the scribe should blunder into heading it with Alan de parva Wintona (*sic*).[27]

But whatever light further research may throw on what are perhaps only chance coincidences, it is most improbable that John de Kindeloch and John fil Alani de Swinton were identical. Among the places in the neighbourhood of Inveresk over which Alan apparently had rights was Elphinstone,[28] and if a younger son John lived to found a family of his own many circumstances make it more likely that 'de Elphinstone' was the territorial surname which he assumed. Stronger evidence still is an apparently contemporary copy of a charter[29] in the possession of Magdalen College, Oxford, an agreement between the Abbey of Inchaffray and the Hospital at Brackele, to which among others are witnesses, Sir Roger de Quinci, Earl of Winchester, and Morin de Kindeloch, the Earl's steward. As this charter cannot be later than 1238, we may imagine that Morin preceded John, and that he was the first to be known as 'of Kinloch.'

If anywhere in that neighbourhood, and between 1200 and 1230, we could find a Morin son of Ucthred, we might presume to add two generations to an interesting pedigree. —.

One other paragraph might with advantage be added to this paper, for anything connecting Olifard and Swinton bears on

[24] Bannatyne Club, 'Chartulary of Holyrood.'
[25] Bannatyne Club, 'Register of Dunfermlin,' p. 147.
[26] Surtees Soc., 'Priory of Coldingham,' p. 22.
[27] Surtees Soc., 'Priory of Coldingham,' p. 241.
[28] Bannatyne Club, 'Register of Dunfermlin,' p. 112.
[29] Brackley, D., 126.

the origin of yet another ancient house. In the *Scots Peerage* it is shown that the lands of Arbuthnott, which had been first granted to Osbert Olifard, were for some reason passed on at the end of the twelfth century by Walter Olifard, said to have been his nephew, to Hugh de Swinton; or as Principal Arbuthnott, who compiled the history of his family, preferred to state it (we have only an early copy to go by). 'Hugoni de Abirbuthnot . . . quem etiam ex præclara Swyntoniorum familia quæ Marchiæ comitatum tum temporis tenebat[80] descendisse ex iisdem monumentis apparet.'

Commenting on this, or rather on the early translation of it which he quotes, Mr. Macphail, the writer of the article, points out that Cospatric de Swinton and Hugh his son are witnesses to a charter of Duncan, Earl of Fife, in 1177,[81] and that therefore the progenitor of the Arbuthnotts was perhaps the son of Cospatric and the grandson of Ernulf de Swinton. With this view our new discoveries quite fall into line.

GEORGE S. C. SWINTON.

[80] We are told that between 1577 and 1587 this was 'Englischit' into 'Earlis of Marchie for the tyme,' but one would like to see the Principal's original manuscript. Even if there was some tradition of a descent from the Gospatrics, or some recollection of the name, it is curious to find a serious student of history making such a mistake within a century of the fall of the great house of Dunbar and March. Or is it possible that in the original it was '*Vice*-comitatum,' for the Swintons claim descent with the lands which give them their name, from Liulf and Odard, Sheriffs on both sides of the Border?

Sir Alan de Swinton, died *c.* 1250. Of his son John, who in 1248 was in company with Lothian neighbours, David de Haddington and Adam de Morham, and of Sir Alan's possessions in Elphinston, we hear no more; unless it be in the person of John de Elphinstone, the reputed founder, *c.* 1250, of the family of that name. In 1296 two de Elphinstones, perhaps John's sons, did homage; Aleyn, or Alan, as belonging to the county of Berwick; John, as belonging to the county of Edinburgh. The latter sealed with a boar's head couped turned to sinister, with a fleur de lys in chief. To-day, and for at least four centuries, the Elphinstone arms are a chevron between three boars' heads, the same as the Swinton's.

[81] Bannatyne Club, 'Chartulary of North Berwick,' p. 5.

Notes and Comments

In Memoriam, Thomas Dickson, LL.D.

It is only fitting that some notice should be taken in the pages of the *Scottish Historical Review* of the demise of one to whom all students engaged in the investigation of the political, social, or family history of Scotland owe a deep debt of gratitude. Other men of eminence in the same field have passed away honoured with the usual column in the daily press, but no such memorial has been given to one who deserves in a very high degree to be remembered for his life's work. It is perhaps only consonant with the character of the man that such should have been the case; but, on the other hand, it is but proper that some record should be made of one who did so much in the cause of historical knowledge.

Dr. Dickson's career was a simple one, and can be easily told. Born some seventy-nine years ago, he was, as a young man, destined for the ministry of the Free Church; an affection of the throat, however, occasioned it is said by a chill after some athletic exercise, put an end to his hopes of preaching, and led him to turn his footsteps into less declamatory paths. In 1859 he obtained the appointment of principal assistant in the Advocates' Library, and the literary gifts and cultivated scholarship which he there developed and displayed led him to be appointed in 1867 successor to Joseph Robertson (who himself expressed a desire that he should succeed him) as Curator of the Historical Department in the Register House of Edinburgh. It was no small task to succeed such a man, who had been cut off in the fulness of his intellectual powers, and it says much for Dickson's ability and force of character that before long he was recognised as a worthy holder of the office. Of a singularly modest and retiring disposition he did not give to the public many results of his labours, but no man was more willing to communicate to inquirers any information which he could supply, and there is hardly a single student of Scottish History, in its various branches, who is not obliged to him for assistance freely rendered from his stores of knowledge. In 1878 he was appointed one of the secretaries for foreign correspondence to the Society of Antiquaries, a post which he held till 1891. Save in the excellent working order in which he handed over his office of Historical Curator to his successor, he left few permanent records of his learning and zeal; but under the editorship of Cosmo Innes he personally superintended the preparation of the fac-similes of the National Manuscripts of Scotland; and, indeed, all the Record publications which appeared during his tenure of office owe much of their excellence to his skilled guidance. The public, too, are indebted to him for one of the best prefaces which was ever written to a volume of the

Records. In 1877 he completed his great introduction to the first volume of the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. He had done the work of editing entirely in his leisure hours, and from pure love of his subject, as he did not receive a penny of remuneration for it from the Government. It is a worthy memorial of the man, displaying not only a great knowledge of Scottish History, but an intimate acquaintance with the social life of the period (1473-98). Whether he discoursed on costume, military and naval affairs, the sports and pastimes of the people, the price of food, or the rate of wages, he threw an illumination on the subject such as had never been done before. A list of the Heralds and Pursuivants of Scotland, which was appended to the preface, was a valuable addition to a little-known bye-path of research. His merits were soon to be recognised in an appropriate way, and in 1886 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. For years afterwards he worked quietly but effectively in the office which he loved, and for the efficiency of which he spared no trouble. But at last the time came when, under the regulations of the service, he had to retire; and while he twice got extensions of his period of service, he had ultimately to give up what was to him a congenial and absorbing occupation, and in 1895 he finally quitted his post. He felt the parting from his official work keenly—too keenly in fact. His friends tried to persuade him again to take up the editorship of the Treasurer's Accounts, with which Government had resolved to proceed, but his finely-strung and sensitive nature had received too severe a shock to permit him to undertake it with pleasure, and no inducement could prevail on him to resume work. Very occasionally his former colleagues saw him in his old haunts, but of late years his health gave way, and he led a very retired life. He passed away peacefully on the 16th of November, leaving behind him a memory which will be gratefully cherished by all who knew him, and having worthily enrolled himself in that distinguished band of record scholars of which Scotland is so justly proud.

J. Balfour Paul.

Coin-hoard in Annandale.

Within the burgh bounds of Lochmaben in October, a labourer lighted on one of those hoards of medieval silver pennies that come to light from time to time in Scotland. Its chief interest, from the point of view of general Scottish history, lies in the fresh illustration it affords of the character of the Scottish currency in the fourteenth century. Internal evidence indicated that it had been buried about the end of Edward II.'s reign. It comprised some 450 pieces, and of these only 9 had been minted in Scotland. The remainder consisted of 422 English pennies, 5 Irish pennies, and 12 'counterfeit sterlings.' The proportion of purely Scottish coins is thus rather smaller than usual; Burns, in his *Coinage of Scotland*, considered 1 in 30 to be the average. Possibly proximity to the Border may account for this. The comparatively large number of counterfeits prove how serious was the economic danger that led to such strong measures being taken against the importation of the 'lussheburghes' (*i.e.* 'Luxembourgers'), as the Host of Chaucer's Pilgrims calls them. Among the 12 found

at Lochmaben was a specimen minted by John the Blind, the King of Bohemia, whose fate at Crecy has invested him with a halo of romance. It is odd to be reminded that among his own contemporaries in England and Scotland his reputation must have rested mainly on the variety of forged coins which he produced, and on the inveterate persistency with which these were 'dumped' on the shores of our island.

Minor Studies in Manuscript.

Glasgow University Historical Society was opened (November 15), under the presidency of Prof. Medley, with a lecture by Mr. G. Neilson, who made four MS. exhibits. The first was a wage roll of Edward I. for work, chiefly ditching, at the peel of Linlithgow in September, 1302—a roll belonging to Mr. J. H. Stevenson, advocate. The second was a fly-fisher's pocket-book acquired by Mr. Ludovic Mann in a Lanarkshire cottage, and containing as constituent of its parchment pockets a number of well-written leaves from a Roman breviary, probably of the 15th century. The third was a charter or transumpt under the great seal in January, 1448-49, authenticating the engrossed copies of no fewer than seven charters of lands which at the date of the transumpt were all in the hands of William, Earl of Douglas. This document, which supplied some lists of witnesses and other *lacunae* in the public records was treated as marking the threatening culmination of Douglas' power and that coalition with the Earl of Crawford and the Livingston party which was the prelude and occasion of the Douglas overthrow. The last item was the common-place book of Bernardo Bembo, a Venetian orator and ambassador (fl. 1433-1519), father of the cardinal-poet-historian, Pietro Bembo. Referring to the breviary as a memorial of a universal faith and a universal ritual, apparently supreme and eternal in its time, but subsequently displaced from its universality, the lecturer said that Scotland since the 15th century had more than once to re-define the word 'kirk,' with the assistance first of John Knox the preacher, and afterwards of those more subtle theologians, Claverhouse and Lord Halsbury.

Jacobite Drinking Glasses.

At the opening meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society (Nov. 17), at which Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple was unanimously elected President, Mr. Rees Price read a communication on 'Jacobite Drinking Glasses,' about twenty different types of which were exhibited. The most interesting glass of the series was one relating to the Jacobite Rising of 1715, the property of Dr. Perry of Glasgow. Only seven of these glasses have been recorded. They are unique in that they bear the cypher 'I. R.,' crowned—the cypher of the Chevalier St. George, proclaimed at St. Germains, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. This cypher, peculiarly French in style, is so engraved that it might conceivably pass as standing for Georgius Rex. In the glass of Dr. Perry, careful examination of the scroll work shows the figure 8, referring undoubtedly to James VIII. of Scotland. Another feature of these glasses is, that they have inscribed on them a Jacobite paraphrase of the song which was written by Bull at the time of the gun-powder plot, beginning, 'God save great James our King';

a song adapted by Dr. Arne in 1745 for the Georgian National Anthem, and set to the music we now sing in 'God save our Lord the King.'

All the other glasses exhibited referred to the Rising of 1745, and they and their analogues were used at the meetings of the many Jacobite clubs which existed then and later, where the members toasted 'the King over the water.' The glasses have inscribed on their bowls emblems and mottoes which had an important significance to the Jacobite adherents. Most of them are engraved with the quasi-heraldic six-petalled rose of the Stuarts, in contradistinction to the heraldic five-petalled Tudor rose. The rose has associated with it two natural buds, signifying the Chevalier St. George and Prince Charles Edward. A star is also frequently engraved on the bowl. And in toasting the 'King over the water,' as the glass was raised over the bowl of water on the table, the star, held outwards, rose also.

The oakleaf is a frequent decoration. Its reference to the Stuart dynasty is obvious. Various words and mottoes are also found engraved on Jacobite glasses, for example, the Virgilian 'Turno tempus erit,' and the motto 'Cujus est cuique suum reddite,' and 'Audentior Ibo.'

The air-stemmed 'drawn' glass (*i.e.* bowl and stem in one), here illustrated (Fig. 1), and belonging to Mrs. Rees Price, has engraved on the bowl, the rose and two buds, the oakleaf, the star, and the cycle word 'FIAT.' This form of glass was largely used by the Cycle which had its origin at Wynnstay in 1710, and ramified through Shropshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, and the North of England, up to Scotland, and as far south as Wiltshire.

Another interesting glass, here figured (Fig. 2), is the property of Mr. Percy Bate of Glasgow. It is a drawn air-stemmed glass with a collar on the stem. The bowl is bell shaped, and is engraved with the rose and two natural buds, the star, and the word 'REDEAT.'

A unique glass belonging to Mrs. Rees Price, air-stemmed, with a straight-sided bowl, is engraved with the Prince of Wales' feathers and the Royal Arms of England and Scotland quarterly—purposely incorrect, and the word 'RADIAT.' (Fig. 3.)

Finally may be mentioned a large air-stemmed glass with an ogee bowl, engraved with a portrait of Prince Charles Edward, flanked with the six petalled rose and two buds, and the thistle. The bowl is also inscribed with the star and the cycle word 'FIAT.'

Anti-Jacobite Jottings on a Confession of Faith, of 1647.

AT the same meeting of the Glasgow Archæological Society there was exhibited an interesting booklet which belonged to the late Dr. James Macdonald. It was a well-preserved copy of the earliest Scottish print of 'The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by Authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith,' being one of an edition of three hundred printed at Edinburgh in the autumn of 1647, 'for the use of the Generall Assembly.' The name of the original owner is doubtful. But in the early part of the eighteenth century the book had been in the possession of an Elgin family named

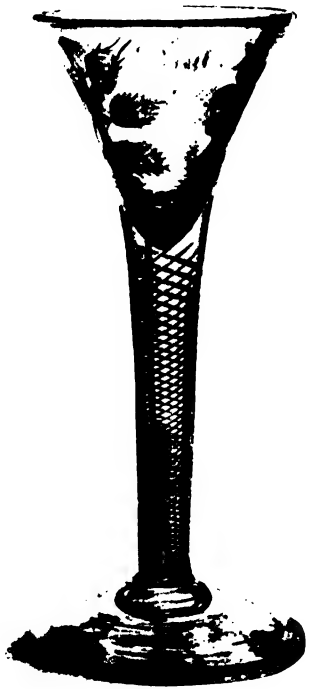


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

JACOBITE GLASSES.

Facing page 184

Sutherland, one of whom was evidently an ardent Hanoverian. On a fly-leaf he has inscribed the following Latin verses:

'Lues ex silvis prodiens, spem Jacobitorum
Scotorum extinxit; pereat omne malum.
Plangite Jacobum, Jacobini, nunc moriturum,
Octavum falso, cognominare solent.
Tristia jocosis succedunt carmina vestris,
Tubicines nigri, nunc ululate fatum.'

It will be seen that he was not very strong in punctuation. In the art of verse translation he was even weaker. This is his doggerel rendering of the first three lines.

'George from the wood his progress makes.
The Jacobs hope its neck he breaks.
So let all evil perish.
Lament your darlin Jacobits.'

The Celtic Union.

GAELIC subjects of history are prominent in the programme of the Celtic Union, which is affiliated to the Comunn Gaidhealach, of which it is an Edinburgh section. Statutes of Iona, Jacobite Bards, Origins of Gaelic Literature (by Prof. Kuno Meyer), Old Highland Cures, and Celtic Art, are themes of special contributions. Mr. David MacRitchie is president for the session 1904-05. The Union boasts two honorary bards and one honorary piper, who doubtless enliven the work of the archaeological section, which in the syllabus for the current winter manifests a most vigorous spirit. An institution so helpful towards the study of the Highlands in history may well command wide support. The committee on archaeology evidently designs to foster research and at the same time to popularise it—a double policy which is on both sides happy and commendable.

A Survival of Norse Law.

NORSE memories of all kinds are, of course, strong in Orkney and Zetland, and the Court of Session has recently passed judgment on a very remarkable survival of Norse law in the land tenure there. A dual system has long prevailed. Where a proprietor feudalises his title by once coming under a Crown charter, the limitations attached to all feudal holdings from the Crown thenceforth obtain. Where the 'udaller,' on the other hand, holding by the traditional allodial or self-contained proprietary right has never feudalised, what is his position? Has he any more extensive or exclusive right in his own as in a question with the Crown than if he held feudally? This issue came sharply up for decision on the important point whether the foreshore at Lerwick was private or Crown property. By general Norse customary law, anciently and still, the foreshore is the udaller's: the march line of a riparian property is the lowest low water-mark. Property reaches 'fra ye hyast of ye hill to ye lanest of ye eb. . . .' By Scottish feudal law, however, that is by normal Scots law, the foreshore is the patrimonial property, *inter regalia*, of the Crown. Hence in the case of *Smith versus Lerwick Harbour Trustees* (17th March, 1903, 5 Fraser 680) the contest

was direct and uncompromising between Norse *odal* and Scottish *feudum*. The *odal* being an unburdened freehold is the very negation of *feudum*. After an extremely interesting and learned litigation, in which histories, sagas, and charters, as well as old law treatises of Iceland, Norway, and Denmark were ransacked for authorities, the court decreed that the riparian udal holder who has never feudalised, not only owns the ground to the lowest tide-mark, but also maintains this right against the Crown. Mr. W. P. Drever, of Kirkwall, has reprinted from the *Juridical Review* an article on the law of the udal foreshore, which calls for welcome as an excellent exposition of both sides of a case of peculiar interest, and a curious chapter of historical law.

Irish Historical Societies, 1904.

THE publications of the various historical and antiquarian societies which, as we noticed last January, are now tolerably numerous, have been well maintained during the past year. With the exception of Waterford, all the societies already in existence at the beginning of 1904 have published their *Proceedings* with commendable regularity; and this year has been marked by the foundation of a new society in Louth. This county, though almost the the smallest in Ireland, is not only peculiarly rich in archaelogical remains of great interest, but, from its propinquity to the Pale, and its situation between the seat of English power and the practically independent Ulster of pre-Stuart times, it has historical associations of great interest. The town of Drogheda alone should furnish abundant material for investigation. The first number of the Louth journal has been admirably brought out by local printers, and we wish the society a prosperous career. But while the quantity of archaeological and antiquarian work performed by the local societies has been well maintained, as much cannot be said for the quality of the output. The high standard of earlier days has not been maintained of late years. For example, the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* which is much the most eminent, in point of tradition, of the local journals, tends both to repetition and superficiality. This periodical seems to depend too exclusively on its assiduous editor, and Mr. Bigger's own work suffers in consequence. Such a narrative as he supplies in his account of Sir Arthur Chichester was well worth giving; though scarcely judicial in tone, it summarises much scattered information on an interesting subject. But in a journal of this kind careful references to the sources utilised are properly expected. And these are not always forthcoming either in Mr. Bigger's paper or in Dr. Knowles' addition, to Bishop Reeves' essay on Crannogs. In these criticisms we speak, of course, only of the work of the provincial associations, as indicated in the local journals, and not of the Royal Irish Academy or Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Both of these institutions, and more especially the former, exact from their contributors to their *Proceedings* a high level of efficient scholarship, and their papers seldom fail to show proof of independent and original research. This is particularly the case in the work of the past year in such very dissimilar contributions as Mr. H. F. Berry's 'Gild of St. Ann in St. Andrews,

Dublin, 1430-1740,' Mr. F. E. Ball's 'Judges of Ireland in 1739,' and Mr. Herbert Wood's 'Addison's Connection with Ireland.' The last-named paper merits the praise of being the most graceful and literary of the antiquarian papers published in Ireland during the year. Only in one paper, that on the identification of the Pass of Plumes, does the Society of Antiquaries seem to have fallen below the standard we have mentioned. Lord Walter Fitzgerald's paper is, indeed, marked by industry and research; but it adds nothing to knowledge, since the information given in it was published some thirty years ago by Canon O'Hanlon in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. In the absence of an efficient digest of antiquarian literature, such as *Poole's Index* supplies for general periodicals, it is possible for well-informed antiquaries to imagine that they are tilling for the first time ground which has already been worked out. The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland has recently published a full index to the first twenty volumes of its *Proceedings*. It is to be wished that other societies would follow this excellent example. A complete index of this kind to the *Ulster Journal* would be much appreciated by Irish antiquarians.

Recent Discoveries of Medieval and Prehistoric Objects.

A FINE 'food vessel' was found last summer in Wigtownshire in a massively built cist, with an inhumed skeleton and small decorated slate objects. In Tiree, Mr. Ludovic Mann has recovered from the soil vessels of clay apparently prehistoric. One of the vessels is 18 inches high and has a hoop moulding. These objects, with a large collection of prehistoric implements from Coll, Iona, and other Hebridean Islands, may be seen in the People's Palace, Glasgow, as well as sepulchral urns (one found with the cremated remains of a child) from Cumnock Parish. A prehistoric workshop at Culmore has been carefully examined. The site has yielded about 100 implements. Specially valuable finds are a large flint knife and several flint arrow-heads; one apparently in course of manufacture. This autumn an important discovery took place at Newlands, Glasgow, eight bronze-age burials having come to light. One of the urns is exceptionally large and another is decorated in relief. In the South of Scotland a string-marked 'drinking cup' has been found.

The importance of early fictilia in the solution of the problems of prehistoric chronologies cannot be over-estimated, and it is satisfactory to know that all the discoveries referred to will be exhaustively recorded.

The ninth Century site in Wigtownshire continues to yield bronze objects, usually large pins with ornamented heads; an iron spear-head and large thick perforated discs of pottery of unknown use have been found at the site. A green-glazed pottery jar with handle, of medieval manufacture, has been found near Bridge-of-Weir Railway Station, a few feet from the surface.

Queries

CUMING OF ALTYRE. Robert Cuming of Altyre died in 1675, leaving a son Alexander. The latter married (1) Elizabeth Brodie, (2) the widow of Sir Alexander Innes of Cockstoun. Alexander died in 1745-50, and left three sons, James, Alexander, and George. James died s.p. 1754. Alexander continued the line now represented by the Cumings of Altyre. Whom did George marry, what were the names of his children, and when did he die? He was at one time an ensign in the Marines. [Bruce's *The Bruces and Cumyns* gives no further information.]

George's sister Elizabeth married a certain Dr. John Innes. Was the latter one of the Inneses of Cockstoun, and if so in what way was he related?

ST. MARJORY. Chalmers in his *Caledonia* (vol. iii. p. 192) remarks: 'The church of Dornock (in Dumfries-shire) was dedicated to St. Marjory, who is not, however, mentioned by the sanctologists: Yet is her memory perpetuated here, by a simple monument, which is called *St. Marjory's Cross*.' I have looked into Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints* and Owen's *Sanctorale Catholicum*, but cannot find any reference to St. Marjory. Is nothing really known about the Saint?

J. M. M.

JOHN LIVINGSTON was one of the colony who emigrated to America in 1764 with the Rev. Thomas Clark, M.D., from Ballybay, Ireland. After a brief stay in Stillwater he settled in Salem, New York. Family tradition tells us that this John Livingston was a descendant of the Rev. John Livingston who was born in Monybroch, Kilsyth, 1603, and a cousin of the Livingstons of Livingston Manor, who settled near Albany and were prominent in the early history of New York State. These Livingstons were descended from Robert, youngest son of Mr. John. Tradition also says that John Livingston of Salem came from Ballybay, but was of Scottish descent, and that he married a Miss Boyd previous to his coming to this country. Can his descent be traced?

Mrs. Alfred T. Livingston.

155 Forest Avenue,
Jamestown, New York.

JOHNSTON OF ELSIESHEILLS. The first of the family, as disclosed by the Register of the Great Seal, was Gavin Johnston of Esby, in Annandale, who, as his grandson was apparently of age in the year 1485, was probably born about 1410. Does any evidence exist to show who was the father of Gavin Johnston of Esby?

16 Draycott Place, London, S.W. F. A. JOHNSTON.

MITCHELL OF WESTSHORE. Sir Andrew Mitchell, Bart., died in 1764 and was succeeded by his son John, who died s.p. 1783. Had Sir Andrew any daughters?

Replies

'BARON OF ARGENTINE' (vol. i. p. 459). The lands of Silverton Hill in Hamilton Parish do not appear to have been a barony, but in the barony of Hamilton. It is obscure how they, or half of them, passed from John Hamilton of Broomhill, who had a G.S. charter of them dated 10th May, 1491, and died in August, 1526, to Sir James Hamilton of Silverton Hill, Knt., who ranks next to John Hamilton of Broomhill in the G.S. charter of settlement of the Hamilton estates, dated 17th January, 1512-13, and so to his son John Hamilton of Newton, who died in 1535, but Andrew Hamilton, 'grandson, heir, and successor' of John Hamilton of Newton, seems clearly to have succeeded in that year to half of them, and to have been then a minor, with his uncle Alexander Hamilton, described as 'Tutor of Silverton Hill,' in a G.S. charter to him of 16th January, 1545-6, as his guardian. See Anderson's *Supplement*, 1827, to his *House of Hamilton*, pp. 425-6. Alexander's testament, dated at Newton, 31st August, 1547 (*Glasgow Commissary Records*), which shows that he left no lawful issue at his death, appoints 'Andrew his bruyer's son the heir,' to be his executor. As Sir Andrew Hamilton of Silverton Hill, Knt., this Andrew is witness on 20th December, 1552, to a charter in the G.S. register. In 1553 he gets sasine of the lands of Goslinton which had been purchased in 1528 by his father Andrew, who died in 1533. Also in 1542, 1548, and 1554, of Newton in Avondale and other lands which had belonged to his grandfather, John, of Newton, and of the lands of Langkipe, which had belonged to his uncle and tutor, Alexander. (See *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. 17, p. 585, and vol. 18, pp. 442, 563 and 576.) It is clear, therefore, that neither Andrew Hamilton of Newton, Silverton Hill, and Goslinton, nor Alexander Hamilton, Tutor of Silverton Hill, was killed at the Battle of the Butts in March, 1543-4. Sir Andrew appears in the Records either as of Silverton Hill or Goslinton until 1592. Anderson's account of the family, founded on the *Baronage of Scotland*, is shown by the Records to be

erroneous in many particulars, and the Newton which the family held seems to have been Newton in Avondale, not Newton in Cambuslang, as Douglas and Anderson say.

Anderson gives an amended account of the Hamiltons of Cambuskeith in his *Supplement*, 1827, p. 463, in which he admits that John Hamilton of Cambuskeith was killed at the Battle of the Butts in 1543, and was succeeded by his elder son John, who died on 12th September, 1547, and so far the amended account seems to be correct. The son John appears to have died from the wounds he received at the battle of Fawside (9th September, 1547) the day before Pinkie, leaving a son John, a minor, to whom his uncle William Hamilton, Tutor of Cambuskeith, was guardian on 3rd December, 1550. This John had sasine in 1568 of Cambuskeith on payment of the feudal dues to the Crown for the twenty-five years since his grandfather's death in 1543. (See *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. 20, p. 386.) The retours of this family which Anderson says were obtained in the years 1548 and 1561 do not appear to be in the printed Inquisitions.

W. H. C. Hamilton.

THE CELTIC TREWS (vol. i. pp. 389-398). With reference to my paper on this subject, a correspondent has favoured me with the following additional information: In Professor Firth's *Scotland and the Protectorate* (Edin., 1899, p. 219) an extract is made from a letter of General Monk's to Secretary Thurloe, dated 2nd Dec., 1654, wherein Monk refers to General Middleton, who was then 'in some place in Glengaries bounds,' as living 'in such a cuntry where hee cannot ride or travell but in trouses and a plad.' General Monk writes from Dalkeith, where he had been staying for some time, and the inference is that in the Scottish Lowlands, as in England, the trews (otherwise 'trouses' and 'trossers') was then regarded as a garment peculiar to the Highlands, and probably also to Ireland.

David MacRitchie.

KENKYNOL (vol. ii. p. 15). In his extremely interesting article on Earlsferry Mr. Law introduces the word 'KenKynol,' which he seems to treat as the name of a person or clan. From the way in which Mr. E. W. Robertson in his *Historical Essays* (p. 163) used the word, it looks as if he also had dealt with it as a proper name. The Charter from which the word is taken is one dated 1450, by which James II., confirming a Charter of Robert II., granted to James Kennedy, ancestor of the house of Ailsa, 'quod dictus Jacobus Kennedy et heredes sui masculi essent capud totius progeniei sue tam in calumpniis quam in aliis articulis et negociis ad Kenkynol pertinere valentibus, etc.' (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* ii. 87). This Charter follows on two granted by Robert II. in 1372 ratifying a Charter of Alexander III. dated 1275-6, and an earlier grant by Neil, Earl of Carrick to Roland de Carrick, ancestor of the said James Kennedy, conferring on Roland the headship of the house (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* i. 114, 115). In all of these the word occurs, variations on the

spelling being Kenkynoll and Kenkenoll. The word means simply the head of a clan or family, being from Gaelic *ceann* a head and *cineal* progeny (see Highland Society's *Gaelic Dictionary*, *s.v.* Ceann-cinnidh). This being so, the Charters mentioned grant such rights and privileges as naturally pertain to the chief of a clan, not of any particular clan. The same word is to be found in a bond of manrent by John M'Allan M'Eane in Lochaber in favour of Sir John Campbell of Calder, dated 1519 (*The Thanes of Cawdor*, Spalding Club, p. 130). There the obligation was 'to geff to the forsaid Sir Johne and his aris our calp kenkenoll and our manrent,' the word 'kenkenoll' being used as an adjective, clearly with the meaning 'due to a clanchief.'

JOHN BARTHOLOMEW.

THE BULLOCH FAMILY (vol. i. p. 419). It is a curious coincidence that Mr. Millar and myself should have been working at the same time at such an out of the way genealogical investigation as the Bulloch family; but if we started on the same road we have not reached the same goal. Despite a certain phonetic similarity, I do not think that the family of Bulloch has anything whatever to do with the family of Bullock. In the first place the name Bulloch was originally spelt Balloch, a fact which will be seen by every searcher of records, even although he is not prepared to believe the tradition resurrected by the American historian of the family that the house was founded by Donald Balloch, 'Lord of the Isles.'

Stirlingshire, and more particularly the parish of Baldernock is the cradle of the race, and I found from a transcript of the births and deaths Registers that the form Balloch was almost invariably used until the middle of the 18th century, after which for some extraordinary reason it is almost as invariably not used. The Bullocks on the other hand appear in the State Records spelt with a K, very often as English officials, although there was a family of sailors of the name trading between English and Scots ports in the 14th century.

The word Balloch is, I believe, of Gaelic origin, although I am no authority, and means 'freckled.' It is familiar to geographers in such names as Ballochmyle, Ballochbuie, and so on. The form Balloch was not entirely suppressed by the form Bulloch, and I have been surprised in the course of my investigations to find several families of the name Balloch, most of them being in very humble circumstances.

Although Stirlingshire was the cradle of the race the name Balloch is found occasionally in other parts of the country from Berwick to Buchan, although, of course, it is in the counties nearest to Stirlingshire that it is most commonly found. There was a family of Balloch in the Marnoch district in the end of the 18th century. Alastair Balloch (Alexander the Speckled) is a hero of Sutherlandshire legend, and may have been connected with Donald Balloch, the warlike chieftain of the Isles. My own family came from Baldernock, and belongs, I believe, to the same line as the founders of the well-known Glasgow firm, Bulloch, Lade & Co. The race has not been known much to fame, which is probably the reason that it

has been quite overlooked by the genealogists, except the inevitable American. It may be connected with the Peeblesshire family of Bullo, but I feel almost certain it has nothing to do with Bullock.

118 Pall Mall, London. J. M. BULLOCH.

[Mr. Millar does not accept the positions above advanced. He writes:

Mr. Bulloch's researches as to the history of the Bulloch family will have been seriously complicated, and somewhat reduced in value, if he has taken 'Bulloch' as synonymous with 'Balloch.' The latter is a purely Gaelic patronymic, derived from the place-name *bealach*, signifying, not 'speckled,' as he suggests, but "a narrow pass." The Scottish form is 'Balloch,' and from this root the composite names of Ballochmyle, Ballochgoy, Ballochluie, and countless others are derived. Bulloch is a Lowland (if not an English) name; and is rarely met in that form in purely Highland districts, save as importations. If 'Stirlingshire was the cradle of the race,' as Mr. Bulloch suggests, then it is more probable that they were settlers from the south, than that they crossed the Highland line and lost their Celtic characteristics.

In reply to this, Mr. Bulloch adds:

'Whether Balloch means "spreckled" as well as a 'narrow pass' does not affect my point. If again Ballock is the origin of Bulloch why is Balloch never represented as 'Ballock?' I cannot say when registers were began to be kept in Baldernock, but the first preserved dates from 1654. The following are typical entries:

1731 Feb. 18—James, lawful son to Allan Balloch in Balmore and Margreat Watson, his spouse.

1745 Dec. 29—William, son lawful to Allan Bulloch, Buckley in the parish of Calder and Margaret Watson, his spouse.

1729 March 23—James lawful son to Robert Balloch and Jonet Guthrie his spouse.

1742 Feb. 14—Betheath, lawful daughter to Robert Bulloch and Janet Guthrie his spouse.

The same occurs in dozens of other entries, the difference in the spelling beginning about 1740. Not a single 'Ballock' nor 'Bullock' occurs. Why not? Besides we find Donald Balloch contemporaneous with John Bullok, the Aberdeen merchant. It seems to me as likely that Bulloch is a corruption of Bullock as that I am descended from the Aberdeen merchant John Bullok, because my family happens to have resided there for 75 years.]

Reviews of Books

A History of French Versification. By L. E. Kastner, M.A., Assistant Lecturer in French Language and Literature at the Owens College, Manchester. Pp. xx, 312. Cr. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903. 5s. 6d. nett.

M. Kastner's Thesaurus of French versification is so full and painstaking, and the want of such a thing in English was so great, that one may feel inclined to greet it with nothing but hearty thanks, and as hearty recommendations. Even in French I am not acquainted with anything quite so thorough of its own kind; and even in France the curious and arbitrary intricacies of the subject are by no means universally understood; while as for this side of the Channel, you may find pieces of French inserted in English work, by poets of no small genius and education, with prosodic values which it is utterly impossible for the French words to bear. Here, under the successive heads of 'Syllabic Value,' 'Rhyme,' 'Caesura,' '*Enjambement*,' 'Hiatus,' 'Poetic License,' and the various classes of line and stanza, almost all the facts and laws of the subject are given, with abundant examples from all the periods of the language. This latter feature, which must always be one of the most important (perhaps we might say *the* most important) in a treatise of the kind, is very well presented: and I hardly know whether to approve most of the abundance of examples of old French, or of the many 'modern instances' with their daring neglect of what used to be considered prosodic orthodoxy.

For what is here we may therefore (let it be repeated) be truly thankful; but perhaps some reserves must be made on the manner of giving it. That there is no index is a rather serious drawback; but that can be easily made good. It would not be so easy to alter the method of the book itself, which I cannot help thinking unfortunate. In calling it a 'Thesaurus' instead of a 'History' I have intended neither cavil nor discourtesy, but a simple rectification. The fact is that, except in the part devoted to lines and stanzas, where historical treatment was almost unavoidable, the treatment is scarcely historic at all. One would have thought, even if the treatise were not definitely announced as a history, that prosodic rather more than any other linguistic or literary enquiry could only be satisfactorily conducted by beginning at the beginning, and showing what the *actual* verse-forms of the language have successively been. But M. Kastner begins with a chapter on 'Principles,' in which these principles are stated as if they existed somewhere in an Ark

of the Covenant, and illustrated only by examples from Racine. So it is at the beginning of that on the Counting of Syllables: and so (though less) at the beginning of that on Rhyme. Now it may be fully admitted that the extreme *homogeneousness* of French Prosody, till quite recently, both invites this proceeding and makes it less mischievous than it would be elsewhere. But still I venture to think it not the most excellent way. And if, allowing to the full Victor Hugo's famous and peremptory restriction of the critic to the question, '*How* has this author done his work?' and not '*What* has he done?' we admit that M. Kastner had a right to give what he chose and hold back what he chose, *we* have still the right to ask whether he has given it in the best manner. I think myself that for this matter a dictionary arrangement would have been superior to the present. It would certainly have been easier to consult on particular points, and to study as a whole it would, I think, have been less confusing to novices. But once more, almost all information which can reasonably be wanted by English readers, on a subject as to which they had, save in the rarest cases, very little information before, is here. And it is not often that one can say as much of a book as this.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY. By W. J. Courthope, C.B., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., late Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Vol. III., pp. xxxii, 533; Vol. IV., pp. xxix, 476. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1903. 10s. nett per volume.[1]

THE third and fourth volumes of Mr. Courthope's *History of English Poetry* are devoted to the seventeenth century. The former, beginning with the successors of Spenser, deals with the different poetical schools till the time of Dryden; and the latter is given up entirely to the drama.

The book is not a 'complete collection of the English poets.' Many names which appear in humbler histories are not to be found here. English poetry is studied, not in itself, not in relation to its authors, but in relation to politics, society, and the national life. Believing that Warton erred in dealing too much in detail and 'in the spirit of an antiquary,'—though it is to this patient labour united with genuine scholarship and taste that our first history owes its abiding value—Mr. Courthope aims at giving his work a unity by treating poetry as 'an expression of the imagination, not simply of the individual poet, but of the English people.' We need not, therefore, expect detached appreciations of individual poets; nor should we consult these volumes for the less obvious facts of a writer's career. There is here so much unity that the poets are not to be taken out of their setting; they are exhibited as the embodiment of forces in the intellectual and national life. It should be an interesting question, in due time, to inquire into the forces which have gone to the making of Mr. Courthope's own critical method. Will it be shown to be partly the outcome of the evolutionary doctrines of the nineteenth century? It has an obvious relationship to the methods of Taine and Monsieur Brunetière. Happily Mr. Courthope is never more in love

with his theory than with his subject matter, and so is never forced to bend his facts to his purpose. His method is saner and more disinterested than Taine's; and it is much wider than Monsieur Brunetière's. The author of the *Evolution des Genres* has shown himself liable to deal exclusively with the 'influence of books upon books' and the externals of literature. Mr. Courthope's work has not the artistic value of Taine's, and it may lack the forcefulness of Monsieur Brunetière's somewhat pugnacious style, but it shows greater breadth of vision.

The method is well illustrated by the chapters on the poetical wit of the seventeenth century. Mr. Courthope has felt the inadequacy of all previous attempts to explain its rise. The critics of Donne and his school who point to Marino and Gongora forget that Donne is not the first 'conceited' writer in our language. As the same tendencies are found at the same time in the chief European literatures, they had presumably a common source; and this Mr. Courthope finds in 'the decay of the scholastic philosophy and of the feudal system, common to the whole of Europe, and in the revival, at the same time, of the civic standards of antiquity operating on the genius of many rising nations and languages' (iii. 105). The qualities of the wit of the seventeenth century are shown to appear 'germinally' in the poetry of the fourteenth, their predominance in the latter age being only the 'efflorescence of decay.' Whether or not this explanation is itself adequate, the manner of treatment has at least served to throw new light on a difficult problem. The dangers of a critical method which deals with influences have been well known since Taine's day. Being powerless to grasp the problem of the individuality of a poet, it tends to treat him merely as the passive exemplification of tendencies. The charge will not be made against Mr. Courthope, for, even in the two chapters which argue that in the work of Milton we find the 'reconciliation of the conflicting elements of race, religion, and language,' we lose sight of the poet's personality only in the more technical passages. But there is the further charge that the method prevents the critic from 'communicating his impressions to the reader in words which reflect his own enthusiasm,' to quote the author's own words in praise of Symonds. To make this charge, however, would be to neglect Mr. Courthope's purpose. He has not tried to interpret his authors and make them live again in his own pages. As he continually reminds us, he is tracing through our poetry the growth of the national imagination.

While the treatment of poetical wit is perhaps the chief contribution to English criticism of Mr. Courthope's third volume, there are important sections on the rise of the classical school. He will not allow Waller's claim to have been the first poet to write smoothly in the heroic couplet, but he grants him the smaller titles of 'the founder of the familiar style in complimentary poetry' (iii. 275), and 'the chief pioneer in harmonising the familiar use of the heroic couplet' (iii. 280). From Dryden's day Waller was known as a 'reformer of our numbers.' But Dryden knew that Waller confessed a debt to Fairfax, and Pope, when he drew up the scheme of his history of English poetry, said that Waller's

models were Fairfax and Sandys. Mr. Courthope believes that Waller owed nothing to the 'stately, semi-archaic style of Fairfax,' the pretended debt being only an attempt to conceal obligations to more immediate predecessors; but he admits the influence of Sandys, and he urges the influence of such writers as Sir John Beaumont. In particular, he insists on the importance of Beaumont's poem, *Concerning the True Form of English Poetry*, as both an early statement and illustration of the classical spirit in English verse. Had Beaumont's poem been written at the end of the century we should have been familiar with it as an infallible proof of the influence of Boileau. Beaumont was not an innovator, as anticipations of his views are to be found in Elizabethan criticism; but he helps to prove that English classicism was a continuous national growth, and that the French influence at the end of the century is commonly overstated.

In the discussion of the members of the classical school Denham is restored to the place which was given by Dryden and Pope, but from which he has been deposed by modern criticism. Easy as it is to find faults in Denham's work, difficult as it is to overlook his limitations, Mr. Courthope yet holds that the older reputation was merited. He finds 'many proofs of the fineness of Denham's judgment' (iii. 284), and he speaks of 'his weighty effects of style,' which is only another way of alluding to what Pope called his 'strength.' In the chapter on the Court poets of the Restoration more attention is paid than we find in other histories to the Duke of Buckinghamshire and the Earl of Roscommon, who have been neglected or despised since the eighteenth century. One of the merits of Mr. Courthope's method is that it cannot afford to ignore contemporary fame. A poet who was well thought of in his own day but has been forgotten since has presumably more to tell us of 'the growth of the national imagination' than perhaps greater poets whose worth is only of recent discovery. The recurring reference to Pope and Johnson is a pleasing feature of this book. And it is no less pleasing to be continually reminded, by the spirit of the argument, of the author's own *Life in Poetry, Law in Taste*, as in the passage which traverses Johnson's view that *Hudibras* lacks the 'universal' element of interest. The *History of English Poetry* is in a sense the historical application of the principles stated in the Oxford lectures.

In the fourth volume it is contended that 'England alone presented such social conditions at the close of the sixteenth century as allowed all the great contemporary tendencies of human action to be reflected in the drama' (iv. 199). The most important section of this volume is the long and detailed account of Shakespeare. Mr. Courthope shirks none of the common points of controversy, and he reopens controversies that are thought to have been settled. He holds the orthodox belief that 'the key-note for interpreting all Shakespeare's tragedies is to be found in the Sonnets,' (iv. 168); but he is courageously heretical in placing the *Tempest* as early as 1596 and identifying it with the play of *Love's Labour Won* mentioned by Meres in 1598. The arguments in support of his views are, it must be admitted, far from convincing. He says

himself that 'the strongest argument' against a date so late as 1610 is that 'the play appears to be plainly alluded to by Ben Jonson in the prologue to *Every Man in His Humour*, first acted in the November of 1596' (iv. 95); but it is by no means certain that the *Tempest* is the play alluded to in this prologue, and there is no proof that the prologue itself was not written till many years later. Mr. Courthope agrees unreservedly with Mr. Swinburne in assigning to the youthful hand of Shakespeare *Arden of Feversham*, which he characterises as the 'finest poetical melodrama in the English language' (iv. 235), and he claims for him also the *Contention of York and Lancaster*, the *True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York, etc.*, the *Troublesome Reign of King John*, and the *Taming of A Shrew*.

There are one or two minor points to be noted. Is there not a double mistake in crediting Gabriel Harvey, pedant though he was, with introducing the false theory of *quantitative* hexameters (iii. 171)? This view has been traditional since Southey summarised the old controversy in the introduction to his *Vision of Judgement*. But was it not Drant who began the quantitative craze, and did not Harvey plead for accent? In Mr. Courthope's second volume he is quoted as spurning 'the authority of five hundred Master Drants' (ii. 291). *Pericles* was not 'admitted among Shakespeare's plays by all Malone's predecessors from the time of Rowe' (iv. 456). It was omitted in Pope's edition of 1725, and was not again included till Malone's edition of 1790. The reference to Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* as mentioning *Pericles* (iv. 469) is apparently a mistake for the *Essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the Last Age*. It was not only 'Malone's disciples' (iv. 133) who complained of Jonson for attacking Shakespeare. Malone only carried on a controversy which had started in the seventeenth century. Sir John Harington was not a student of Christ's College, Cambridge (iii. 74), as is commonly stated, but of King's: see Mr. Walter Raleigh's article in the *New Review*, September, 1896. There is a mistake in the date of Castelvetro's edition of Aristotle's *Poetics*, which was issued in 1570 (iv. 271); and a common error reappears in the title of Cowley's *Cutter of Coleman Street* (iii. 335, 337). It is regrettable that Mr. Courthope finds himself unable to dissent from Macaulay's views on Dryden's change of religion.

D. Nichol Smith.

Manx Names, or The Surnames and Place Names of the Isle of Man. By A. W. Moore, C.V.O. Second Edition, revised. Pp. xvi, 261. 8vo. London: Eliot Stock, 1903.

Manxland offers peculiar facilities for the study of its place and name words because of a certain homogeneity due to isolation, because its size renders it possible for a diligent worker to master not only its records but its topography, and because, while possessing some characteristics all its own, it has more which are cognate with those independently found in the Irish, Gaelic and Norse elements of British names. The speaker of the House of Keys carries authority when he quits the chair for the study. Historian of the island alike politically and *quoad sacra*, and versed besides in its folklore, he starts with a first-class

knowledge of Manx records, and from them incidentally draws instructive and interesting material for historical etymologies. His method is more satisfactory in the treatment of persons than of places: of the former we have the names with dates and variants, of the latter such particulars are much too rarely given. This is matter of regret; these details are the best check upon the validity of derivations. Isle of Man names are to about 70 per cent. Celtic; Norse comes next. C, K, and Q are the prevalent initial letters, a fact due partly to the contracting of names in Mac, and partly to the generic frequency of Q in the Manx section of the Celtic tongue. Of course very many etymologies offered are vulnerable, although Mr. Moore is always eminently sane, and like all sound etymologists avoids hybrids as he would the plague. It may be suggested that Kissack is not from MacIsaac, but from MacKessog, a name known in Irish hagiology. Hutchin, without doubt, is an old diminutive of Hugh by way of Huguccio-onis. Garret as a place name may be from that O.E. term for a watch-tower. Peel was historically French, the Celtic term being borrowed. Evidently Mr. Moore has not studied the historical evolution of this medieval fortification. To derive Hango Hill from a body hanging on the gallows seems a trifle forced, though the writer of this critique remembers, thirty years ago, finding what was believed to be a human collar bone in the rapidly disappearing seabrow there. Mr. Moore's book will bear scrutiny at any angle. *Quocunque jeceris stabit.*

GEO. NEILSON.

THE ANCIENT LIBRARIES OF CANTERBURY AND DOVER. THE CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARIES OF CHRISTCHURCH PRIORY AND ST. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY AT CANTERBURY AND OF ST. MARTIN'S PRIORY AT DOVER. By Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D. Pp. xcvi, 552, 8vo. Cambridge Press, 1903. 20s. nett.

DR. M. R. JAMES has proved once more and on a larger scale than hitherto his genius as a bibliographical explorer. He has not only printed seven catalogues throwing light on the condition of the monastic library of Christchurch, Canterbury, at the various stages of its existence; the great fifteenth century catalogue of St. Augustine's, with its 1837 entries, compiled at the time when the library was fullest; and the catalogue of Dover Priory, compiled in 1389; but he has given an introduction which will have far-reaching effect on many branches of the study of medieval literary history. It is a *tour de force* in the interpretation of evidence. Having cultivated a scent for a particular kind of bibliographical game, Dr. James runs it to earth with the skill and zest of a Red Indian. Every manuscript that is tracked to its home in a medieval library gains a kind of personality which enhances enormously the value of its contents. Chapter after chapter of the romance of manuscript fly-leaves is unfolded in the brilliant introduction. We are helped to a knowledge both of the school of Christchurch handwriting, which owed its origin to Lanfranc, and of Christchurch drawing; for instance, the celebrated Early English Heptateuch, Claudius B IV., is proved with

certainty to be a St. Augustine's book. Men who have been little more than mere names in literary history are made real and knowable. John of London, Roger Bacon's 'perfect mathematician,' and Michael de Northgate, author of the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, are among the number. The catalogue of St. Augustine's, which names them frequently as donors, has made it possible to know what books were in the possession of these men. To recover the scattered volumes and bring life into these catalogues, many libraries have been ransacked. Turin was unhappily not of the number, and the Vatican has yet to yield its contribution. Scotland provides in the Hunterian a treatise on alchemy, and an ecclesiastical '*compotus*,' one of the many books given by the monk Michael to Dover; the Advocates' Library has the Dover *Statius*. A John of 'Edinbroke' was a donor of two copies of the *Sentences* to St. Augustine's. The editing of the texts of the catalogues is scarcely worthy of the introduction, for they betray, especially that of St. Augustine's, certain traces of haste. No notes are given, and the index is an index of donors only. Some facsimiles in illustration of the palæographical points noted in the introduction were much to be desired; the reader is told to compare scripts that lie in libraries far apart. The one facsimile that is provided is not good. MARY BATESON.

IDEALS OF SCIENCE AND FAITH. Essays by Sir Oliver Lodge and others. Edited by Rev. J. E. Hand. Pp. xix, 333. Crown 8vo. London: George Allen, 1904. 5s. nett.

THIS is a small but interesting volume of essays, written by scientific men on the one side and by ministers of some of the great Christian communities on the other. Their object is to show that the world is wide enough for both science and religion, and that there is no need of continuing the ancient quarrel between them. All that is required is 'that the religious should become scientific, and the scientific religious; then there may be peace.' But the peace must be 'active and constructive'—not the peace of men who are not on speaking terms with one another. They must co-operate, and their ideals 'must complete one another.'

In this most desirable and laudable work of co-operation and construction the first step is taken by Sir Oliver Lodge, in an essay entitled 'The Physical Approach.' He first sets forth the ground of quarrel, and finds it in two distinct conceptions of the universe; the one represents it 'as self-contained and self-sufficient, with no outlook into or links with anything beyond, uninfluenced by any life or mind except such as is connected with a visible, tangible, material body'; the other, as 'lying open to all manner of spiritual influences . . . a universe by no means self-sufficient or self-contained, but with feelers at every pore groping into another supersensuous order of existence.' The first conception makes 'faith childish and prayer absurd,' the other leaves ample room for both. The reconciliation Sir Oliver Lodge looks for will come through the conversion of 'orthodox science,' so that it shall consider

and find room for 'premonition, inspiration, prevision, telepathy.' At present all these 'are beyond the pale of science. . . . It cannot see guidance, it cannot recognise the meaning of the whole trend of things, —the constant leadings, the control, the help, the revelations, the beckonings, beyond our normal bodily and mental powers. No! for it will not look.'

That these telepathic and spiritualistic phenomena are inside 'the universe of fact' Sir Oliver 'begins to believe'; that they are subject to law he is assured; and that their laws are continuous with those of ordinary human life he suggests. If science would only take account of these facts, all would be well, for 'the region of religion and of a completer science are one.'

The second essay, entitled 'The Biological Approach,' aims at the same end, but is conceived in a different spirit. Biological science 'is not concerned with theoretical may-be's of the future': it only describes, in conceptual formulae; it accounts for no origins, knows no 'agents'; leaves the attempted analysis of psychical phenomena in terms of physical categories and of personal experiences in terms of sub-personal categories to the psychologist. Biology leaves room for faith, but has nothing direct to say of the reality or nature of its objects. But it helps religion—*intellectually* by striving to establish inductively the unity of nature, which the poet, artist, metaphysician, and theologian see instinctively and reach deductively; *emotionally*, by revealing the mystery, wonder, and beauty of life, its intricacy and subtlety, its history, its tragedy and its comedy, 'approaching thereby another aspect of the idea of God'; *practically*, or *ethically*, by revealing possibilities of betterment, of saving, strengthening, regenerating men.

A more fresh, picturesque, and yet thoroughly scientific summary of the principles that constitute the attitude of biological science can hardly be desired. It is admirably written and thoroughly sane, and as full of the religious spirit as it is free from theological dogma.

Professor Muirhead follows with an able article entitled 'A Psychological Approach.' Its chief object is to show that psychology 'removes the obstacle to religion which comes from the opposition of the physical to the mental, and from the apparent secondariness of the latter in the order of creation.'

The article by Mr. Victor Brandford on the sociological approach ends with a diagram of the reconciled interests of man, and an intimation to those who are 'contemplating a mutual understanding' that they will find a 'common ground in the Sociological Society' recently formed in London.

To Mr. Bertrand Russell, who follows with 'An Ethical Approach,' there is a breach between 'fact and ideal,' to be healed by resignation, and renunciation, and the contemplation that both provides a vision of heaven and transmutes the earthly life. 'To abandon the struggle for private happiness, to eschew all eagerness of temporary desire, to burn with passion for eternal things—this is emancipation, and this is the free man's worship.'

The later part of the volume consists of 'Approaches' from the Educational, the Presbyterian, the Church of England, the outsiders' point of view, and from that of the Church of Rome.

The articles are of varying value, the results arrived at are not always definite, and if the writers discussed them the symposium would become lively. But the volume, taken as a whole, is both unusually interesting and instructive. HENRY JONES.

THE STORY OF THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS IN OUTLINE. By D. Hay Fleming, LL.D. Pp. xiii, 84. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1904. 2s. 6d. nett.

THIS well-appointed reprint presents, with some additional details, on the re-establishment of Episcopacy (1662), the Court of High Commission (1664), the Cess (1678), the victims of Bothwell Bridge, the Test Act of 1681 and the Dunnottar prisoners, Dr. Hay Fleming's introduction to the late Rev. J. H. Thomson's *Martyr Graves of Scotland*, published a year previously, and briefly notes the origin and effect of the various 'bands' (or 'covenants' as they were later termed)—documents which prove the intensely fervent politico-religious sentiments which inspired Presbyterian Scotland from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century.

In revising and expanding his prefatory chapter, we should have been glad if the author had said something more as to the more purely political antecedents of the idea of a 'band.' P. HENDERSON AITKEN.

THE MACKINTOSHES AND CLAN CHATTAN. By A. M. Mackintosh. Pp. xxiv, 566. Printed for the author, 1903.

THE history of the Mackintoshes is important, even apart from other reasons, on account of their central position in the Highlands, and their close association for centuries with the town of Inverness. Like that of most of the clans, their origin is shrouded in much obscurity, but the author of this volume has spared no pains to make his information as interesting and reliable as possible. As early as 1880 he published a book on the same subject. This second edition is intended to represent the results of wider research and fuller knowledge. Favourably situated as the author has been for the purpose, he has endeavoured, as he tells us, to present a *correct* history of the Clan Chattan generally, and of its component septs in particular. To this end he has carefully piloted his way 'by the help of record and documentary evidence alone, disregarding or not insisting on the delusive lights of tradition, taking for granted no statements of family historians as to ancient events, and avoiding all temptation to speculations or guesses of his own, or to writing for writing's sake.'

There have been two views taken of the origin of the Clan Mackintosh. According to the one, supported by a MS. of date 1467, the family can be traced to the Dalriadic kings; according to the other, founded on the Kinrara MS., which was completed about the year 1679, they

are descended from the ancient Earls of Fife. For reasons assigned, Mr. Mackintosh follows the latter document as his chief authority for the earlier period. It is a family history written in English by Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara, brother of the 18th chief, and afterwards abbreviated and translated into Latin. This Lachlan quotes from three older MSS. which are now no longer extant. One of these was the work of Ferquhard, 12th chief; another, that of Andrew Macphail, parson of Croy; and the third was written by George Munro of Davochgartie.

Briefly, the account in the Kinrara MS. is, that Shaw, second son of Duncan, 3rd Earl of Fife, came to the north with King Malcolm IV. in 1163, to suppress a rebellion of the men of Moray; and that as a reward for his services he was made keeper or constable of the royal castle of Inverness, and received possession of the lands of Petty and Breachley, with the forest of Stratherne (Strathdearn). The name Mackintosh is said to mean 'son of the thane,' and this Shaw Macduff was the first to bear it, because his father, though an earl, was commonly called *Toshach*, that is, 'thane.'

The first mention of the name in its present form, which the author of the book under review could find as unmistakably applied to one of the Clan Chattan occurs in the case of Malcolm Mackintosh in 1428. Another Angus Mackintosh figures in the Exchequer Rolls of Aberdeen as early as 1412-13, but the author cannot say whether he belonged to the clan or not.

Though there is no extant proof that the Mackintoshes occupied the above-mentioned lands in the twelfth century, they are found there as king's tenants in the fifteenth—the earliest period for which records of these lands are available. If the Kinrara MS. is correct in stating that their founder was keeper of the castle of Inverness, the connection of the family with that town is coeval with their residence in the north, and indeed with their existence under the name they now bear.

With regard to the headship of the Clan Chattan, over which the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes have long been at feud, each sept claiming the right for its own chief, Mr. Mackintosh remarks: 'Those who have carefully and impartially followed me so far, must admit, I venture to think, that although the Macphersons of Cluny may possibly be the lineal representatives of the heads of the old or pre-historic Clan Chattan, the right to the headship of the clan as it has existed during its historical period belongs solely to the chiefs of Mackintosh, who possess it by the consent of the majority of the clan—of the whole, down to the latter half of the seventeenth century and during part of the eighteenth century—and by continual usage for a period of nearly six hundred years, not to speak of the authority of King and Government at various periods. The position as regards the alleged original right is not so satisfactory, but although there is absolutely no *evidence* either in favour or against that right, I have perhaps succeeded in showing at least that—supposing the story of the marriage of Eva to be true in the main—neither Macpherson of Cluny nor any one else is in a position

to furnish a better title than that of Mackintosh to the chiefship of Clan Chattan.'

Yet with every good intention, Mr. Mackintosh need hardly expect to find that he has closed a controversy in which the traditions and sentiments of the rival clans mingle so freely.

On the famous clan battle at Perth in 1396 he has an interesting chapter, in which he deals at some length with the various historical references to that event. Discussing the old puzzle as to which were the clans involved—the Clahynnhe Qwhewyl and Clachiny-hā mentioned by Wyntoun—he inclines to the opinion that they were the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, among the former of whom were some Mackintoshes.

How soon even more modern facts and events get wrapped in obscurity may be gathered, by the way, from another reference in this book. It concerns the parentage of so noted a man as James Macpherson of Ossianic fame. In a paper of 1797 quoted in *Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands*, he is said to have been the son of 'Andrew Macpherson, son to Ewan Macpherson, brother to the then Macpherson of Cluny,' but, remarks Mr. Mackintosh, nothing appears in the genealogy of the Cluny family to warrant that statement.

On some points, as might be expected, the author differs in his opinions from those of well-known writers, such as Dr. Skene and Sir Walter Scott, and he is emphatic in assuring us that the Lady Mackintosh of the ''Forty-Five' was not such a forward Amazon as she has been depicted by English scribes. His work, on the whole, is a valuable addition to the Clan histories, and Mr. Mackintosh deserves great credit for his zeal and patient endeavour to make it as complete as possible. It may be added that the book closes with a short account of the heraldry of Clan Chattan.

MAGNUS MACLEAN.

NOVA SOLYMA, THE IDEAL CITY, OR, JERUSALEM REGAINED. An Anonymous Romance written in the time of Charles I., now first drawn from obscurity and attributed to the illustrious John Milton. With Introduction, Translation, Literary Essays, and a Bibliography by the Rev. Walter Begley. Two Vols. Vol. I., pp. xxi, 359; Vol. II., pp. xi, 414. 8vo. London: John Murray, 1902. 21s. nett.

WHATEVER be the fate of Mr. Begley's thesis on authorship, prefacing, accompanying, and footnoting his finely wrought translation, he has assuredly recovered a contribution of moment to the world's literature. Milton's or not, this work is of prime value for the interpretation of Milton. Conceptions, explanations, theories, poetical images, modes, occur on page after page with a parallelism to Milton so remarkable that the proof adduced for him as author seems to be at least beyond a *semiplena probatio*. Verdicts of leading critics have said as much, and some who have pronounced finally against the plea have done so with difficulty. Of course at the outset is the question, Can authorship be

vindicated by mere internal evidence? Is there any arithmetic for critics whereby the intensity, character, and number of coincidences in two books may compel the inference of one mind as the source? That authorship can be so proved, that there are even ways of valuing and counting coincidences, must be believed, though we may wait long enough for the conclave of literary authority to determine the rules.

Nova Solyma, a high and solemn romance, sets forth a Puritan ideal of national life, education, and government, broad and enlightened in its principles, exacting in its moral and physical culture, and imbued with religion. Couched in a rich and often ornate Latin prose, which is interspersed with skilful examples of felicitous and many-metred verse, it was published in 1648, although bearing to have been written a considerable time before. On the one hand, we meet a pervasive loftiness and consciousness of power through its pages, a long succession of close Miltonic parallels, and a body of circumstances more or less indicative of or favourable to Miltonic authorship; on the other, a set of obstacles perhaps awkward rather than insurmountable, to admitting that Milton could have been the author, while behind stands grimly the still harder necessity of proving that *Nova Solyma* might not have been written by some other man. It is a noble question, for the book is worthy of the great learning—classical, English, and historical—which Mr. Begley has lavished upon it, and Mr. Begley's argumentative treatise demands earnest study by every admirer of *Paradise Lost*.

My vote is of small account, being that of one unable to commit himself definitely to either yea or nay, although vastly more impressed by the *pros* than by the *cons*, chiefly because so many things that are implicit in Milton's known work are express in *Nova Solyma*, because the parallels are so recondite and so intimate, and because their volume is far too considerable to be explained away as ordinary coincidence. Examples are, the system of naming the angels (i. 283), the lamps like the sky (i. 115), the iron sceptre (i. 285), the ideal of academies (i. 236), Terror's laugh (i. 339), man's countenance (ii. 28), totality of death (ii. 113), the distinctions of penitence (ii. 175), the nature of the Sabbath (ii. 190), Christ as God's image, etc. (ii. 154), the vine and the elm (ii. 227). To these let me add one, not in Mr. Begley's list, viz. Adam's fall treated as inferring forfeiture to his posterity because of its character as high treason (*Nova Solyma*, ii. 35, 36, 59. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, iii. 200-210, a pivot of the plot).

Even if such and so numerous identities of thought and expression were all commonplaces, which they emphatically are not, there remains their colligation relating them equally to the scheme and system of both authors, the use of the same subtle and remote things by these two men so cognate in their gifts—Milton and this other, his rival in stately prose and verse; Utopian, moralist, theologian; patriot-author of the eminently Miltonic *Armada Epic*; Milton's contemporary, sharing so many of his standpoints and antipathies, and so often his comrade in power.

GEO. NEILSON.

Asser's Life of King Alfred, together with the Annals of Saint Neots, erroneously ascribed to Asser. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by William Henry Stevenson, M.A., late Fellow of Exeter College. Pp. cxxxii, 386. Crown 8vo. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1904. 12s. nett.

Students of Alfred and his times will welcome this new edition of Asser which Mr. Stevenson offers after the most searching examination of the facts that scholarly insight and great critical powers can devise.

In a long and closely-reasoned introduction he traces the history of the printed text from the original edition of Archbishop Parker in 1574, notoriously interpolated, to Petrie's edition in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, published in 1848. Describing the lost MS. and its transcripts, etc., and discussing the authenticity of the work he subjects to minute destructive criticism, the two most serious attacks, made by Thomas Wright in 1841, and Sir Henry Howorth in 1876-7. He points out that in the arguments they use 'almost every statement of fact' is 'founded upon interpolated matter, upon misunderstandings of the text, or upon unwarrantable assumptions.' He admits, of course, that the darkness of the period, the paucity of the evidence, and the difficulties which arise in the sifting of that evidence, leave much that is problematical, and that it cannot be proved definitely that the *Life* was written by Asser in Alfred's life-time, but he is convinced—and convinces—that 'there is no anachronism or other proof that it is a spurious compilation of later date.' His general conclusion may be thus stated in his own words: 'The serious charges brought against its authenticity break down altogether under examination, while there remain several features that point with varying strength to the conclusion that it is, despite its difficulties and corruptions, really a work of the time it purports to be.'

The rest of the book consists of a collated critical text, to which is added a text of *Saint Neots*, also with an Introduction. Both texts are excellent, illuminated by the copious notes of a master of Anglo-Saxon record.

J. Clark.

Scottish Armorial Seals. By William Rae Macdonald, Carrick Pursuivant. Pp. xviii, 382. 8vo, with twenty-two Plates. Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1904. 15s. nett.

This work is an outcome of the Heraldic Exhibition held in Edinburgh in 1891, at which time a large mass of heraldic material was necessarily brought together. In his volume Mr. William Rae Macdonald deals with that section which relates to Scottish seals, but he gives in addition the result of his scrutiny of the seals in a number of other collections, both public and private, which are practically out of the reach of most students. The compilation does not profess to be exhaustive—in particular, it does not include ecclesiastical and burghal seals—but it is extremely welcome, and should be the means of inducing the least sympathetic of those possessing material to allow the use of it for the production by Mr. Macdonald of a complete and monumental work.

In this volume about three thousand seals, numbered and arranged alphabetically, are minutely described, with clear references to the sources from which particulars have been taken, while in many cases the exact measurement and date of the seal are also given. An impression of the compiler's laborious task may be conveyed by giving the following specimen:

> '1792. MACDONALD, Angus, of the Isles, son of Donald, died *c.* 1292. A lymphad on waves, with four men seated therein. (Not on a shield.) Legend (Goth. caps.), S : ENGVS : DE : YLE : FILII : DOMNALDI. diam. 1⅝ in. Record. Off. detached seal 631, Bain ii, Laing i, 450, B.M. 16401/2.'

A number of plates have been contributed, which, though excellent of their kind, show plainly the advantage of having a skilful guide in deciphering old seals.

We cannot too highly praise the useful dictionary which Mr. Macdonald has produced; but we confess we are not yet accustomed to the expressions, 'a unicorn head,' 'an eagle head,' etc., employed throughout the book in place of 'a unicorn's head,' 'an eagle's head,' etc. Probably the alteration is justified, but we think it would be more agreeable to the ear to return to the form used by the older writers.

We observe several printer's errors, and that the Exhibition above referred to is erroneously stated in the Introduction to have been held in 1901 instead of in 1891. W. D. KER.

FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN EUROPE. Twelve Lectures delivered in the University of London. By Emil Reich. Pp. x, 262. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 5s. nett.

THIS is the rather ambitious title of a series of lectures on the events, persons, and movements that, in the author's opinion, have mainly moulded modern political conditions—the American War of Independence; the French Revolution (two lectures); Napoleon (four lectures); the Reactionary Period; the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848-51; the Italian *Risorgimento*; Bismarck, the Franco-German War, and the German Empire (two lectures). In 233 pages of text it was obviously impossible to carry out at all fully such a programme; the author has been concerned mainly with indicating 'circumstances hitherto unnoticed or neglected' by writers too eager to 'advertise' the share their own country had in the great developments of modern history. As such, the lectures are indubitably suggestive and entertaining; many, perhaps most, of the facts are indisputable, and some of the new interpretations valuable; but often the facts seem debatable or arbitrarily selected, the inferences paradoxical, and the application perhaps a little too expressly designed to put Englishmen and Americans in their proper place—surely a laudable enterprise. In America 'the British Government repeatedly, and since 1774 almost invariably, behaved with all the conciliation that a loyal colony can fairly expect from its metropolis'; 'most of the colonials showed a curiously persistent ill-will

to any kind of measures the Government proposed.' The trouble lay not in stamp acts or taxes, but in the colonists' determination to have their own way with their magnificent *hinterland*. Chatham was more to blame for the loss of the Colonies than George III. or Lord North, through his 'rancorous hatred' of France, and his efforts before and after 1763 to 'widen and envenom the wound from which the French were smarting.' The French vowed vengeance; more particularly Beaumarchais, author of the *Barber of Seville* and *Figaro*, 'made up his mind to wipe out the shame of the Treaty of 1763 in the most terrible loss ever caused to Great Britain.' The Americans single-handed won only one success and apparently had but little to do with securing their own freedom; it was the French who were 'victors in that great struggle.' 'What the French Encyclopaedists had done by suggestion, and what Beaumarchais had set in movement by ingenious personal exertion, de Grasse had brought to a final termination by a successful naval engagement [off Cape Henry in September, 1781].'

Arthur Young was 'completely taken in' by the French peasants when they persuaded him of their unparalleled misery. Contrariwise, they were much better off under Louis XVI. than under Louis XV., and vastly more comfortable than under Louis XIII. In 1792 there was reason to believe that the powers had resolved to do with France what they had done with Poland—to parcel it out amongst foreigners. The 'atrocious' proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick, comparable only with the exploits of Attila or Genghis Khan, was—quite naturally, one gathers—'replied to by the French by the so-called September Massacres.'

It is a mere delusion, 'a well known legend,' that the Prussians or the Duke of Wellington, or either or both of them, brought about the fall of Napoleon. There is 'not the slightest basis in fact' for the notion that England saved Europe from Napoleon, who was 'defeated by one man only—by himself.' But had the French done their duty by their great benefactor, he would have emerged triumphant from his worst disasters. 'Twice in history the French dealt by their greatest character and their greatest glory in the most unpardonable and inexcusable fashion. . . . It is no exaggeration to hold that the ingratitude and indifference of the French to their greatest character in modern times entailed upon them the same terrible consequences that followed in the wake of their unspeakably shameful neglect of the Saint of Domrémy.' It is 'to be regretted' that the Spaniards fought so senselessly against the man 'who alone of all the rulers and statesmen would have been able to restore their ancient greatness.' They wasted their strength in 'an absurd fight against the principles of modern liberalism offered to them by Napoleon'; and, instead of digging his grave, as they foolishly thought they were doing, they 'dug the grave of the Spanish nation.'

On Germany also Napoleon had conferred signal benefits, and if he had been allowed would have conferred still greater; 'it was Napoleon who rendered Bismarck's final triumph possible.' When in

1813-15 they insanely turned against their true friend, the mistaken peoples of Europe were soon to see that they had rivetted on their own necks a far worse bondage; they had only 'rid the absolutistic sovereigns of their great nightmare, and the liberties of Europe of their possible protector.' The reaction under Metternich 'has done Germany more harm than did the Thirty Years War.'

These are but a few pronouncements out of hundreds in the book which even Dr. Reich would hardly affirm to be approved historical conclusions. To support such theses and the precise parallels drawn between political conditions on the one hand, and literature, science, and music on the other, would require more than summary assertion. No proof is adduced, and any argument is of the briefest. To win even provisional assent to such unfamiliar assumptions, the author should avoid contradicting himself about the genius of the French nation as, to meet temporary turns in his argument, he does at page 70 ('the French mind is most sober, matter of fact, and moderate, and the people are less given to sudden changes than the English or Americans'); at page 115 ('one essential element in the French is a volcanic force ever tending to upheavals, revolutions, and social eruptions'); and at page 118 ('of all countries, France has the most remarkable power of profound change').

He should not make too sweeping statements about matters of common knowledge, as by saying that in 1850 Prussia had 'perfect unity of language' (p. 191). The three millions of Poles in Prussia are even now a very serious obstacle to Prussian homogeneity, and their ancestors were all there in 1850—not to speak of Masures, Kashubes, Wends, Czechs and Moravians, as well as Walloons, who were all included in the monarchy of 1850, and then, as now, spake in their own tongues.

Above all, he should not make startling (and not unimportant) slips such as when (on p. 210) he speaks of 'the absurd statement of Émile Ollivier that the French army was completely ready to the last button.' Most people who are not historians remember that it was Marshal Leboeuf, Minister of War, who misled Napoleon by the famous speech to that effect in the Corps Législatif. Such solecisms in spelling as Duc de *Grammont* (*passim* for *Gramont*) and *Jemmapes* (for *Jemappes*) are disturbing to faith, 'let alone' (to use a very favourite formula of the author's) *obstreporous*. And why spell Leibniz (rightly) and Würtzburg (wrongly), or in a book for English youth speak of the Scheldt as the Escaut?

The work is, on the whole, written in vigorous if somewhat singular English, but is disfigured by innumerable awkward locutions—such as 'screw back the tide,' 'clinching naval manœuvres,' 'gigantic fights' (for great wars), 'to while and linger over,' 'discomforting' (for 'disconcerting'), 'her insipid husband'—some of them visibly English as she is wrote by foreigners. Not a few sentences are confused, clumsy, or ungrammatical. 'Neither Central nor South America; neither modern Egypt nor South Africa, let alone Canada or Australia, are endowed with,' etc. 'What however must be pointed out, and of what most students must be reminded. . . .' And sometimes the sentences are so lamentably ill-constructed that the author, wholly

losing his bearings, says just the contrary of what he means: 'As to the question whether Napoleon's luck must not be considered a considerable element of his success, it can certainly not be denied that, like all great captains, his was an astounding luck, yet until 1810, that is, until the time when he did not overrate himself, and had still,' etc. (pp. 57, 58; that is: 'so long as he did not overrate himself').

Only a reader familiar with German will understand that 'a strongly-timbered Poland' (p. 80) has nothing to do with woods and forests, but is meant to signify a strongly constructed or firmly knit Poland. In defiance of English usage we are told (p. 212) that 'it is on the cards' that in 1870 Austria ought to have joined France. And most Englishmen will be puzzled at the very outset by the statement, several times repeated, that since 1815 there have been no international wars! As we use the word, an international contest or match or war is usually between two nations; but by an international war the author means (on the analogy of 'international law') a war in which several or many nations take part —a sense elsewhere meant to be conveyed by the odd word 'inter-European.'

Dr. Reich published a *History of Civilisation* at Cincinnati in 1887; he is author of a historical atlas and of a history of Hungarian literature (presumably that in which he is most perfectly at home); and a book on *Success among Nations*, even more recent than the work now under review, shows equal confidence in his own judgment. His opinions are pregnant, original, and almost always stimulating. Natheless he might with advantage reconsider very many of his historical verdicts, as well as take advice on his style: though there is a fascination as one turns the leaves in knowing not what greater marvel the next page may produce. But if we add that Bullialdus and Althusius, Brenz and Savaron are amongst authorities familiarly alluded to, it will be manifest that the lectures or essays on the 'Foundations of Modern Europe' are better adapted for the self-examination of well-grown men than for the guidance of the unsuspecting extension babes for whom they appear to have been primarily designed.

DAVID PATRICK.

THE DOMESDAY BOROUGHS. By Adolphus Ballard, B.A., LL.B. Pp. viii, 135. Clarendon Press, 1904. 6s. 6d. nett.

INTEREST in Domesday Book will be quickened by Mr. Ballard's contribution to the study of its Boroughs. As the author states that his essay is based on the researches of Professor Maitland and Mr. Round, it may be taken that his views embody the most trustworthy interpretation of our great national record. But in Mr. Ballard we have not a second-hand expositor of other men's opinions: he has a mind of his own, and he is not afraid to plead his own cause when he thinks that the evidence is in his favour. His agreement with recognised authorities cannot be purchased at the expense of doing violence to the materials before him. In his opinion, for instance, there is no evidence in Domesday, except in a few isolated places, that the borough was a hundred of itself, nor that, at the time of the

survey, there was a separate borough court which excluded the jurisdiction of the hundred. The establishment of an independent court and the exclusion of the sheriff are ascribed to a later period.

The classification of the Domesday boroughs according to tenurial organisation, and not according to ownership, has at least this recommendation, that it has led to the subdivision of the work into short sections which help the reader to follow the thread of the discussion. By this arrangement the boroughs fall into two classes—the composite boroughs, that is those of heterogeneous tenure, and the simple boroughs; the former class might be again divided according to their position on the record into county and quasi-county boroughs. The account of the composite boroughs, as we should expect, occupies a large space and contains a careful collation of the evidence from the points of view of tenure, internal organisation and finance. Institutions of this class were not holden by any one, neither by the king nor the earl; while many of the houses were in the King's demesne, a proportion belonged to the land-owners as appurtenances to their rural estates; there was no uniformity in the obligations or immunities of the burgesses. These things speak for themselves. A composite borough as it existed at the time of the survey was an archaic institution: like a famous character in modern romance, it 'growed' and was not made. On the other hand, a simple borough, as the name indicates, belonged to one magnate, and resembled what is known in ecclesiastical law as a peculiar. It was holden of one person: all the burgesses were his men, and no other magnate had anything to do with it. In addition to the evidence supplied by Domesday, Mr. Ballard has collected in an appendix all the incidental references to urban properties and burghal customs which he could find in the conveyances and laws before the Norman Conquest. Though the information is scanty enough, some interesting chapters have been written on the borough as a stronghold, the earl, sheriff and portreeve, the burgesses, market, mint, court and revenue. This supplementary evidence adds considerable value to the work. Four maps are given to illustrate the contributory places belonging to the boroughs of Lewes, Chichester, Arundel, Leicester and Wallingford.

It may be said without hesitation that few students of the early history of municipal institutions can afford to neglect the materials arranged with so much pains and skill in this handy little volume.

JAMES WILSON.

THE BAXTER BOOKS OF ST. ANDREWS. A RECORD OF THREE CENTURIES. With an Introduction and Notes by J. H. Macadam, F.S.A. (Scot.), Editor, *British Baker*. Pp. ciii, 338. Demy 8vo. Printed for the Scottish Association of Master Bakers by Geo. C. Mackay, Leith, 1903.

WHEN it is considered that in nearly every Scottish burgh several crafts incorporations were in active operation little more than half a century ago, and that most if not all of them possessed written constitutions and recorded their transactions in minute books, it seems not unlikely that inquiry in the

proper quarter is all that is needed to secure a mass of information, more or less exhaustive, regarding these interesting societies and the localities to which they belonged. It may be difficult, however, to gather from any single source such a complete series of records as that which, on the suggestion of Dr. Hay Fleming, has been deposited in the University Library of St. Andrews, and which is now brought to public notice through the literary enterprise of a commercial association. Commencing in 1548, the Minute books of the Baxter Craft of St. Andrews, barring two blanks of four and seven years respectively, have been preserved in a continuous series down till 1861, when the old organisation was dissolved. Though 1548 is the date of the earliest preserved minute, there are allusions to previous proceedings of the craft, and there need be little doubt that the baxters, as well as most of the other six incorporated trades of St. Andrews, originated in a previous century. In Scotland merchant guilds are traced in the 12th century, but associations of artizans are not noticed till a later period. Incorporation usually took the form of a body of rules and regulations ratified by the town council and attested by the seal of the burgh court, called the seal of causes. Hence the name 'seal of cause,' by which the document itself was known. In the books of the St. Andrews baxters their seal of cause is not specially mentioned, though it may have been among the 'xxxv peices of parchemin and paprie' which were in 'the boxe' on 12th September, 1587. In any case, these parchments and papers, probably including the title deeds of the ten annualrents specified in the rental of 1587, might be well worth examination if now within reach. Many of the MS. minutes are merely formal, such as those recording the admission of apprentices and freemen and the elections of office-bearers. For the saving of space, these particulars are tabulated, and in consequence of this compression the whole minutes are reproduced in one volume. Presided over by a deacon, and having as office-bearers a 'positor' or treasurer, an officer or serjeant, keepers of keys and a clerk, there were as many as seventy-two freemen on the roll in 1573. About that time the depopulating effect of the Reformation began to tell on the ancient cathedral city, and by degrees the bakers were proportionately reduced in number. Thirty-nine names appear on a list in 1603, and later on there was only about a third of that number. Previous to the Reformation crafts' incorporations made special provision for altar services. In St. Andrews, as in some other towns, including Edinburgh, St. Cuthbert was patron of the bakers. The name is sometimes written St. Tobert or St. Cobert ('T' and 'C' are often indistinguishable in old writings). Mr. Macadam says 'the Perth bakers honored a somewhat obscure saint in St. Obert.' Is this not St. Cobert transformed after the manner of the Glasgow 'Sanctennoch' into 'St. Enoch'? Stirling bakers, in accordance with English custom, adopted St. Hubert, 'perhaps because the fleshers of that burgh had appropriated 'Sanccubart.' Dues of admission of members usually included wax for the altar, and wine or money or both to the chaplain, who also acted as clerk. The earlier meetings of the craft were held on the 'Gallow-bank,' otherwise called the Gallowhill, which, in 1584, is stated to have been the accustomed meeting place past the memory of man. At the first

recorded meeting four masters of craft were admitted, and, with the view of restricting competition in the trade, they undertook not to take any apprentice till after the lapse of twelve years. Enforcement of this condition was left to the 'official' (*i.e.* the judge in the ecclesiastical court), and the penalty for infringement was 'cursyne' or excommunication. In 1556 a similar undertaking was enforceable in the burgh court, this being what is meant by enactment in the 'tolbewcht buk.' In 1566, and again in 1583, the deacon and his brethren prohibited the baking of sale bread on Sundays, under a penalty in the former case of 8s., to be given to the poor, and in the latter of 40s., the destination of which is not stated. Besides these pecuniary mulcts, offenders would doubtless have to face the ordeal of kirk discipline.

With only a few references to topics of national importance, the book is full of information regarding local matters, not confined to the bakers' affairs, their industrial and social relations and the technicalities of their trade, but also not unfrequently relating to the varied concerns of the community at large. A comprehensive introduction and numerous explanatory notes, with illustrative allusions, derived from home and foreign sources and bearing on the working of similar institutions elsewhere, throw light on archaic customs and clear up some obscure passages in the minute books. Many of the obsolete or unfamiliar words and phrases are expounded, but the addition of a glossary, as well as an index, would have been advantageous. The word 'annaris' (probably written 'aunaris') on p. 35 means owners, not annuals. 'Positor' seems to have been derived from the same source as our Scottish 'pose,' a hoard of money. Where pains are taken to reproduce the records *literatim* the result is not always satisfactory. In giving dates, the scribe of former days usually contracted 'millesimo' by writing 'm.,' which in course of time took the fanciful form of 'aj.,' and the editor prints it so. A no less objectionable literalism is the use of the letter 'y' to reproduce the 'th' symbol, and it is preferable to print 'u' and 'v' according to the power rather than the letter when these differ. 'Ane vyer manis' would be more intelligible and just as accurate if the middle word had been printed 'uther.' 'Ye' and 'yis' would serve their purpose better if printed 'the' and 'this.' For such superficial blemishes there is unfortunately ample precedent, and these observations are intended more as an appeal to future editors of old MSS. than as seriously detracting from the merits of a book which, in its main features, may well be taken as a model for any work of a similar character. R. Renwick.

Scottish Heraldry Made Easy. By G. Harvey Johnston. Pp. xiv, 159, with eight heraldic plates in colours. Crown 8vo. Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston, 1904. 5s. nett.

The bugbear to the dilettanti desirous of acquiring a knowledge of heraldry is its language. In the introduction to *Scottish Heraldry Made Easy* we meet with the announcement: 'In this little book I have put everything in plain English that can be so put with advantage, and to make matters clear I have explained most of the heraldic terms as they

occur, and have also added a Glossary at the end of the Work.' To write a book in plain English does certainly eliminate the difficulties of technicalities from that book; but whether it makes the subject any easier is a separate question; and whether it makes other literature on the subject any easier of comprehension is still another question. If, then, Mr. Johnston proposes a revolt against what has been called the jargon of the heralds, his method of translating the technical language of heraldry into 'plain English' ought to be examined on its merits; but on any other assumption, the preliminary question must be answered first. What advantage is it to the student to be able to describe a coat of arms in his own words if he is not taught to understand the description when he meets it in the ordinary language of the heralds, for Mr. Johnston's book does not pretend to stand in the place of all heraldic literature. His description of the coat of *MacGillivray*, p. 71, illustrates his method with its advantages and its dangers: '*Blue, a gold galley, with sails furled and oars in action; flags red, within a silver bordure. On a gold chief a black buck's head cabossed with red horns, between two black cross crosslets fitchy.*' This description—it ought probably not to be called a *blazon*—is by no means emancipated from technical terms or construction, and yet it has become entangled in the ambiguities of general language. It does not say if the sails and oars are of gold like the galley; and we must go to Natural History to find if a '*black buck's head*' may not be something quite different from a buck's head painted black. In heraldry a *black man's head* may be represented in its *proper* colours, and be by no means a *man's head sable.* The words *flags red, within a silver bordure* succeed a semicolon, and end with a full stop. It is doubtful if the statement which they contain would entitle a herald-painter to include within the bordure anything more than the flags.

The verbal blazon of the same coat—No. 2892 in Sir James Paul's *Ordinary of Scottish Arms* (2nd edit.)—exhibits the evils from which Mr. Johnston seeks to flee: *Azure, a galley, sails furled, oars in action, or, flagged gules, within a bordure argent, on a chief of the second a buck's head cabossed sable, attired of the third, between two cross crosslets fitchée of the last.* But though the use of the words *second, third,* and *last* may be a compliance with a pedantic rule—to avoid repetitions in a blazon, the blazon is at any rate certain in its meaning.

The volume is well got up. The cover is bright; but it is doubtful if it is admissible to take the King's Scottish armorial ensigns for the design of a book cover, differenced only by stamping the title of the book on the vacant parts of the field.

Mr. Johnston's work partakes largely of the character of a first sketch, and is by no means free from the errors peculiarly incident to such undertakings, but his style is simple and his arrangement of the various sections of his subject is generally convenient. The book is well fitted to engage the interest of the uninstructed, and, mayhap, lure him on to the study of works which are larger and more exact, if less attractive.

J. H. Stevenson.

CHRONICON ADÆ DE USK, A.D. 1377-1421. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, K.C.B. Pp. xxxviii, 347. Second Edition. London: Henry Frowde, 1904. 10s. 6d. nett.

IN 1876 appeared the first edition of this attractive chronicle, then only a fragment covering the years 1377-1404. In 1885 'a quire of vellum leaves carelessly folded up was found among a number of neglected documents in a loft at Belvoir Castle,' and this eventually proved to be the missing conclusion of Adam Usk's chronicle, now edited for the second time and this time complete, by Sir E. Maunde Thompson. During the interval other workers also have been searching out the career of this Welsh chronicler, and quite a full light falls upon him, singular clergyman as he is, Doctor of Laws, adherent of Owen Glendower, deserter to Henry IV., fugitive on a charge of horse-stealing, finally incumbent of a benefice in Monmouthshire, and buried in Usk Church, where a brass contains part of his poetical epitaph in Welsh. The editor's preface is a capitally picturesque bit of medieval biography.

This chronicle, already in the first edition found of profit for details of the fall of Richard II. and the establishment of the new dynasty by Henry IV., now gains materially by the added annals of seventeen years, although desultory and inconsequent, deviating frequently into portent and miracle. Students of things Scottish cannot afford to neglect the new matter relative to hostile movements against the north of England in 1414, and again in 1417. Passing reference is made under the latter date to the capture of James I. some years before. Of most note, however, is the narrative of the years 1406-1408, including the story of the Scottish intrigues and ultimate defeat in north England of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

Fond of marvels, Adam inserts many odd things by the way, sometimes to the benefit of searchers into antique Scots usages. He saw the head of the Baptist at Amiens; he records the heraldic dishonour to the Pope done by reversing his arms and painting his picture head downwards; he cites an invocation of St. Columba by way of charm against fire; he tells of the surrender of Harfleur by its naked citizens with ropes round their necks. One important contribution he makes towards clearing up a historical difficulty in the contemporary records of the War of Independence. The learned editor has here not taken advantage of an analogy which he would have found of service. It is in relation to the *Passio Francorum*, a strange profane parody of Scripture coarsely gloating over the defeat of the Count of Artois by the Flemings in the Battle of Courtrai in 1302. This remarkable piece runs parallel to the *Passio Scotorum Perjuratorum*, dating from about 1307 (edited by the late Marquess of Bute in the *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1884-85, pp. 166-192), and not only helps to explain that grotesque and cruel production, but is in turn to a certain extent explained by it. Difficult to understand separately, the two in conjunction appear to establish the *passio* as a literary form and medium of satire current at the dawn

of the fourteenth century. These two examples will probably prove less isolated than they at present seem. Adam deserves gratitude for preserving the queer Flemish utterance of truculent sarcasm, albeit not very congruous to his immediate business.

The translation is in every way excellent. Seldom there is met with a rendering which can be called in question, such, for example, as the transliteration of *usurpacione duellorum* into 'usurping the right of conquest' (pp. 86, 257), when it is far more likely to mean the breach of prerogative by Welsh lords allowing their vassals the duel of chivalry reserved to the crown. Numerous notes are admirably filled with well-vouched and relevant facts. Once only do we find a slight injustice to the garrulous author, when he is checked for saying that pepper was exchanged between Darius and Alexander (pp. 98, 274). It was not pepper, says the editorial footnote. But Adam's authority doubtless rested on the *De Preliis Alexandri* (see ed. Landgraf, p. 60, and cf. *Wars of Alexander*, E.E.T.S., l. 2023), where the commodity is as Adam states.

GEO. NEILSON.

SHAKESPEARE'S BOOKS. A Dissertation on Shakespeare's reading and the immediate sources of his works. By H. R. D. Anders. Pp. xx, 316. Berlin: George Reimer, 1904.

THIS work appears as the first volume of the *Schriften der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, and both the society and the author are to be congratulated on the good start thus made. The object Mr. Anders has had in view is to bring together in a connected fashion the various literary influences and allusions which can be traced in the plays and poems of Shakespeare; and the result is not merely an interesting and enlightening commentary on the great dramatist's work, but a valuable book of reference as well. The subjects dealt with in the course of the book range from the Latin and Greek classics to the popular ballads and songs of the times of Elizabeth, and the number of separate items that fall to be discussed under each heading brings out with striking clearness the very complex nature of Shakespeare's learning. Whether this came directly or indirectly from the sources indicated may often be a matter of debate, and Mr. Anders is in no way dogmatic in such cases, being rather more inclined to doubt than to affirm where uncertainty is possible. A comparison of the historical plays with their sources does not enter into the scheme of the work, but the extraneous literary references in these, as well as in the other dramas, are fully dealt with. One of the most useful chapters is that on 'Popular Literature,' in which much bibliographical matter of an out-of-the-way order is conveniently brought together. There is also a good index, and all that is required to make the work complete is a list, in the order of the plays, of the passages cited and discussed.

W. A. CRAIGIE.

THE THISTLE AND THE FLEUR DE LYS. A Vocabulary of Franco-Scottish Words. By Isabel G. Sinclair. Pp. 64. Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1904. 3s. nett.

READERS who may be attracted by the quaint title and the neat appearance of this little book will feel disappointed in its contents. Lovers of the Scottish vernacular have always been fond of noting the numerous French words that have survived, even to the present day, as a proof of the close connexion between France and Scotland in the days of old, and a very interesting collection might be compiled, if kept within proper limits. The book under review knows no limits; it includes words that belong to the literature and speech of England, and many that never came from France, directly or indirectly. It is true that criticism is disarmed by the admission that 'many of the words given are entered on account of similarity of pronunciation rather than of derivation.'

Jamieson did noble work in his day, but it is not pardonable now to copy his etymologies wholesale, and to ignore such authorities as the dictionaries of Dr. Murray and Dr. Wright. The orthography of the French words lays a great responsibility on printer or author; the burden will be heavy, even if equally divided. In spite of its weak points, the book will be of use to the searcher in the same field, on account of the quotations taken from comparatively recent Scottish literature, and of the words that have come to the personal knowledge of the writer.

F. J. AMOURS.

CELTIC ART IN PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN TIMES. By J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Pp. xviii, 315, with numerous illustrations. 8vo. London: Methuen & Co., 1904. 7s. 6d. nett.

MR. ROMILLY ALLEN has done a real service to the class of readers who read for increase of knowledge, by the issue (in the series of what are called *The Antiquary's Books*) of an excellent manual of Celtic Art, presenting a general digest of the whole subject within the compass of a moderately sized volume, at a moderate price. Hitherto the student has had to follow it out in sections, as presented in costly monographs, of metal work, illuminated manuscripts, and sculptured monuments—extremely useful for consultation by experts, but not intended to supply the systematic elementary treatment suitable to the needs of the uninitiated, which is the special merit of the present work. Defining Celtic Art as 'the Art of the peoples in Europe who spoke the Celtic language,' Mr. Allen begins by describing the Continental Celts, and how they are supposed to have come to Britain in two immigrations—the Goidelic Celts, bringing with them the characteristic culture of the Bronze Age, and (after a long interval) the Belgic or Brythonic Celts, bringing with them the special culture of the Iron Age. The Art of the Bronze Age, as applied to the pottery, weapons and utensils of bronze, and personal ornaments of gold, bronze, and jet, was a system of linear ornament, 'spiral ornament being as conspicuously absent on the implements and objects of the Bronze Age in Gaul, as in Britain.' There

BRONZE ARMLET FROM THE CULBIN SANDS
Now at Altyre, near Forres.

BRONZE ARMLET FROM THE CULBIN SANDS
Now at Altyre, near Forres.

Facing page 216

is a certain speculative attribution of some curvilinear and spiral motives carved on rocks and stones, to the latter part of the Bronze Age in Britain, but the line of demarcation cannot be clearly drawn, and it was only in the Late Celtic period of the Iron Age that the curvilinear and spiral ornament gave distinctive character to the Art. The three chapters in which the Pagan Celtic Art of the British Isles (*circa* B.C. 300 to A.D. 450) is discussed, present an admirable summary of all that is known on the subject. Especially interesting and informative is the section describing the technical processes and the patterns of ornament employed. Passing to the description of the Christian Celtic Art of Britain (from about A.D. 450 to A.D. 1100) Mr. Allen finds that a series of enamelled discs forming the attachments of the handles of bronze bowls, found chiefly in England, illustrates the transition from the Pagan to the Christian style, which naturally followed the lines of development controlled by its application to ecclesiastical objects of prescribed forms and purposes. Three chapters are devoted to the description of the Celtic Art of the Christian period, and the technical processes and varieties of ornament employed in the different applications of Christian Art to Manuscripts, Metal-work and Sculptured Monuments. Perhaps the most important result of Mr. Allen's exhaustive analysis of the ornament is the discovery that its bewildering multitude of patterns of interlaced knotwork can all be derived from simple plaitwork by merely making vertical or horizontal breaks in the plait at regular intervals —a solution he says, 'which, simple as it appears when explained, took me quite twenty years to think out, whilst classifying the patterns that occur on the early Christian Monuments of Scotland, England and Wales, nearly all of which I have examined personally.' In this section he has also discussed at some length the probable solutions of the various questions arising as regards the presumed sources from which the Celtic artists 'got' the elementary geometrical and other motives which they used with such consummate skill. In view of our imperfect knowledge of the circumstances, tentative conclusious on points like these are of no real value, unless supported by direct evidence. The ascertained facts with respect to the art and its surviving products affording sufficient material of genuine interest and importance for a popular manual, the theories of origins and the 'higher criticism' of how much or how little of Celtic Art is really Celtic may be left to the philosophers. Whatever may have been the source or sources of the inspiration of the artists of the Celtic Church they created and maintained for five or six centuries a very remarkable and distinctive style of Early Christian Art. As Mr. Allen says: 'Although their materials may not all have been of native origin, they were so skilfully made use of in combination with native designs, and developed with such exquisite taste, that the result was to produce an entirely original style, the like of which the world had never seen before.' The book is well illustrated by upwards of eighty blocks in the text and forty-four plates. Unfortunately no illustrations have been given from the Celtic Manuscripts, for the reason which Mr. Allen has explained. Some of the plates have been cut too closely, and one or two misprints in the text are somewhat obtrusive, but these are small matters. JOSEPH ANDERSON.

NEOLITHIC MAN IN NORTH-EAST SURREY. By Walter Johnson and William Wright. Pp. viii, 200, with 32 illustrations and 2 maps. London: Stock, 1903. 6s. nett.

THIS volume is a semi-popular work on the relics of prehistoric man, which still exist, or of which there is some previous record, in the district immediately south of London. The authors approach the subject mainly as collectors of surface flint implements. The interest in their account of the distribution of types is chiefly local, but one point may be referred to. They identify a finer type of Neolith with lower sandy sites, and a coarser with sites generally higher on the chalk, which they associate with later and earlier occupants of the district. Their area yields them no results from the exploration of burial places. For data as to the 'Races' (a word loosely used by the authors, and rather unfortunately, associated with the accident of their stage of culture) they are indebted to analogy and the various authorities. Their picture of Neolithic times is well worked up, but as it is drawn chiefly from what are at best only speculations, the indicative would in various instances have been well replaced by the conditional.

THOMAS H. BRYCE.

FROM THE MONARCHY TO THE REPUBLIC IN FRANCE, 1788-1792. By Sophia H. MacLehose. Pp. xvi, 447. Cr. 8vo, with 42 illustrations, Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1904. 6s. nett.

IT is a gratifying fact in this bookmaking age to find that there is yet a powerful school of historians who, not content with the histories of their predecessors, go back with patient care to the original sources of information and draw the real facts forth from the mass of tradition which surround them. It is to this school that Miss MacLehose, we are glad to say, belongs, and her scholarship has produced this book, which is not only brilliantly written, but is also the most comprehensible history of the pre-republican struggles in France which we have yet seen. The Haigh Hall papers have been freely referred to, and some new contemporary letters describing the state of Paris in 1791-2, and no original authority has been left unconsulted.

The reader is struck at the commencement of the work by the extent to which reforms had been carried before the Revolution. Louis XVI. had assisted the Protestants. Justice had been somewhat purified, the *corvée* abolished, and the condition of the poor ameliorated; but the system of government prevented these well-meant reforms from stemming the tide of revolt, and the States General were convoked in 1789. The rise and preponderance of the Third Estate is well detailed, and we are shown how, as it alone deliberated with open doors, it soon dominated the people, until by the inaction of the two privileged orders it became the self-constituted National Assembly.

The blindness of Louis XVI. to the rise of the power of the commons is also well shown, until he was forced by their immovablity to say: 'Ah, well, if they do not wish to leave their hall, let them stay,'

and to pray the nobles and clergy to come to terms with them. It is later pointed out that the *Assemblée Générale* were not the 'unruly mob' they are generally represented to be, but a deliberative assembly; and that it was not until the taking of the Bastille that the cruel murders of the Revolution began. From this period the power of the King waned rapidly. The Flight to Varennes and the ignoble capture brought him back to Paris as the enemy of his people, and the uncompromising Royalist manifesto of his Allies finally caused his destruction. The writer shows how the great constitutional questions with which the Revolutionary movement began, narrowed down to mere tumultuous party politics, and that this left Paris a prey to the *bas peuple*, whose ascendency was later to cause the time of 'The Terror.' Miss MacLehose's excellent book ends with the establishment of the Republic (which began somewhat informally) in 1792. It is to be hoped that she will add yet another volume on French History to the two which are already on our shelves.

A. Francis Steuart.

Essays on Home Subjects. By John Third Marquess of Bute, K.T., LL.D. Pp. 270. 8vo. Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1904. Price, 7s. 6d.

The executors of the late Marquess of Bute have done well in reprinting from the *Scottish Review* seven scholarly essays and lectures which he wrote on Scottish historical subjects, including his St. Andrews Rectorial Address. These essays perpetuate a taste of what Scotland was intended to receive from her gifted son in a new history of Scotland which the Marquess had long prepared himself to produce. The unique attainments, the illimitable literary and monetary resources, and the enthusiasm of the author would have placed his *magnum opus* on the same shelf as the great editions of the classics and Fathers. But overlooking the brevity of human life, and with a humane temperament which could not accustom itself to the harnessing of other minds and pens to the work, the author was cut off just as his project began to take practical form. Thus each of these seven essays is a finished article. All the known or knowable has been exhausted for it, and accurately reproduced with taste within it. The small literary output of so erudite a man is easily accounted for by the noble horror he had for misinterpreting even the most indifferent authority, and by his fidelity to his own fundamental axiom, 'Verify your Quotations.' He mastered his subject *verbatim et literatim*.

The first essay, entitled 'Ancient Celtic Latin Hymns' treats with an exuberance of authority of a group of 27 Latin hymns which entered into the worship of the Celtic Church. The essayist shows the real value of these hymns to consist in their illustration of the beliefs and practices of the Celtic churchmen who sang them. In another essay, 'New Light upon St. Patrick,' the author's spirit appears in the attempt to unravel the twisted skein of history regarding Sucat or Patrick. In a complimentary note he suggests that he was another famous native

of Paisley—'Ventra' or 'Vanduara.' In 'St. Brendan's Fabulous Voyage' he touches on the field of Celtic allegory. An essay on the Scottish Peerage shows how mixed it has become. An account of the 'Scottish Parliament' is a plea for Scottish Home-rule. Lord Bute, in a fine lecture on 'David Duke of Rothesay,' threw his strength against the pernicious traditions regarding that ill-fated prince made historic by Sir Walter Scott. The Rectorial Address delivered at St. Andrews shows the fruit of Lord Bute's historical genius, and makes a fitting conclusion to an interesting volume. JAMES KING HEWISON.

JOHN THE BAPTIST, A DRAMA TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF GEORGE BUCHANAN. By A. Gordon Mitchell. Pp. 127. Paisley: Gardner, 1904. 3s. 6d. nett.

BUCHANAN'S *Baptistes* was dedicated to James VI. in 1576, in order to instil into the boy-king's mind a wholesome appreciation of the torment and misery that tyrants undergo, and to be a sign to posterity that if the deterrent failed the royal pupil and not his tutor was to blame. So the outspoken dedication bore—doubtless to be reckoned among the many occasions of future dissatisfaction to the champion of divine right. A general political sense was obvious, and the translation of the play in 1613 into French, in 1642 into English (some have suspected by Milton), and in 1656 into Dutch, proved its applicability to current discussions of kingship. Herod debates the old doctrine that what pleases the prince is law, and the poet places the vexed phrase, *quod principi placuit*, on the lip of the daughter of Herodias. But the original no more served to warn King James than did the translation of 1642 to save King Charles. Mr. Mitchell's rendering is good blank verse, and (tested at many points with Buchanan's text) proves to be almost rigorously faithful. GEO. NEILSON.

THE GLASGOW POETS: THEIR LIVES AND POEMS. Edited by George Eyre-Todd. Pp. xiv, 437. Glasgow: William Hodge & Co., 1903. 7s. 6d.

A BOOK of this character demands no other justification than that it shall be well done. Almost every minor poet has some single poem, or perhaps two, worthy of the most careful preservation, but in danger of being lost if allowed to remain hidden among the author's own works. In making illustrative selections from the writings of well over three-score poets, ranging from the extraordinary and voluminous Zachary Boyd to the late Robert Walker, there is so much room for the operation of difference of taste and opinion that no anthology can possibly meet with universal approval. Yet on the whole the editor has produced a selection worthy of general acceptance. As a rule he has taken the best-known pieces of each author—though in some cases these are so well known that they have become a little hackneyed. Nevertheless the selection in its entirety is a worthy one, and the little biographical notices are very satisfactory. W. S.

A Short History of Brechin Cathedral. By Walter William Coats, B.D., Minister of the First Charge. Pp. 64. Cr. 8vo. Brechin: Black & Johnston. 1s. nett.

This brief, plain, unpretentious history, unlike the tastefully got up little volumes in Bell's Cathedral Series, is, saving the chapter seal on the title-page, destitute of illustration. Though practically of no service as a guide-book, it will help to quicken the interest of visitors in the recently restored church. It will be prized by parishioners, and also by those who have not wandered in the by-paths of Scottish history. Some of the statements might be challenged, such as those concerning the use of the English liturgy in the Scottish Church, and that which appears to combine the distinct offices of minister and reader in the case of John Hepburn. In gathering his material, Mr. Coats has not neglected the records of the Kirk-Session; and he has appended lists of the bishops and ministers.

D. H. F.

Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements. April and July, 1904. Published at the Office, 38 Conduit Street, London, W.

The highly important excavations at Gezer continue to occupy the first place in these *Statements*. In the April number Mr. Macalister gives an excellent summary of the results that have been attained during the twenty months that the work has been in progress. His earlier conclusions as to the different periods at which the site has been occupied have been for the most part amply confirmed. From the Neolithic period onwards to the Roman the site was in continuous occupation, a period of some three thousand years. In tracing these various occupations, as revealed in the different strata and in the large number of stone and bronze and other objects that have come to light, Mr. Macalister has not only exhibited great patience and thoroughness but a most commendable caution in the statement of conclusions. His reports are accompanied with full illustrations both of the excavations and of the objects that have been discovered. In the July number he is able to announce a most important 'find,' a fragment of an Assyrian tablet, the first specimen of cuneiform writing that has been found on the tell. It is evidently a contract-tablet referring to the sale of an estate with houses and slaves. The names are almost all Assyrian, pointing to an Assyrian occupation, probably by a garrison. The date is 649 B.C. A photograph of the tablet is given along with a transcription and translation by Dr. Pinches. Professor Sayce and Rev. C. H. W. Johns have also notes on it, the latter's being particularly full and interesting. An extension of the firman for Gezer has been granted for another year.

Messrs. Bell & Son have issued a third edition, revised, of Mr. E. Belfort Bax's *Handbook of the History of Philosophy* (pp. x, 435, price 5s.). A lucid, well-reasoned and readable guide through the infinite chaos, sometimes of darkness, oftener of irreconcilable light, this compact survey of the course of philosophic theory from Zoroaster and Thales

to Hegel and Spencer well merits its place in Bohn's Philosophical Library as a handy and serviceable work for study and reference.

Old Ingleborough: *Talks by the Lonsdale Hermit, Herbert M. White, B.A.* (London: Eliot Stock, pp. 108, price 2s. 6d. nett) is an antiquary's rhapsody, descriptive, geological, archaeological and historical, on the Lancashire mountain, whose bulky and impressive outline it will, with some infection of enthusiasm, recall to many memories. 'It is commonly said,' wrote Camden,

> 'Ingleborrow, Pendle and Penigent
> Are the highest hills between Scotland and Trent.'

Mr White finds the first-named an engrossing centre of study. We note his attitude on the *mottes* of the district as chiefly of Norman erection, and his promise of a pamphlet to discuss them.

Professor Hume Brown's *John Knox and his Times* (pp. 24, Edin.: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier) is a biographical tract in the simplest diction dedicated to the young people of the Protestant churches in all lands, in view of the quater-centenary celebrations. As becomes at once the theme and the author, this little sketch plainly yet gracefully and frankly outlines the man as the spirit of his age.

Messrs. A. & C. Black have again placed all who care for useful books of reference under a debt of obligation by their new issues for 1905 of *Who's Who* (pp. xx, 1796, 7s. 6d. nett), *The Englishwoman's Year Book* (pp. xxxvi, 368, 2s. 6d. nett), and *Who's Who Year Book* (pp. x, 128, 1s. nett). As usual they are growing in size, and unless the editor of *Who's Who* can curtail the length of some of the biographies, the volume runs a danger of losing some of its value as a handy book. But it is ungrateful to utter a grumble in noticing such an excellent piece of work.

In *The English Historical Review* (Oct.) Mr. Haverfield undermines most of the alleged data for inferring that Silchester was destroyed in the middle of the sixth century. He considerately leaves us free to draw our own conclusions some day from the chronology of fibulae and burials. Mr. R. G. Marsden starts one more question of marine and personal identification. It is about the Mayflower which carried the pilgrim fathers in 1620. A fairly satisfactory chain of proofs is put together for the view that the historic ship was an east coast whaler, and that her master was not Captain *Thomas* Jones as heretofore supposed. The new inference about the commander arises from a will in 1621 made on board, witnessed by 'Christopher Joanes.' Professor Owen calculates the French losses in the Waterloo campaign at a total of 55,200 killed, wounded and taken. Professor Tout investigates the use of the 'schiltrum' of dismounted men at arms 'in the Scottish manner' at Boroughbridge in 1322. The great importance of this description was pointed out in an article on 'The Shield Wall' in the *Antiquary* for 1897.

Rutland, smallest of shires, is not least in attention to its antiquities. This is well evinced by the *Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record* (quarterly 1/6, conducted by Mr. G. Philips, Oakham), which is alert on all sides of study. The editor has in the July issue a well-informed article on early weighing instruments, illustrated by a plate of a small Roman steelyard found in Rutlandshire in 1863. We are sorry to notice countenance given to a derivation of Brooke, a parish, from Broc, a badger. Against such an etymology the odds must be about a thousand to one.

To *The American Historical Review* for October Mr. Charles H. Haskins has contributed a curious and interesting account of student life in the University of Paris, collected out of the sermons of the thirteenth century. Though we do not usually go to the pulpit for historical material, few will deny after reading this article that the unintentional and incidental references made by preachers, when skilfully interpreted, are of value in throwing light on the routine of academic institutions at this early period. The example might well be followed for tracing the history of educational methods in Scotland. In the same review Mr. Goldwin Smith gossips pleasantly on the connection of English poetry with English history. It is not to be expected that he will command the sympathy of Scottish readers in his estimate of Burns, whom he places in 'the second class of poets.' His enthusiasm for Scott leaves nothing to be desired.

Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen (September) has notes of English etymologies by F. Holthausen, and on sources of Lewis's *Monk*, by O. Ritter, besides a detailed search and criticism by Leo Jordan on the sources and composition of *Eustache le Moine*, a romantic chanson de geste on the career of the famous 'arch-pirate' French seaman, killed in a great fight in the Channel in 1217. 'The fishes' (says, drily, an English chronicler) 'gave him sepulture and obsequies.' The poem is at many points inter-related with the Robin Hood ballads, and Dr. Jordan's analysis offers a valuable example of method in tracking the origins of the half-historical romance.

The Reliquary for October illustrates Norman and pre-Norman crosses of the Dovedale district. A distinctively Scottish paper is Mr. W. G. Collingwood's description of an archaeological pilgrimage to the Hebrides, with excellent photographs of crosses and architectural remains at Hinba (Eilean-na-Naoimh), Eilean Mor, Kilmory, Kildalton, and Oransay.

Scottish Notes and Queries, now printed and published monthly by the Rosemount Press, Aberdeen, is always a miscellany of genealogy and history, especially of Aberdeenshire and the North. A recent literary recovery of some interest presented in its pages is the *Apobaterion*, or 'Farewell to Aberdeen,' of William Barclay, 'Master of Arts and Doctor of Physic,' who sang the virtues of tobacco. His parting tribute to

'Devana,' Athens restored, the glory of the North, was printed in 1619. Wherever the fates might call the bard:

'Seu me nobile Belgium tenebit,
Seu Germania imago Charitatis,
Seu altae moenia tam superba Romae,
Seu Gallus pater hospitalitatis,
Seu dia Anglia patria Angelorum'—

his heart would turn wistfully to the city by the Don.

We have received the *Review of Reviews*; *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*; *American Journal of Psychology* (October); *Berks Bucks, and Oxon Archæological Journal*; *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*.

We have also to acknowledge the concluding volume of Messrs. Waller & Glover's edition of the collected works of William Hazlitt (Dent) which was reviewed in our pages recently.

An Introduction to English Antiquities, by Mrs. Armitage (Dent, 1903, pp. xii, 143, illustrated, price 1s. 6d. nett), directs itself mainly to the work of the English as builders, first of earthworks and then of castles and churches, with notices of tools and utensils from stone scrapers and axes to bronze daggers and spears and sepulchral pottery, till the iron age was found mature when the Romans came. Medieval costume is studied from brasses and effigies. Good chapters on monastic buildings and services and on the parish churches trace the course of religious history, reflected in architecture. Worthy of particular commendation is the sketch of the evolution of the great Elizabethan country-house from the earlier types of the fortified baronial residence.

In the *Revue des Études Historiques* (Sept.-Oct.) a peculiarly piquant demonstration is made by M. Lavollée that the *Mémoires de Richelieu*, at least for the period from 1624 till 1638, are not the personal work of the great cardinal, but were written by Achille de Harlay, baron of Sancy and bishop of St. Malo. The argument is finely vouched by eight pages of facsimile, comparing the MS. of the memoirs with the handwriting of the bishop, who was specially intimate with the cardinal, and whose share in the composition was, it is now believed, that of substantial authorship, although Richelieu supplied materials and purposed to revise the whole.

The *Queen's Quarterly*, published by a committee of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, has in its October issue a discussion of what has passed from an academic to a burning question, viz.: 'Is Ontario to abandon classical education?' Under the new Education Bill Latin has been made merely optional in the training of the Public School teacher. Professor James Cappon protests vigorously, and presses the argument that the change is likely to work disastrously on the competency of the new schoolmaster. It strikes one as surprising that the anti-classical movement, otherwise intelligible enough, should have begun at the very core of the executive of national education.

The
Scottish Historical Review

VOL. II., No. 7 APRIL 1905

The Use and Forms of Judicial Torture in England and Scotland

THE employment of torture as an adjunct of criminal administration in both England and Scotland, although in common, indeed, with the rest of Europe, will ever remain as a dark red stain upon the annals of these countries, even while it possesses that morbid fascination which always clings around the tragic and the cruel, or any tale of human suffering. Its history has about it a living, human interest, which causes it to attract even while it repels, and the sympathies of modern humanity go out in mute and futile pity to those innumerable victims of human cruelty and superstition, while the nerves quiver to-day as we contemplate the awful agonies of those wretched beings immolated on the altar of a mistaken principle of justice.

The use of torture as a judicial instrument possessed the sanction of a great antiquity and an almost universal practice. Prior to Greek and Roman times, indeed, torture was, no doubt, practised by the various Eastern Empires with that singular callousness and indifference to human suffering and with that arbitrary and wanton cruelty which even yet characterise so many of the Asiatic and African races; but it is only in Greek and Roman times that there is found, for the first time, a regulated system of judicial torture, as distinguished from the mere wanton and arbitrary infliction of pain, employed to force confession or to extract evidence of crime, or by way of punishment or execution.

It is only within comparatively recent times that torture ceased to form an integral part of the criminal systems of

Europe. England and Sweden—and Aragon, too—were always, in theory, exceptions to the rule; but in England, at any rate, it prevailed in practice down to the time of the Commonwealth. In Scotland the employment of torture was finally forbidden in 1708 by the statute 7 Anne, cap. 21, § 5, which enacted that thereafter 'no persons accused of any capital offences or other crimes in Scotland shall be liable or subject to any torture.' In France the use of torture was eliminated from the judicial system by a law of 9th October, 1789; but, notwithstanding, several years later, in 1793, two Judges were suspended from their office by the Parliament of Paris for having ordered the execution of a man for murder on his own confession under torture. In Russia torture was forbidden, by Imperial ukase, in 1801. In Prussia, Saxony, and Austria it was abolished about the middle of the 18th century; but it continued, in theory at least, in the criminal administration of the majority of German States until the 19th century. The practice was suspended in Bavaria by ordinance in 1806; in the Kingdom of Hanover in 1822, though not formally and finally until 1840; and in the Grand Duchy of Baden in 1831; while in Naples it was in force as late as 1860.

While there is ample evidence, from classical writers, of the employment of torture as a regular judicial instrument in Ancient Greece,[1] and no less a person than Aristotle gives it his approval on account of its compelling persuasiveness,[2] yet its use as an adjunct of the criminal procedure of European States had its basis in the Roman system, and derived its sanction from the Civil as well as to some extent from the Canon Law. The Civil Law strictly regulated the use of torture, and defined the persons who might be subjected to its various forms, or who were in whole or in part exempt; whilst its rules of procedure were precise as to the stage at which torture was to be applied to convert *semiplena* into *plena probatio*, its amount, the physique and age of the subject, the nature of the queries to be put at different stages of the examination, the conduct of the sufferer, the circumstances of his confession, and the relation of the accuser. There was no exemption from torture on a charge of treason,[3] or sorcery,[4] all persons, whether free or bond, patrician or plebeian, being equally liable, and this

[1] See Aristophanes, *Ranae* (v. 617) for list of tortures in use. *Lysistrata* (v. 846) refers to the torture of the wheel. Both the wheel and the rack were in use in Greece.

[2] Arist., *Rhet.* i. 15. 26. [3] *Cod.* ix. 8. 4. [4] *Cod.* ix. 18. 7.

principle later on received expression in the systems of all European countries. A useful restraint upon groundless accusations of treason was contained in the rule that if an accuser failed to prove his case he himself was liable to torture! An account of the Roman system of judicial torture does not come within the scope of the present article. It must suffice to mention that the principal tortures regularly employed under the Civil Law were those of the *equuleus* or rack, the *angulae* or barbed hooks, the *plumbatae* or leaden balls, and the *fidiculae* or cords for compressing the arms. With the exception of the *angulae*, which is Eastern in its character and barbarity, all these had their later European counterparts. The law of torture as it existed under the later Empire is contained mainly in the titles *De Quaestionibus* of the *Digest*[5] and the *Code*.[6] There were many other 'irregular' forms of torture, however, used in Roman judicial procedure, which were equally calculated to wring statements from unhappy sufferers, or which were employed after torture in the ordinary forms, to intensify and prolong the punishment or the execution. Crucifixion, disembowelling, exposure to wild beasts in the arena, tearing apart by wild horses, burning alive, branding and mutilation in many revolting forms were all employed as modes of punishment and of execution.

Mediaeval Europe absorbed torture into its judicial system through the Civil Law. The Mediaeval Church, interpreting treason as heresy, and adopting the Roman principle of the equality of all in charges of that nature, found a ready means of enforcing its doctrines and of asserting its authority. Enjoying complete immunity for its clergy, it originally left its sentences to be executed by the ordinary tribunals; but, ere long, when the famous or infamous ecclesiastical tribunal styled the Inquisition had been established, the Church conducted its own enquiries, executed its own sentences, and inflicted, in the name of God and of the Church, with callous and lavish cruelty, tortures as exquisite and as grim as any perpetrated in the horrid gloom of the secular dungeons of Europe. It is not here appropriate to do more than to refer to the modes of torture adopted by the Inquisition. Any one desirous of studying that dark chapter of the world's history must refer to the works of such men as Llorante, Hoffman, Molinier, Rodrigo, Prescott, Motley, and many others. The forms employed by the

[5] *Dig.* xlviii. 18. [6] *Cod.* ix. 41.

Inquisition, while embracing all the generally recognised modes of the age, were unlimited, except by the bounds of inventive cruelty, and there may be mentioned that of the gradual pouring of water, drop by drop, upon a particular spot of the prisoner's body—a mode which had its well-known classical counterpart, and generally ended in delirium or raging mania; that styled the *tormento de toca*, consisting of pouring water into a gauze bag in the throat, and gradually forcing it down into the stomach, causing acute agony, a mode which had its modern counterpart in the 'water-cure,' alleged to have been employed in Cuba and Manilla; and that of the *pendola* or swinging pendulum, with its maddening recurrence.

The revolting practice of judicial torture having established itself in all the European systems, attained, particularly in France, in the German States, and in Italy, a vogue and system as discreditable as it was regular. All the State and feudal dungeons of Europe contained their complement of torture apparatus, grim specimens of which are still shown in the museums of Nuremberg, Ratisbon, The Hague, the Tower of London, and other places. The practice throughout Continental Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries receives its fullest expression in the cruelly refined and complete systems of the Italian States, and in its comprehensive treatment by Farinaccius, Procurator-General to Pope Paul V. in his *Praxis et Theorica Criminalis*,[7] published at Frankfort in 1622. The most usual forms of torture on the Continent at that period were those of the rack, breaking on the wheel, and that of the 'second' and 'third' degrees, which respectively included crushing of the hands, feet, or head in iron apparatus, and burning and tearing with red-hot irons or pincers.

The practice of judicial torture extended to England and Scotland in common with the rest of Europe, but its sanction, singularly enough, differed in the two countries. In Scotland it seems always to have been recognised by the law as a means of extracting information, or as a form of punishment or execution. In England, on the other hand, torture was always illegal, and had no place in the constitution. It was contrary to *Magna Charta*, to many statutes, and to the fundamental principles of the English Law.[8] The consulted Judges, at the time of the trial of Felton for the murder of the Duke of

[7] Book II. tit. v. *quaest.* 36-51.

[8] Stephen's *Hist. of the Criminal Law of England.*

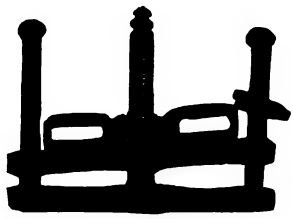


FIG. 1.—Thumb Screws.

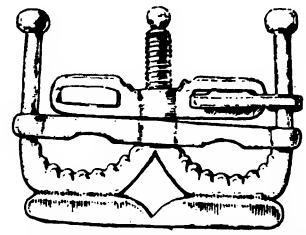


FIG. 2.—Thumb Screws notched and hollowed.

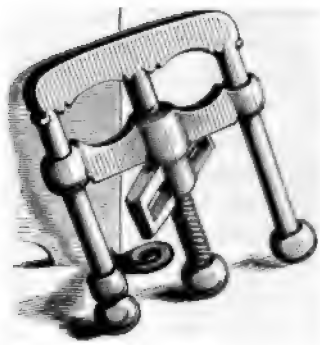


FIG. 3.—Thumb Screws with inner bars hollowed.

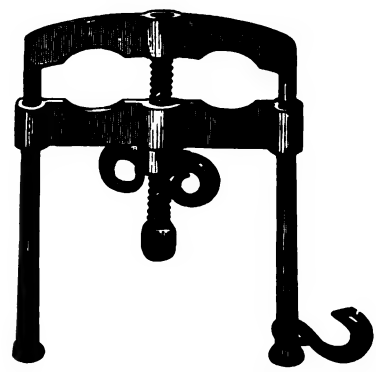


FIG. 4.—Large Thumb Screws, $4\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

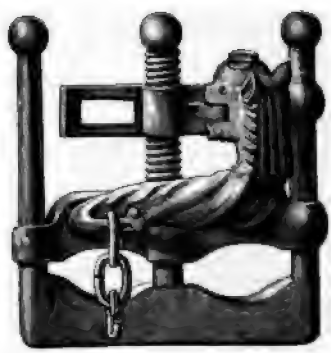


FIG. 5.—Thumb Screws (scale one half).

FIG. 6.—Key of Fig. 5 (scale one half).

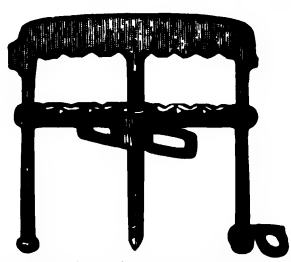


FIG. 7.—Thumb Screws notched on inside edges.

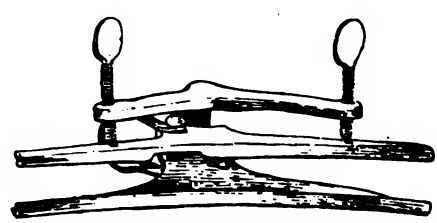


FIG. 8.—Pilniewinkies for compressing the Fingers.

THUMB AND FINGER SCREWS.

Facing page 228.

Buckingham, in 1628, unanimously declared against the legality of putting him to the torture, as a method unknown to the Law of England.

Bracton, indeed, in his ancient treatise of the 13th century on *The Laws and Customs of England*[9] seems to admit its legality when he divides corporal punishment into that inflicted with and that inflicted without torture; and although the use of torture was condemned and even disavowed by such distinguished jurists as Sir John Fortescue,[10] who was Lord Chancellor in the reign of Henry VI.; Sir Edward Coke, the eminent institutional writer; and Sir Thomas Smith, the famous lawyer and statesman of Elizabeth's time, there is unfortunately too ample evidence from contemporary chroniclers, such as Holinshed and others, and from State Papers that the practice since the 15th century was strikingly at variance with the theory of the Law and with the humane sentiments of the leading jurists. The statute 27 Henry VIII. cap. 4, dealing with the trials of 'Pirates and Robbers on the Sea,' narrates that few such offenders would confess 'without Torture or Pains,' and it was in that reign that the dreadful instrument of torture styled 'Skevington's Irons' was invented. It has been sought to make out that the instances of torture in English practice were quite exceptional,[11] but Jardine in his *Reading on the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England* (1837) considers that 'the facts show a uniform practice to the contrary.' The entries in the extant Registers of the Privy Council from 1551 onwards contain many warrants authorising the application of torture during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, James I. and VI., and Charles I. The practice reached its height in England in the faction-torn reign of Elizabeth, and it was employed with merciless frequency. In Hallam's terse language, during all that time 'the rack seldom stood idle.' Jardine observes[12] that the result of enquiry 'must be a conviction that, until the Commonwealth, torture was constantly used as an instrument of evidence in the investigation of offences, whether municipal or political, without scruple and without question as to its legality.' Despite his sentiments and disavowal, Sir Edward Coke, as Attorney-General, in 1603 appears, from

[9] *Leges et Consuetudines Angliae.* [10] *De Laudibus Legum Angliae.*

[11] Howell's *State Trials*, ii. 774. See Hargrave's note to the Countess of Shrewsbury's case.

[12] p. 16.

documents in the State Paper Office, to have personally conducted the examination of one Philip May by torture on the rack.

Historians have been at a loss to explain the extraordinary discrepancy between the humane theory and the cruel practice of the Law in England down to the Commonwealth. The true solution appears to be that advanced by Jardine in the distinction drawn by him between the *Law* and the *Prerogative*—a power superior to the Laws, and one which could even, in its uncontrolled discretion, suspend them. In confirmation of this view it is noteworthy that, with only two exceptions, torture was invariably ordered either, as originally, by the Sovereign directly or by his Council, when it came, about the middle of the 16th century, to exercise that branch of the prerogative, or by some tribunal of extraordinary constitution, such as the Star Chamber, all which professed to be superior to, and not bound by, the rules of the Common Law. The two exceptions were the cases of Philip May in 1603 and of Samuel Peacock in 1619, when the warrants for torture were in the first instance directed to Common Law Judges. It is doutful, too, if either of the warrants were executed, and in the first case it certainly was not executed in its original form.

The use of torture as a judicial instrument must be considered in a dual aspect. It was employed either as a means of extracting information or as a prolonged punishment or execution. The tortures strictly appropriated, both in England and Scotland, to proceedings on accusation and prior to conviction, and which may, for convenience, be styled 'regular' or 'ordinary,' were more or less well defined; but there were in use many other equally cruel and ingenious modes of causing anguish to the human frame, which, though truly forms of judicial torture, inasmuch as they were inflicted under colour of judicial authority, were classed as punishments or modes of execution. Such were breaking on the wheel, burning at the stake, branding, mutilation, tearing with pincers, disembowelling, and all the various means employed to intensify the sufferings, of which history records so many notable instances. Chains, the Pillory, the Stocks, Flogging, and even the Treadmill may also be regarded as merely minor and more humane counterparts of the principal forms of judicial torture. The principal 'regular' instruments of torture employed in England were the rack, the 'Scavenger's Daughter,' the iron gauntlets, the thumbscrew, the 'cell,' the bilboes, and the iron collar; and of

other 'irregular' forms equally calculated to break the body and appal the mind were the *peine forte et dure*, the torture of the rats, starvation, and scourging.

The 'Rack,' which has become a generic term connoting torture in all its forms and agonies, was an instrument of very great antiquity, and, as has been observed, was employed in Greek and Roman times. Its use throughout Europe was universal; and it is supposed to have been introduced into the Tower of London by the Duke of Exeter in the reign of Henry VI., and Sir Thomas Coke, Lord Mayor of London in 1468, was probably, according to Holinshed, the chronicler, one of its first victims. By reason of its origin, the rack received the euphemistic sobriquet of the 'Duke of Exeter's Daughter,' and it may well be averred that never was woman more heartless! It is singular how frequently a feminine appellation is bestowed upon instruments appropriated to grim and bloody purposes; 'Skevington's Irons' were styled his 'Daughters'; the guillotine in Scotland was styled the 'Maiden'; a dreadful instrument of torture, formerly used in Germany, and a specimen of which is still exhibited at Nuremberg, and which was somewhat analogous in construction to 'Skevington's Daughters,' was called the 'Iron Maiden.' The Rack is described by Lingard in his *History of England*[13] as 'a large open frame of oak raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it, on his back, on the floor; his wrists and ankles were attached by cords to two rollers at the ends of the frame; these were moved by levers in opposite directions till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put, and if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more, till the bones started from their sockets.' The compelling and persuasive efficacy of the Rack may be inferred from the quaint but expressive terms of the warrants, which authorised the prisoners to be 'put to the rack' in order to 'wreste' or 'to wringe' or 'for the better boultinge forth of' the truth. In some cases *the fear of the rack* was considered a sufficient form of torture in itself, and the warrants directed that the prisoner be 'brought to and put in fear of the rack'; or again, it was enjoined that the prisoner be made 'to feel the smarte' or 'to find the taste' of the rack, which probably had not the full significance conveyed in the plain direction to 'putt to the tortour of the racke.' Tanner, the historian of the Jesuits, dealing with the

[13] *Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 630, Note U.

torture of Campion, the Jesuit priest, in 1581, also gives a particular description of the rack, as also does More.[14] The dreadful effects of the rack upon the human frame were frequently such as to totally and permanently incapacitate the victim.[15]

The 'Scavenger's Daughter' was a corruption of the name of an instrument invented by Sir William Skevington, Lieutenant of the Tower, in the reign of Henry VIII. It was originally styled 'Skevington's Irons,' and consisted of a broad hoop of iron of two parts hingeing together. The prisoner having been made to kneel on the floor and to contract himself into as small a compass as possible, the executioner knelt on his shoulder, and having put the hoop under his legs compressed the body of the victim until the extremities of the hoop could be fastened over the small of the back. The exquisite character of this torture, to which an hour and a half was usually allotted,[16] may be inferred from the fact that blood is said to have often burst from the nostrils and the mouth, and even from the extremities! Tanner also describes this mode of torture.[17]

'The Cell' was a chamber of such dimensions and construction that the only position possible to the prisoner was a squatting one, and he could neither stand, sit, or lie, far less walk about, and, in addition, it was quite dark. It well deserved its nickname 'Little Ease,' and the few days generally allotted to it were sufficient to break all but the stoutest spirits. Cells of this description existed throughout Europe, and some are still to be seen in various places. A still more dreadful development of the torture of the cell, but one happily unknown in this country, is said to have been a chamber which by some mechanical contrivance daily contracted in the sight of the occupant, who, compelled at length to lie prone, was finally crushed in its pitiless embrace, unless madness or death had already terminated his agonies. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed, on 14th May, 1604, 'to enquire into the state of a dungeon called "Little Ease" in the Tower.'[18] They reported that 'the place was very loathsome and unclean, and not used for a long time either for a prison or other cleanly purpose,' and also that they 'found in "Little Ease" in the Tower an engine of torture devised by Mr. Skevington, sometime

[14] Tanner's *Societas Europaea*, p. 12. See also More's *Hist. of the Jesuits*, p. 89.
[15] *E.g.* case of Wm. Monke, 1626.
[16] Ligard, vol. v. p. 650.
[17] Tanner's *Societas Europaea*, p. 18.
[18] *Commons' Journal*, 14th May, 1604.

FIG. 9.—Branks with Face Piece.

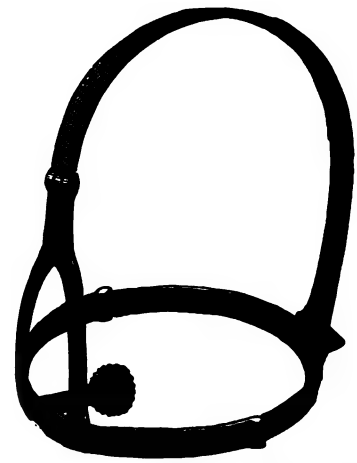


FIG. 10.—Branks with Rowel-shaped Mouthpiece.

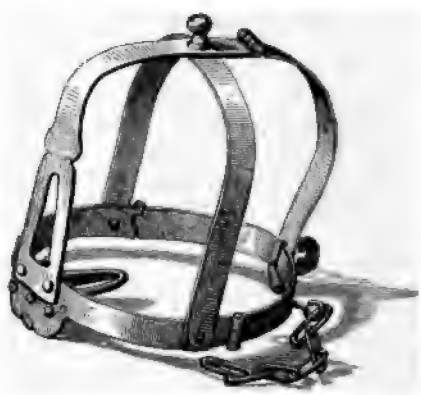


FIG. 11.—Branks or Witch's Bridle.

FIG. 12.—Branks of Dunottar Kirk, with specially cruel Mouthpiece.

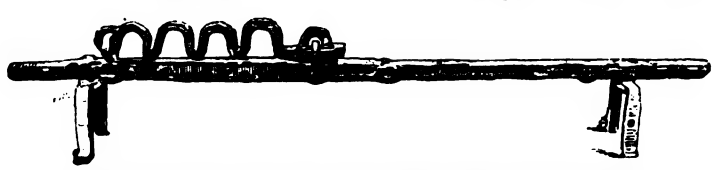


FIG. 13.—Stocks formerly used in the Town of Crieff.

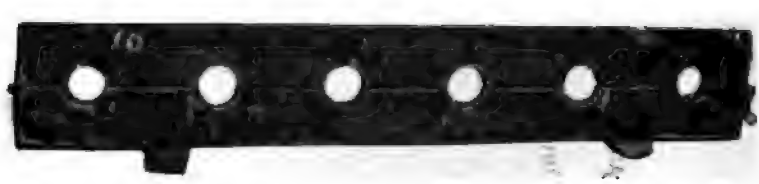


FIG. 14.—Stocks used at Paldy Fair Market, Fordoun; last used there in July, 1841.

BRANKS AND STOCKS.

Facing page 232.

Lieutenant of the Tower, called "Skevington's Daughters."' There were also other cells in the Tower or the Marshalsea imprisonment in which was a form of torture only a little less dreadful than 'Little Ease' itself. Into such a cell, small, dark, damp, and 'foul, with the uncleansed memorials of generations of wretches who had preceded him,' with nothing but some filthy straw to serve as a bed upon the moist and reeking earthen floor, was Charles Baily thrown in 1571, prior to suffering the still more terrible agonies of the rack, for his suspected part in the Ridolfi conspiracy against Elizabeth's life.

The 'Iron Gauntlets' were an apparatus tightly contracted round the wrists by means of a screw, the prisoner thereafter being suspended in the air by his wrists from two distant points of a beam. To get him into position, he was placed standing on three blocks of wood, which were successively withdrawn from under his feet. The swelling of the arms and the cutting of the gauntlets were not the least excruciating parts of the torture. Lingard quotes[19] the experiences of one Gerard, who hung thus for five hours, in the course of which he fainted eight or nine times, only reviving to have the torture renewed. Although there is considerable doubt on the point, the Iron Gauntlets may have been what is styled 'The Manacles' in the various warrants from the Privy Council directing that form of examination. The warrants, indeed, frequently enjoined putting to 'the manacles *and torture*,' but they as often direct 'the manacles *or such other form* of torture' or 'the torture of the manacles,' and it is even made alternative to the rack. The 'manacles,' however, although a very usual form of torture, are not mentioned in warrants until 25th October, 1591, when Eustace White and Brian Lassy were ordered to be 'put to the manacles and such other tortures as are used in Bridewell.' The instrument appears to have been introduced into the Tower from Bridewell in 1598. Jardine, while expressing himself as uncertain of their exact nature, favours the view that the manacles were one of the many instruments of torture taken from the Spanish Armada in 1588.[20]

One of the 'gentler tortures' sometimes directed in the warrants consisted of tying the prisoner's thumbs together with cords and suspending him from a beam. It was apparently employed in the preliminary stages of an inquiry, and notably in the cases of Guy Fawkes, Garnett, Owen, and others suspected

[19] Vol. v. 651. [20] Jardine, *Reading, etc.*, p. 37, Note 2.

of being concerned in the Gunpowder Plot. The warrant for the torture of Fawkes, in the King's own handwriting, directed the use of 'the gentler tortures first, *et sic per gradus ad ima tenditur*.'

The 'tortour of the ratts' was a form as refined in its cruelty and as appalling in its effects on mind and body as any yet mentioned. The Minutes of the Privy Council for 17th November, 1577, show a warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower to 'commit to the dungeon amongst the ratts' one Sherwood, failing his confession. This cell or dungeon, if it may be even styled such, is described by contemporary writers as having been below high water mark, and without light of any sort. With the rise of the tide, the water flowed into the cell, which was at the same time invaded by swarms of rats. The torture endured from the loathsome character of the cell and the noisome nature of its unwelcome visitors may be imagined! Often, too, the wretched prisoner, sinking into the sleep of utter exhaustion and despair, would be cruelly gnawed and even eaten to death!

The *peine forte et dure* was early introduced into England from France, as its name indicates. It was the torture specially appropriated from at least the reign of Henry IV. to 'muteness or contumacy on arraignment for felony,' and consisted of laying the prisoner on his back and loading him with iron weights until he chose to plead or died, the latter event being delayed by feeding him on bad bread and stagnant water on alternate days.[21] It is recorded that, as late as 1721, one Nathaniel Hawes 'lay for seven minutes under a weight of 250 lbs.,' and a prisoner is said to have been so pressed to death at the Cambridge Assizes in 1741, other tortures having been previously applied. Tying the thumbs with whip cord was a common substitute for the *peine* at the Old Bailey up to the 18th century.[22]

In 1581 Alexander Briant, a Jesuit priest, was tortured under a Privy Council warrant, and is said by Antony Wood,[23] to have been 'specially punished for two whole days and nights by famine, by which he was reduced to such extremities that he ate the clay out of the walls of his prison, and drank the droppings of the roof.'[24] Of the minor forms of punishment and of judicial

[21] Blackstone's *Commentaries*, Bk. iv. chap. 25. Stephen's *Hist. of the Criminal Law*, i. 297.

[22] Stephen's *Criminal Law*, i. 300. [23] *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. 210.

[24] Jardine, p. 31.

torture, inasmuch as they were inflicted by judicial authority, often, indeed, accompanied with much suffering, but not in themselves calculated to do grievous bodily injury, the 'Stocks,' the 'Pillory,' the 'Cat,' and even the 'Treadmill' are too well known to need description.

The procedure followed in England when applying any of the regular tortures sufficiently indicates the derivation of the practice from the Roman system. It was necessary to have the presence of one of the civilian 'Masters of the Requests'; the 'vehement suspicion,' so constantly narrated in the warrants as the justification for the application of torture, corresponds exactly with the *indicia ad torturam*, amounting to the *semiplena probatio* required by the Civil Law, and the distinction between the fear of and the actual torture corresponds precisely with the *territio* and the *tortura;* while, further, persons of rank and women and children were exempt, unless in charges of treason.[25]

There does not appear any instance of women being tortured, unless the doubtfully authenticated case of Anne Askew in the Tower in 1546, cited by Burnet in his *History of the Reformation*, and by Foxe,[26] and that of the *secret whipping* of a young maiden who had 'putt into writing and scattered abroad among the Popish and ignorant people' of the Diocese of Chester 'two fayned visions.'[27] The offences for the discovery or punishment of which torture was employed comprised such as murder, horse-stealing, embezzlement, statutory and political offences, and felonies of all descriptions. Certain historians, animated by religious prejudices, have endeavoured to make out that torture was the outcome of religious persecution, and had no place in the regular criminal practice; but the evidence is far from bearing this out. It was a useful adjunct, indeed, to religious persecution, but was not a result of it.

After the reign of Elizabeth torture began to be confined more and more to offences of a State or political character.

As in Scotland, so in England, the trial and punishment of witches was accompanied with much torture, in many exceptional forms, indeed, but all partaking of a judicial character. The 'ducking' of supposed witches and the means employed to discover the 'Devil's Spot' or to wring confession of dark

[25] Jardine, pp. 64-5. Wesenbechii, *Paratitla ad Dig. De Quaestionibus.*

[26] Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 342. Foxe's *Book of Martyrs.*

[27] *Council Minutes*, 22nd June, 1581.

dealings from the wretched females were often exquisite in their cruelty. The torture of witches persisted longer than any other; it was still employed in England in 1646, and although torture had been finally abolished in Scotland in 1708 by 7 Anne, cap. 21 § 5, yet in 1722 a woman was executed at Dornoch for witchcraft.

In Scotland torture was long a recognised part of criminal procedure both in the discovery and in the punishment of crime. There was in that country an even greater variety of tortures ordinarily employed than in England; and in the struggle between Popery and Protestantism, and in the suppression of supposed witchcraft and the 'Black Art' the cruel instincts of a fanatical people found ample scope. Not only do the Privy Council Registers contain many warrants for the employment of torture, but certain Acts of Parliament specifically deal with it.[28] On various occasions the Parliament expressly authorised and directed torture, notably in the later cases of Colonel Sibbald in 1680 and Chiesly of Dalry in 1689; and the terms of the Claim of Right in 1689 did not exclude torture from cases of special gravity, as it only declared that the using of torture *without evidence*, or in *ordinary* crimes was contrary to law. As late as 1683 a minister called Carstares was tortured, and in 1690 a prisoner was tortured, by warrant, on a charge of rape and murder.

Scotland was in no way behind England in the variety and cruelty of her forms and instruments of torture. These included the rack, the thumbscrew, the pilniewinkis or pinnywinks, the boot, the caschielawis or caspitaws or caspicaws, the 'long irons,' the 'waking,' the 'Turkas,' needles, scourging, breaking on the wheel, burning, strangulation, mutilation, dismemberment, flaying, and many other ingenious minor varieties, such as, for example, wrenching ('thrawing') the head with ropes, specially resorted to in dealing with cases of witchcraft. With that characteristic fondness of the Scots for diminutives, they styled the thumbscrew and the 'boot' respectively the *thummikins* and the *bootikins*, but the lessening of their appellations in no way diminished their severity. Both Sir George Mackenzie and Lord Roystoun treated the subject of torture as a regular part of the criminal system of Scotland, though Mackenzie states that it was 'seldom used.'[29] Lord Roystoun, in his MSS.

[28] *E.g.* 1649, caps. 333 and 370.

[29] Mackenzie's *Criminal Law of Scotland* (1678).

FIG. 15.—Jougs, from the Church of Clova, Forfarshire.

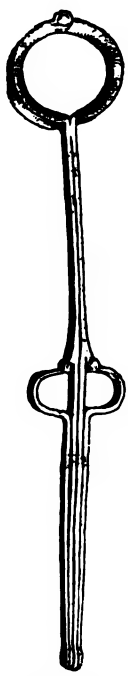


FIG. 16.
The Stirling Jougs.

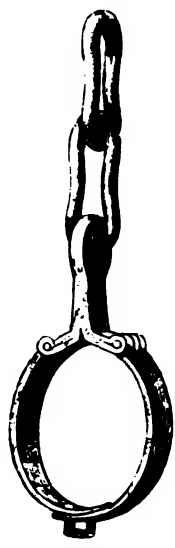


FIG. 17.
Jougs from Dundee.

FIG. 18.
The Applegarth Jougs.

UNIV. OF MICH.

JOUGS.

Facing page 236.

Notes on Mackenzie's Criminal Law (p. 273), observes: 'The instruments in use amongst us in later times were the boots and a screw for squeezing the thumbs, thence called *thummikins*. The boot was put upon the leg and wedges driven in, by which the leg was squeezed sometimes so severely that the patient *(sic!)* was not able to walk for a long time after; and even the thummikins did not only squeeze the thumbs, but frequently the whole arm was swelled by them. Sometimes they kept them from sleep for many days, as was done to one Spence, Anno 1685; and frequently poor women accused of witchcraft were so used. Anciently I find other torturing instruments were used as pinniewinks or pilliwinks, and caspitaws or caspicaws, in the Master of Orkney's case, 24th June, 1596; and tosots, August, 1632. But what these instruments were I know not, unless they are the other names for the boots and thummikins.' M'Laurin in the introduction to his *Reports of Criminal Decisions* (1774), quotes Lord Roystoun to this effect.[30] Roystoun's surmise was fairly correct, as the 'pilniewinkis' or 'pinniewinks' and the 'caspicaws' or 'caschielaws' appear to have been either older forms or perhaps a more severe variety of the thumbscrew and the boot respectively. The torture of the pinniewinks seems to have been employed in England in the reign of Henry IV., and in its application to one Robert Smyth, of Bury, it is styled *Pyrewinks*, and sufficiently identified.[31] The 'caschielawis' or 'caspitaws' or 'caspicaws' were probably an older variety of the boot, and either similar or analogous to that known as the 'Spanish' or the 'German Boot.' The 'Boot' proper was a wooden case or stock encircling the leg from the ankle to the knee; wedges were then driven in with a heavy hammer between the casing and the leg, the number of blows being in proportion to the failure of the prisoner to make either satisfactory confessions or disclosures. This form of torture was chiefly employed in cases of exceptional gravity, such as treason and witchcraft, in which latter case it was freely used with striking inhumanity. So severe could be its effects that the legs were often shockingly crushed and the prisoner totally disabled. Pitcairn, dealing with the case of Fian, or Cunningham, which will be more particularly dealt with a little further on, says[32] that he was put to 'the most Severe and Cruell paine in the worlde called the bootes.' Two

[30] M'Laurin's *Criminal Decisions* (1774), Introduction, p. xxxvi.

[31] See Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. (ii.) 215, Note.

[32] *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. (ii.) 219.

or three strokes of the hammer were generally sufficient to extract evidence or confession, but there is recorded a case in which a young man received and stood fifty-seven strokes.[33]

The 'caspicaws,' or more usually styled 'caschielaws,' would seem, as has been already mentioned, to have been similar or analogous to the 'German' or the 'Spanish Boot.' This refined form of torture consisted of enclosing the leg in an iron casing, shaped somewhat like a long boot, which was then heated over a moveable fire; and was usually found to be very efficacious! Pitcairn talks of the 'vehement tortour of the caschielawis.' It is probable, however, that this term has been employed somewhat loosely by the older writers to embrace the torture of the boot generally, whether it were of wood or iron, as there are instances of its protracted use over many days quite inconsistent with the employment of the heated iron instrument. When a prisoner had been more than usually severely treated in the 'boot,' he was said to have been 'extremely booted.' Such was the lot of William Rynd, tutor to the Earl of Gowrie, when accused of part in the Gowrie Conspiracy. The 'boots' and the 'thummikins' are said to have been introduced into Scotland from Russia by a Scotsman who had been long in the service of that country.[34]

The 'Long Irons,' or 'lang irnis' as they were written of old, are nowhere exactly described, but they were apparently shackles of enormous weight. The aged husband of Alison Balfour, the alleged witch, was 'beand in lang irnis of fiftie stane wecht.'[35] They were probably the same as, or similar to, the 'Bilboes' employed in England.

The torture of the 'waking' was particularly cruel: it consisted of the artificial and systematic prevention of sleep, and was specially employed in cases of witchcraft to overcome the 'contumacy' of suspected persons, the idea being that where ordinary human endurance would give way before Nature's claims it would not be so in the case of those who were specially under the protection of the Devil! Trials for witchcraft and sorcery, though widely prevalent throughout Europe from the 15th to the 17th century, were nowhere conducted with more cruel and credulous superstition than in Scotland; and the varieties of tortures devised to extract confessions of sorcery and to exact punishment were often as ingenious as inhuman. Bessie Dunlop,

[33] Pitcairn, i. (ii.) 376. [34] M'Laurin's *Introduction*, p. xxxvii.

[35] Pitcairn, i. (ii.) 376.

an alleged witch, was subjected to this torture, and in the report of her trial on 8th November, 1576, a description is given of the 'waking,' which proceeds[36]—'Iron collars, or *Witches Bridles*, are still preserved in various parts of Scotland, which had formerly been used for such iniquitous purposes. These instruments were so constructed that, by means of a hoop which passed over the head, a piece of iron, having four points or prongs, was forcibly thrust into the mouth, two of these being directed to the tongue and palate, the others pointing outwards to each cheek. This infernal machine was secured by a padlock. At the back of the collar was fixed a ring, by which to attach the witch to a staple in the wall of her cell. Thus equipped, and night and day "waked" and watched by some *skilful* person appointed by her inquisitors, the unhappy creature, after a few days of such discipline, maddened by the misery of her forlorn and helpless state, would be rendered fit for confessing anything, in order to be rid of the dregs of her wretched life.' The 'waking,' however, was not confined to witches. In 1616 a Jesuit called John Ogilvie was so tortured, and for a space of eight days was, in the quaint but expressive language of the Report, 'compellit and withholdin, perforce, from sleep, to the great perturbatioun of his brayne, and to compell him *ad delirum*.'[37] Madness, indeed, was a not infrequent consequence of this form of torture.

The barbarity of the tortures wreaked upon persons of both sexes suspected of witchcraft or sorcery is sufficiently instanced by the well-known cases of Alison Balfour,[38] and Dr. Fian, *alias* Cunningham, schoolmaster at Saltpans, in Lothian.[39] The former was kept in the 'vehement torture of the caschielawis' for 24 hours; at the same time, and in order to induce her the more readily to confess, her husband, an aged man, and her eldest son and daughter were tortured before her eyes; the husband was put in the 'Long Irons' of fifty stone weight, the son was 'extremely booted' to the incredible extent of fifty-seven strokes of the hammer, and her daughter, aged seven, was 'put in the pinniewinkis.'

The tortures inflicted upon Fian, however, were even more barbarous and revolting. In the first place, his head or neck was 'thrawn' or twisted with a rope; he was then 'put to the most Severe and Cruell paine in the worlde called the bootes';

[36] Pitcairn, i. (ii.) 50.
[37] Pitcairn, iii. 332.
[38] Pitcairn i. (ii.) 375-6.
[39] Pitcairn, i. (ii.) 219.

shortly afterwards the nails of all his fingers were torn out with pincers, two needles having previously been thrust under every nail 'over even up to the heads'; this proving unavailing to extort a confession, he was again subjected to the boot, 'wherein he continued a long time, and did abide so many blowes in them that his legges were crusht and beaten together as small as might bee; and the bones and the flesh so brused that the blood and marrow spouted forth in great abundance, whereby they were made unserviceable for ever!' But, continues the report, 'all these grievous paines and cruel torments' failed to extort a confession, 'so deeply had the Devil entered into his heart'! Thereafter, by way of a terror and example to all others 'that shall attempt to deall in the lyke wicked and ungodlye actions, as witchcraft, sorcerie, conspiration, and such like,' Fian was condemned to die in the special manner provided by the law of the land 'on that behalfe'; and he was accordingly conveyed in a cart to the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, and having first been strangled at a stake, his body was thrown into a fire, 'ready provided, and there burned . . . on a Saterdaie in the end of Januarie last past, 1591.' The narrative then quaintly but significantly proceeds to observe, 'The rest of the witches which are not yet executed, remayne in prison till farther triall and knowledge of his Majestie's pleasure.'

The 'Turkas' mentioned by Pitcairn seem to be a corruption of the Old French *Turquois* or *truquaise*, signifying a smith's pincers, and was an instrument sometimes used for tearing out the nails of the fingers and toes! This excruciating and barbarous torture was, as has been mentioned, applied amongst others to Fian in 1590: 'His nailes upon all his fingers were riven and pulled off with an instrument called in Scottish a Turkas, which in English we call a pair of pincers, and under every nayle there was thrust in two needels over even up to the heads.'[40] This mode of torture was apparently also employed in England, and it is said that Campion, the Jesuit priest, executed in 1581, in addition to the horrors and agonies of the thumbscrew, the rack, the 'Scavenger's Daughter,' and 'Little Ease,' had also endured needles being driven under his nails, and the nails themselves being torn out! It is possible that the *Tosots* mentioned by Roystoun, and of the nature of which he declares himself ignorant, were the same as, or analogous to, the Turkas.

Scourging with ropes ('towis'), even to the extent of flaying,

[40] Froude, *Hist. of England*, chap. xxviii.

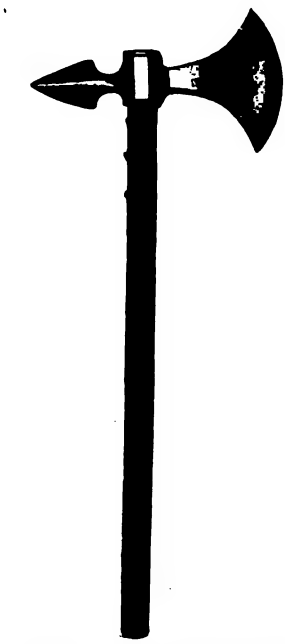


FIG. 19.—Scottish Headsman's Axe.

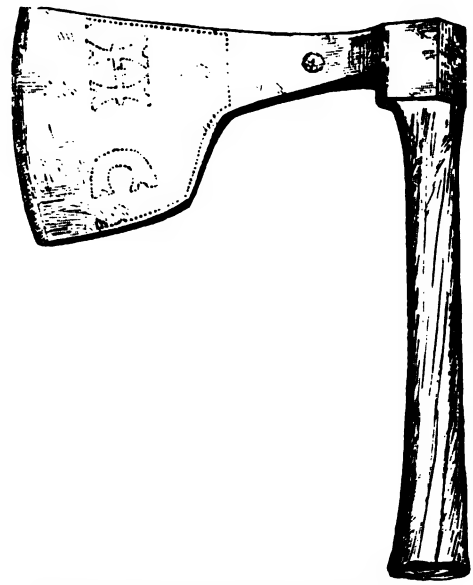


FIG. 20.—Headsman's Axe of St. Andrews.

FIG. 21.
Executioner's Axe used at Stirling.

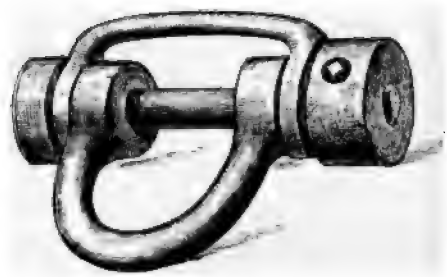


FIG. 22.—Single Anklet.

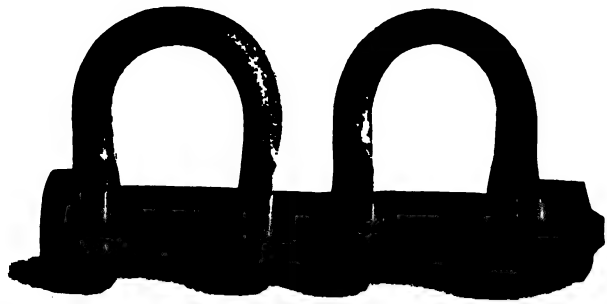


FIG. 23.—Double Anklet.

AXES AND ANKLETS.

Facing page 240.

was also employed as a means to overcome 'contumacy,' as well as being a frequent and regular form of punishment. Thomas Palpla, servant to the Master of Orkney, was in 1596, so tortured on suspicion of being concerned, along with his master, in the crime with which the latter was charged. He is said to have been 'kepit in the caschielawis ellewin days and ellewin nychtis; tuyise in the day, in the space of fourtene dayis, callit in the buitis; he being naikit in the mean tyme, and skairgeit with towis, in sich soirt, that they left nather flesch nor hyde upoun him.'[41] As late as 21st February, 1715, a woman named Elizabeth Orrock was scourged for alleged concealment and child murder.

The example of cruelty set by the regular tribunals was frequently rivalled and sometimes almost excelled by nobles or private individuals in positions of authority, and they were sometimes called to account for their arbitrary violence, although it unfortunately cannot be doubted that many instances of hideous cruelty were perpetrated unknown to any except those chiefly concerned, and which never were divulged. In 1598 three men were tried on a charge of having inflicted shocking cruelties on a young woman in order to induce her to make a confession of theft. They were accused, in particular, of having employed the 'Harrow-Bore.' They were said to have forced her to put her finger in the bore of a harrow, driven wedges into the bore round about her finger, tearing the flesh, cutting the sinews, and breaking the bones, and thereby forcing the blood to burst out at the ends of her fingers; further, they were accused of having placed red-hot tongs between her shoulders and under her arms until they became cold, and then to have starved her for 48 hours![42]

The torture of the harrow-bore, or, as I have seen it erroneously described, 'narrow-bore,' is said to have been 'infinitely more cruel than the thumbscrews or the pilniewinkis.'[43] Again, in July, 1620, three men were outlawed for failing to appear to a charge of having usurped the Law's authority by keeping as a prisoner in a deep dungeon or pit, in the depth of winter, and *starving to death* a man whom they suspected; and of having afterwards hung and exposed his body on a gibbet! Several other similar instances are recorded, of which may be mentioned the trial of Patrick Cowie and four others on 10th November, 1619.[44]

[41] Pitcairn, i. (ii.) 376.
[42] Pitcairn, ii. 44, 46.
[43] Pitcairn, ii. 46, Note 3.
[44] Pitcairn, iii. 491.

There were many varieties of *tortured execution* in use in Scotland from time to time, the chief of which may be said to have been breaking on the wheel, strangling, burning, drowning, and mutilation. Sir George Mackenzie, in his ancient treatise, somewhat quaintly expresses his disapproval of tortured execution, observing,[45] 'Torturing punishments at death are also very inexcusable, for they oft-times occasion blasphemies in the dying Malefactor, and so damn both Soul and Body, whereas the Soul should be allowed to leave quietly this Earth and go in peace to the Region of Peace.'

In at least two instances murder was punished by breaking on the wheel; but, until hanging was first employed for this crime on 30th July, 1630,[46] beheading was always the punishment whatever the rank of the criminal, the right hand or even both hands being sometimes ordered to be previously struck off. Breaking on the wheel was reserved for specially atrocious cases. On 30th April, 1591, one John Dickson, for the crime of parricide, was sentenced to be 'broken upoun the row' (wheel);[47] and on 26th June, 1604, Robert Weir, for the murder of Kincaid of Warriston, was sentenced to be broken alive upon a wheel, and to lie there for 24 hours, and, thereafter, the wheel with the body on it to be set up and exposed in a public place between Warriston and Leith until orders should be given for its interment.[48] Cawdor, the trooper who shot the Regent Murray in 1571, is said, also, to have been broken upon the wheel,[49] but there is no report of his trial.

The usual mode of breaking on the wheel, as adopted from the practice of France and Germany, was to lay the prisoner on his back, bound 'spread-eagle' by his wrists and ankles, on either an actual wheel or a frame of similar construction, in a horizontal position. The wheel being slowly revolved, the executioner brought a sledge hammer down in turn upon the leg or arm as it came round. Sometimes, as a merciful dispensation, the executioner was empowered to bring his hammer down upon the victim's stomach, and this blow was styled the *coup de grace*.

Strangulation at a stake, followed by burning, as well as

[45] Mackenzie's *Criminal Law* (1678), p. 558. [46] M'Laurin, xl.

[47] Pitcairn, i. (ii.) 241.

[48] Pitcairn, ii. 448; M'Laurin, Introduction, xl. M'Laurin styles him *William*, but there is no doubt as to the identity of the case.

[49] Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. x. cap. xxi.

burning 'quick' or without previous strangulation, were modes of execution frequently employed towards persons convicted of witchcraft or sorcery. Thus, on 30th March, 1622, Margaret Wallace was sentenced to be strangled to death and afterwards burnt, or, in the quaint language of Pitcairn, 'to be tane to the Castell-hill of Edinburgh, and thair to be wirreit at ane stake to the deid; and hir body thaireftir to be brunt in asches.' [50]

Of persons so 'wirreit and brunt in asches' (or 'assis'), or who were 'brunt quick' for 'witchcraft, sorcerie, conjuration, and such lyke' may be mentioned, out of a long list, Beigis Tod (2nd March, 1608), Isobel Griersoun (10th March, 1607), Janet Stewart, Christian Lewingstoun (Livingstone), and Christian Sadler (12th November, 1597), Dr. Fian (January, 1591), Patrick Lowrie (23rd July, 1605), Christian Stewart (27th November, 1596), Janet Boyman (29th December, 1572), Grisel Gairdner (7th September, 1610), Janet Grant and Janet Clark (17th August, 1590), Bartie Paterson (18th December, 1607), and many others, forming a melancholy record of cruel superstition. An acquittal on a charge of witchcraft seems to have been the rarest possible occurrence. I have been able to discover only three such instances in the cases of Bessie Roy (18th August, 1590), Alison Jollie (30th October, 1596), and Agnes Sampson (9th June, 1591); and in the last case the majority of the jury who acquitted her were brought to trial for wilful error.[51] Strangulation and burning was not, however, confined to cases of witchcraft. It was often employed to punish forgery and certain other serious crimes. Thus, out of many instances, one Henry Wynd, convicted of forgery on 17th November, 1556, had his sentence of strangulation at a stake commuted 'by special grace' to decapitation;[52] in March, 1598, Ralph Wallace was sentenced to be strangled and burnt for forgery; a similar sentence was inflicted for the uttering of base coin upon Thomas Glass in June, 1601; for the same offence Thomas Peblis (Peebles) was, in March, 1564, sentenced to be hanged, beheaded, quartered, and his head and members to be exposed at the city gates; in August, 1670, a Major Thomas Weir was sentenced for an abominable crime to be strangled at a stake, and his body afterwards burnt;[53] for a similar crime one Thomas Fotheringham was so sentenced as late as 11th November, 1702; and in 1727 Margaret Nisbet was hanged for forgery. Drowning,

[50] Pitcairn, iii. 536.
[51] Pitcairn, i. (ii.) 216, Note 2.
[52] Pitcairn, iii. 536.
[53] M'Laurin's *Decisions*, 1.

as being then considered both more gentle and more delicate, was the usual mode of punishment of females for crimes of lesser magnitude, as in the case of Janet Anderson, convicted 26th April, 1533, of fireraising; but for more serious crimes, such as Treason, Witchcraft, Murder, and such like, they were ordinarily beheaded or burnt at the stake.[54] It was considered barbarous and highly indelicate to hang women, but there are nevertheless several instances of such a sentence being inflicted on women. In July, 1554, Helen Paterson was hanged for 'forging false money, like bawbeis (half-pennies) and half-bawbeis;' and in 1727 Margaret Nisbet was hanged for forgery. The execution of women by drowning was common in all Regality and Barony Courts having a feudal right of *pit and gallows*. When such sentences were pronounced by the Bailies of Edinburgh or by the Bailie of Regality of Broughton, the Nor' Loch was always the place of execution, and many bones of victims have been unearthed there.[55] The execution of Grisel Mathew for theft (23rd June, 1599) is supposed to be the only instance of a sentence of drowning passed by the High Court of Justiciary in the reign of James VI. Crucifixion does not seem to have been employed in either Scotland or England as a mode of torture execution, nor, in the former country at least, do we find instances of disfigurement. The reason for this is probably to be found in the Roman Law, and in Mackenzie's observation that the Roman Emperor Constantine forbade it because of his respect for the Cross, 'and this he did likewise forbid, to stigmatise the face, because the face is God's image.'[56] Such principles, it may well be believed, would readily appeal to a superstitiously religious people. Certain crimes of a specially horrid nature were, according to Mackenzie,[57] usually tried at night privately, and the malefactors immediately hurried off to the Nor' Loch, whose waters closed over them, without even a record being made in the Journal Book of their unhappy fate. Roystoun on this point, in his MSS. Notes, observes, 'for the reasons here mentioned or for reasons of State, as practised in other countries';[58] and we are left to realise the convenient elasticity of the term 'reasons of state!'

In Scotland only the Privy Council and the Justiciary could

[54] Pitcairn, i. *162. [55] Pitcairn, ii. 93, p. 94, Note 3.

[56] Mackenzie's *Criminal Law* (1678), p. 558. [57] p. 557.

[58] Roystoun, MSS. *Notes on Mackenzie's Crim. Law*, 273.

FIG. 24.—"The Maiden" used in Edinburgh for beheading, among others, Regent Morton, 1581; Marquess of Argyll, 1661; Earl of Argyll, 1685.

FIG. 25.—Repentance Stool formerly used in old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh.

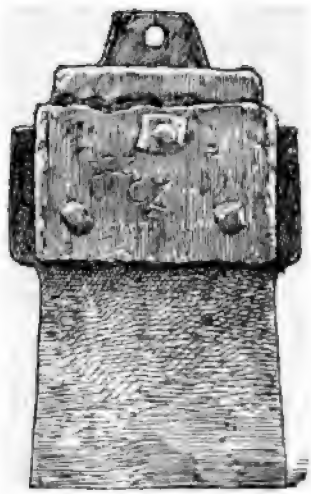


FIG. 26.—Blade of the Aberdeen Maiden.

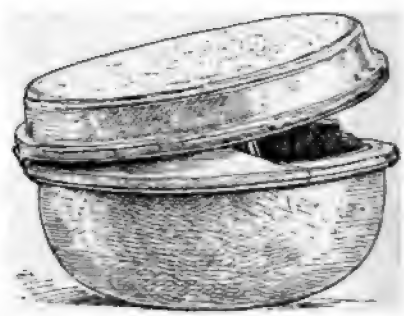


FIG. 27.—Stirling Hangman's 'Caup' or Cap. He might take a handful of grain out of each sack on market day till his 'Caup' was full.

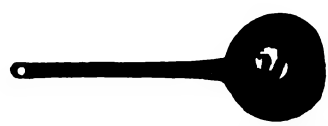


FIG. 28.—Hangman's Ladle used in Kelso for measuring his handful of grain.

REPENTANCE STOOL AND MAIDEN.

Facing page 244.

order torture, and it was not competent to an inferior judge.[59] The Justiciary could only torture previous to trial 'by way of precognition, and what the person who underwent it confessed, was proved at his trial.' As has been sufficiently seen, however, the Court of Justiciary was in the habit of ordering punishments and execution involving prolonged agony and unnecessary suffering.

The ordinary and recognised forms of judicial torture seem to have been in use till well on in the 17th century, and it was not finally abolished until 1706. Alastair Grant was condemned to death in August, 1632, for theft and robbery, having previous to his trial been unsuccessfully tortured both with the boot and the pinniewinks.[60] While the Duke of York governed Scotland towards the close of the reign of Charles II., torture was freely employed. Macaulay states[61] that 'The administration of James was marked by odious laws, by barbarous punishments, and by judgments to the iniquity of which even that age furnished no parallel. The Scottish Privy Council had power to put State prisoners to the question. But the sight was so dreadful that, as soon as the boots appeared, even the most servile and hard-hearted courtiers hastened out of the chamber. The board was sometimes quite deserted; and it was at length found necessary to make an order that the members should keep their seats on such occasions. The Duke of York, it was remarked, seemed to take pleasure in the spectacle, which some of the worst men then living were unable to contemplate without pity and horror. He not only came to Council when the torture was to be inflicted, but watched the agonies of the sufferers with that sort of interest and complaceny with which men observe a curious experiment in science. Thus he employed himself at Edinburgh.'

It may not be out of place to mention here that sometimes, as though the barbarities inflicted upon the living body were not sufficient, the lifeless corpse was subjected to various indignities; it was often dismembered and mutilated in a shocking manner. In several instances the bodies were ordered to be hung in chains on a gibbet. M'Laurin erroneously considers the case of *Macgregor*, in March, 1637, to have been

[59] Mackenzie, *Crim. Law*, 543; M'Laurin, *Decisions*, Introduction, xxxvii.

[60] M'Laurin, *Decisions*, Introduction, xxxvi.

[61] Vol. i. chap. ii.

the first instance of such a sentence;[62] but there was one Thomas Armstrong condemned, on 14th November, 1601, for the murder of the Warden of the West Marches, to have his right hand struck off, then to be hung in iron chains on the gibbet on the Burgh Muir.[63] Macgregor was sentenced to be hung in chains 'on the gallowlee till his corpse rot.' The earliest instance, however, of hanging in chains contained in the Books of Adjournal is the case of John Davidson, who was for piracy condemned on 6th May, 1551, to be 'hanged in irons' at a stake within flood mark on the shore at Leith until he died, and until his remains were thereafter consumed by the action of the elements. For the same crime Peter Love and seven others were sentenced, on 8th December, 1610, to be executed in a similar manner at the same place.

There were certain persons who in theory were exempt from the pains of torture. Minors, women, aged and sick persons were embraced within this exemption by reason of their assumed want of fortitude and readiness thereby to admit anything; and there was also included persons 'eminent' by reason of their accomplishment or of their services to the State,[64] but there are in the books striking instances of its disregard. Further, by the theory of the law, according to Mackenzie, if the person tortured were to die, those who tortured were punishable as murderers;[65] but Roystoun in his MSS. *Notes* inserts the significant qualifying word 'unjustly,'[66] thereby implying a full recognition of the practice.

In 1666 it seems to have been held that it was incompetent to torture 'the West Country men condemned for Treason,' in order to induce them to divulge their accomplices; upon this point, however, Mackenzie observes, writing in 1678: 'Yet all lawyers are of opinion that even after sentence criminals may be tortured for showing who were the complices.'[67]

Although the scope of this article is confined to England and Scotland, it is not inappropriate to refer in a few words to Ireland. In that country the use of torture was not sanctioned either by the common law or by statute; but, although the recorded instances of its judicial employment are singularly few in number,

[62] M'Laurin, Introduction, xl. [63] Pitcairn, ii. 363.

[64] Mackenzie, *Crim. Law*, 545; Roystoun's *Notes*, 273; M'Laurin, Introduction, xxxvii.

[65] Mackenzie, 561. [66] Roystoun, MSS. *Notes on Mack. Crim. Law*, p. 273.

[67] Mackenzie, *Crim. Law*, p. 545.

they suffice to show on occasion that striking discrepancy between the theory and the practice of the Law so marked in the English procedure. The right to torture at discretion, if necessary, 'upon vehement suspicion and presumption of any great offence' was actually granted to the President and Council of Munster in 1566,[68] and, in 1627, in reply to doubts expressed by the Lord-Deputy in Ireland as to his right to torture one O'Cullenan, a priest, the Royal opinion and authority was given that he might, 'with boldness and without shadow of doubt, execute the uttermost of the law, not only for putting to the rack, but even to take away that man's life, or as many others as shall be found guilty of treason of like high nature,' and that he 'ought to rack him if he saw cause, and hang him if he saw reason.'[69] The recorded instances, however, of the actual official employment of torture in Ireland are some three or four in number, and the case of O'Cullenan is a somewhat uncertain one, since it is doubtful whether the authority was ever executed. Of the first three, two occurred in Dublin itself, while the third case was that of an Irishman named Thomas Myagh, who was brought over to London by command of the Lord-Deputy of Ireland to be examined by torture in the Tower concerning communication with rebels. He was tortured with 'Skevington's Irons,' but these apparently proved insufficient, for an entry in the Council Book of 30th July, 1581 shows a warrant and direction to the Lieutenant of the Tower and certain others to 'deale with him with the racke in such sorte as they shall see cause.'

Of the first two cases, one was that of an Irish priest called Hurley, who was satisfactorily tortured by toasting his feet against the fire with hot boots, and Irish tradition further has it that melted resin was poured into his boots! This procedure took place by order of the Irish Council, acting on instructions from London, and the peculiar method chosen was due to the fact that there was 'no rack or other "engine" in Dublin.'[70] The other case was that of one O'Kennan, who was tortured in Dublin by order of the Lord-Deputy.[71] There was also the case of a man Rice, a buckle-maker, who was ordered by the Privy Council to be 'put in fear of the torture,' and to 'feel some smart

[68] *Irish MSS. Rolls House, Presidency of Munster*, Feb. 1, 1566; Froude, *Hist. of England*, chap. xi.

[69] See papers in the State Paper Office.

[70] Froude, *Hist. of England*, chap. xxvii.

[71] See *Calendar of State Papers* (Irish Series, 1615-1625), p. 78.

of the same' to elicit evidence as to a robbery of plate in which he was supposed to have been concerned.[72] Rice was apparently brought over to London for the purpose, as the warrant or letter is directed to the Lieutenant of the Tower.

The consideration of all that has preceded enables us to realise the vast and humane change that has within the last two hundred years passed over the spirit of our Laws and their adminstration. It was not, indeed, until within quite recent times that the extraordinary number of capital offences in the Books was reduced to its present limited dimensions; but long ere that many of them had sunk into complete desuetude, and those that remained had long been considered and treated with a gradually growing humanity. It may, indeed, safely be asserted that the lot of a prisoner in these islands to-day, dominated before conviction by the presumption of innocence, and controlled as it is after sentence by the humane principle of regeneration rather than by that of mere punishment, is truly a paradise compared with that of his unhappy predecessor of bygone times.

R. D. MELVILLE.

[72] *Irish MSS. Rolls*, 18th Jan., 1567

NOTE AS TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

For further information with regard to Instruments of Torture, including those figured in this paper, reference may be made to the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. XI. (1876), *p.* 17; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. XXV.* (1891), *p.* 463, *paper by Mr. A. J. S. Brook on Thumbscrews and the application of Torture in Scotland; Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh* (1892), *p.* 348; *Scottish National Memorials* (*Glasgow, MacLehose*, 1890), *p.* 328, *article on Torture and Punishment, by Professor John Ferguson; Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, by Daniel Wilson*, 2. *Vols.* (*London, Macmillan*, 1863), *Vol. II., p.* 516; *Scottish History and Life* (*Glasgow, MacLehose*, 1902), *p.* 288, *chapter on Aspects of Social Life in Scotland, by Rev. Henry Grey Graham.*

The Editor is indebted to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for the loan of Figs. 4-8, 10, 15, 24 *and* 25, *and to Messrs. T. & A. Constable for the loan of Figs.* 2, 3, 11-13, 16-18, 20, 22, 26, 27.

James VI. and the Papacy

CONSIDERABLE importance, from the point of view of the papal policy in a critical period as well as from that of the motives accounting for the successive phases in the attitude of James—both before and after he had become James I.—towards the Church of Rome, attaches to this[1] product of Dr. A. O. Meyer's researches in the Vatican Archives. I had long interested myself in the question as to the conversion of James' consort, Anne of Denmark, to the Church of Rome; and, having in this matter at first followed too cautiously in the footsteps, themselves cautious, of the late Professor S. R. Gardiner, had thought it only right to confess that the researches of Mr. J. Stevenson, Dr. Bellesheim and Father Plenkers had entirely converted me to accepting as established the fact of the Queen's change of creed. So far back as 1889, in the columns of the *English Historical Review*,[2] Mr. W. Bliss noted a very striking confirmation of this conclusion, in the shape of a letter addressed by Pope Paul V. to his Nuncio at Paris. But the date of this document was 1612, and the Pope's acceptance of the report seemed hardly to go beyond an indication of his belief in its truth. Dr. Meyer, on the other hand, while he lets in much light besides that which has already been supplied by the researches of the late Dr. Law and others upon the whole course of the communications between King James and the Vatican in the critical decade beginning with the years 1595-6, makes it clear that during this period the fair and (as it has been usually thought) frivolous Queen Anne played the not unfamiliar part of the irretentive because irresponsible partner. The conclusion reached by the writer of this instructive essay—a con-

[1] *Clemens VIII. und Jakob I. von England.* Von Arnold Oskar Meyer. (Separat-Abdruck aus *Quellen und Forschungen aus italien. Archiven und Bibliotheken.* Herausgegeben vom K. Preuss. Historischen Institut in Rom.) Rome: Loescher & Co., 1904.

[2] Vol. iv., p. 110.

clusion from which even the most persistent admirers of King James' power of 'detachment' will find it difficult to differ—is little to the credit of the King. Dr. Meyer, indeed, thinks that it admits of being presented in the words of Cardinal Bellarmine, to the effect that the charge of perfidy suggested by these negotiations is not to be laid at the door of Pope Clement VIII.

Dr. Law, in a series of papers included in the fascinating volume of *Collected Essays and Reviews*, lately edited by Professor Hume Brown, has traced the progress of the earlier intrigues between Scotland and Rome in the reign of James VI., not concealing that even the earliest of these, the transactions between Father Watts and the young King, are overspread with obscurity, but pointing out with suggestive skill the want of unity of purpose in these efforts. He has also told the curious story of the 'Spanish Blanks' (1592-4), and printed the extraordinary document which was found with the Blanks, but which had originally been intended for the guidance—save the mark!—of John Ogilvie, laird of Pourie, in some secret commission connected with the project of a Spanish invasion, into which the Scottish King was to 'dip.' In none of these proceedings has Dr. Law found anything to make against the view, put into very uncomplimentary words in 1601 by the Jesuit Father MacQuirrie, that 'the King hated all Catholics, except so far as he could make use of them for the purpose of furthering his designs upon the English Crown.'

These results are entirely borne out by the researches of Dr. Meyer as to later years. The mission to Rome in 1595-6 of the same John Ogilvie of Pourie was a mere feeler. As to the letter carried to the Pope in 1599 by Sir Edward Drummond, apparently (as Dr. Law thinks) in company with Father Crichton, though its contents were in themselves of quite secondary importance (the request of a red hat for the Scottish Bishop of Vaison), the signature '*Obsequentissimus filius*' was manifestly full of meaning; and though the genuineness of this signature was doubted by Gardiner, it seems impossible to allow credit to the King's solemn disclaimer. For not only did James pardon his secretary, Elphinstone (afterwards Lord Balmerino), who had been condemned to death for committing a fraud in the securing of the royal signature. But the Pope's reply (with the leisurely date of April, 1600), discovered by Dr. Meyer, and two briefs which followed, set the question at rest, showing

as they do that the royal communication was regarded at Rome as a hopeful sign of James' approaching conversion, although Clement prudently abstained from expressing the approval of the Scottish King's succession to the English throne, for which that canny prince had been angling.

In 1601 the same Sir Edward Drummond appears to have been the bearer of letters from Rome, on the receipt of which he was furnished by Queen Anne with instructions for the reply to be made by him on his return to the Pope. The fact that in his subsequent answer the Pope thanked the Queen for her letter proves that such a letter was entrusted by her to Drummond with her instructions, just as the King had done on a previous occasion. In these instructions, the substance of which agrees with that of a letter addressed by the Queen from Dalkeith in July, 1601, to Cardinal Borghese, the Protector of the Scottish nation at Rome, recently published by Dr. J. F. Warner in the *English Historical Review*,[1] Anne professes herself a Catholic and states that she is educating her children in the Catholic faith. She begs that the Pope will excuse the King's temporary reticence, inasmuch as his former letter (the very letter which James denied having signed) had fallen into the hands of Queen Elizabeth, who had menaced him with exclusion from the succession, if he were to treat with the Pope to the disadvantage of the Protestants. She therefore, writing with the King's knowledge and assent, begs for the Pope's consideration of their difficulties, and for his absolution and benediction. In the reply addressed in 1602 by Clement VIII. to the Queen, he expressed the hope that her conversion would be followed by that of her consort.

In the same year Sir James Lindsay (a diplomatist who, in accordance with the bad habit of the age, drew Spanish as well as English pay) communicated to the Scottish King and Queen two Papal briefs, urging them to bring up their eldest son as a Catholic—a recommendation which, as Dr. Meyer points out, preceded by two years the analogous journal which, as Gardiner thought, rudely awakened James from his dreams of a reunion on eirenic principles. At the same time, if James is to be credited, the Pope promised in return to support the succession of James by his influence, and by money.

[1] January, 1905.

Soon afterwards, on the decease of *ea mulier*, there followed the well-known transactions which exhibit Clement VIII. as applying all his tact and temper to make a second Henry IV. of France of James I., and applying it in vain. His hopefulness was founded in part on the correspondence already referred to, and in part on the obliquities of King James, who had actually arranged for an expurgated edition of his *Basilikon Doron*, *in usum P.O.M.* At last, early in 1605, Sir James Lindsay was, with nugatory excuses for the delay that had intervened, sent to Rome. He was provided with instructions drawn up about a twelvemonth before, in which the proposed education of the Prince of Wales as a Catholic was represented as out of the question, and the clock was coolly set back for half a century or so by the suggestion of a General Council for the restoration of the unity of Western Christendom. But so far from their being damped by Lindsay's communication, the hopes cherished at Rome for the conversion of England, as is well known, rose to their highest point in the year preceding that of Pope Clement VII.'s death, and of Gunpowder Plot. What Lindsay actually said to the Pope, and what further promises were contained in the letter entrusted to him by the Queen on this occasion, we can only guess; but we know that in his reply, which addressed her for the first time as '*Carissima filia*,' he predicted that she would be found among the most illustrious of the women celebrated *divinis in literis*. Whatever we may think of the part taken, with a light heart or otherwise, in the religious history of her consort's reign by Queen Anne, its significance has clearly been much enhanced by Dr. Meyer's researches, while they have not impaired the conclusions of a much lamented Scottish historian as to the religious policy of King James himself.

A. W. WARD.

Rob Stene: a Court Satirist under James VI.

> Whosoever the author who lies concealed under the designation of Rob Stene may be, he is evidently entitled to a very respectable rank among the Scottish 'Makaris.'
>
> Preliminary Notice by editors of *Rob Stene's Dream*, Maitland Club, 1836.

CRITICISM continually recurs to the rudiments. There is always debate about authorship; a Scots critic needs to be a biographer, and a biographer a critic. Elementary questions of personal identity are only slowly solved. Some Scots have a hard fight even to maintain their long-vouched poetic existences. Rob Stene has not yet so much as established his. In 1836 the editors of *Rob Stene's Dream*, a clever allegorical satire on Sir John Maitland, Chancellor of Scotland from 1587 till 1595, remarked that there was ample room for conjecture with regard to the author. No poet of that name had been noticed, and as the poem was a satire the author who wrote in an early line,

> Remember thow art bot Rob Steine,

was, the editors thought, in all probability not using his real name. They considered, only to discard, the suggestion from an obscure line by Polwarth in the 'Flyting' with Montgomerie (l. 660)—

> Rob Stevin thou raves forgetting whom thou matches—

that it might have been a name occasionally assumed by Montgomerie. They very properly observed that as the *Dream* itself introduces a warm encomium of Montgomerie—

> Montgumry quhome sacred nymphis
> In Helecon with hallowit lymphis
> And in Parnase the Muses myld
> Did foster as thair proper chyld—

Rob Stene could hardly have been an alias of the author of *The Cherrie and the Slae.*

So the question stood until three years ago when *Lusus Regius being Poems and other Pieces by King James ye First* was published by Mr. R. S. Rait, numbering in its contents 'Ane admonition to the Maister Poete to leave of greit crakking.' This example of coterie-poetry at the court, probably about the year 1584, concerned a horse-race wherein the Master Poet's mount, Montgomerie's 'broune,' was left behind 'a prettie space, a mile or mair.' Hence Montgomerie was teased by the royal poet:

> Quhen a' was done ye had sa ill a grace,
> Ye sta away and durst na maire be sene;
> Ye sta away and luikit lyke Rob Stene.

On Mr. Rait's remark that it was uncertain whether Rob Stene was the name of a real person, a reviewer in the *Athenaeum* (20 July, 1901) said that the most important fact not editorially commented upon was the survival of the printed but scarce poem, the *Dream*. Rob's conjunction in the King's *Admonition* with undisguised and well-known personalities—Hudson, the English 'violar,' Polwarth of 'Flyting' fame, and Montgomerie himself—certainly makes powerfully for his reality if it does not set it on an undoubted base.

More than a year ago a casual hour spent over the MS. poems of 'J. Stewart of Baldynneis' (Adv. Lib. 19-2-6) disclosed to me a number of things of historic rather than poetic interest in the volume, which bears on a flyleaf the inscription 'King James ye first Brought this Booke with him out of Scotland.' In his dedication to James VI. of an abridged translation of Ariosto, Stewart modestly says: 'I grant Indeid I haif meikill errit not only in electing of ane so small and feckles subject as als be the inept orthographie and Inlegebill scribbling of my Imprompt pen.'

Among sundry miscellaneous pieces, some of them dated 1582 and 1583, is one which both holds out indications of the personality of our hidden poet, and of his production of poems other than the *Dream*, which its editors lucidly demonstrate to have been composed in 1591 or before March 1592. Stewart's piece would seem to belong to near the same time as King James's *Admonition*, and may be set down as probably six or seven years earlier than the *Dream*. Here is its heading with the opening lines.

Ane new sort of rymand rym rymand alyk in rym and rym rymd efter sort of guid Rob Steine. Tein is to purches Robs teine.

This rym I form to 3our excellent grace
Grace gyd 3ow ay for god hes lent grace
Grace lent from god guverns fra all misdeid
Misdeid finds grace be doing almisdeid
Deid dochtie done is Justice to menteine
Menteind with mycht thocht it do to men teine.

And so on through a series of verses which are just so much balderdash tied up in duplicated rimes, each line beginning with the last word of the line before. The poetic merit is nil; among the chaff the sole grain of corn is the mention of 'Guid Rob Stene.'

When we examine the 42nd and 43rd of Montgomerie's sonnets we shall certainly find him using this 'sort of rymand rym,' in alternate rimes however, not in couplets, and not riming on the same word.

I wald se mare nor ony thing I sie;
I sie not 3et the thing that I desyre
Desyre it is that does content the ee
The ee it is whilk settis the hairt in fyre.

These two most unimportant examples of the use of an analogous fantastic measure no whit serve to connote Rob Stene with Montgomerie. On the contrary they seem to complete the negation, for by their entire exception to Montgomerie's general versification, they demonstrate that this artificial type was no characteristic conceit of the 'Maister Poet' of the Court of King James the Sixth.

We return to 'Guid Rob Stene' to note that the adjective is incompatible with a fictitious name. 'Guid' is personal, the epithet not of an abstraction but of a man. We may find it assist in a final identification.

Between 1583 and 1592 therefore we have found Rob Stene as at least a poetic person; his name is used by Stewart, by King James, and by himself without apparent ambiguity; only the mysterious line of Polwarth in the *Flyting* offers a spark of ambiguous suggestion for an opposite sense to the apparent actuality of the man, who to boot is 'guid.' Now in the very midst of this period thus poetically covered there turns up in the last published volume of the Exchequer Rolls (xxi. p. 410) a veritable Robert Stevin in the royal service during twelve months of 1587-1588:

'Item to Robert Stevin for his vaiges during the spaice foresaid takand monethlie £6, summa £72'

Thus, whether a poet or only a stalking horse for a poet, Rob Stene received what for the time was a very respectable allowance, more than the king's falconer or his gardener, or his master of the lardner, although the 'chirurgeoun' drew £200 a year. Rob's precise function is not disclosed, but one may trust that Mr. G. P. M'Neill, in the course of his further editorial work on the Exchequer Rolls, may light on helpful information. 'Remember thow art bot Rob Steine'—this admonition addressed to himself clearly suits the grade, mediocre but respectable, which Robert Stevin held in 1588. His 'Dream' is distinguished equally by its sly humour, its range of poetic allusion, its skilful use of beast-fable for political ends, and its outspoken application to the wily Chancellor Maitland. That crafty statesman is struck at under the figure of Lawrence, the fox who had betrayed the Lioness, *i.e.* Queen Mary; illuded the Lion, *i.e.* King James her son; and set himself against

Their peirles perle 3our princely peir,

i.e. King James's Danish consort Anna, wedded about a year before the date of the poem.

In Rob's vision the Lion goes hunting with Lawrence the Fox, but the fox carries off all the prey. The hounds that ought to have guarded the Lion's interest failed of their duty. Whereupon Rob loudly protested, declaring that as the Lioness had been lost through the treason of Lawrence, so the Lion should beware lest he be similarly undone, part of the counsel thus given taking the form of a narrative of the fable of the ram which was induced by the fox to denounce and procure the hanging of the watch-dogs that kept the flock. In consequence the defenceless flock was devoured, and the ram himself worried to death by the wolf:

The ram fell doun and gaif the gaist
And bullerand thruch his bludy breist
He cursit the fox and socht a preist
He rewit to lait, sa sall all thais
That haitis their friendis and trustis their fais.

Then comes a direct and urgent exhortation against the Chancellor. Throughout the poem, equally in its fable and its dialogue, there is a constant political and satiric application. The vision is skilfully used as the medium for a mass of satire against

the Chancellor—his zeal for religion, his self-sufficiency, the meanness of his origin, the height of his pride, his avarice, the airs of his wife, his dangerous and unpatriotic English policy, his cunning and treason, his epigrams even against his royal master. Indeed the vision is a very clever chapter of national history, marking the course of the courtly undercurrents which were soon to carry away the unpopular Chancellor. There is much more satire than story: the object was a political attack, undisguised. If not by a direct partisan of Francis, Earl of Bothwell, the Chancellor's bitter enemy, then in court disfavour, the *Dream* obviously favoured the policy of that rather reckless nobleman. Whatever his precise objects may have been in a party sense, the satirist was fearlessly hostile to the already waning Chancellor, directly endeavouring to set both King and Queen against him. At the close of the poem Pasquin 'of Rome,' being invoked, declines to intervene,

> Saying 'Rob Steine, thocht thow be vaine,
> Thow neidis na gloiss to mak the plane.
> Go radir tak thy skroll and mend it
> Leist planenes mak sum folk offend it.
> 'No forss' quod I 'the Lyoun pleisit,
> I cair not by quha be displesit.'

The poem sides keenly with the King and Queen as against the unpopular prime minister whose rule was soon to close. Among the tokens of learned authorship are its adroit use of various artifices of satire, showing a mastery of the contemporary armoury of wit, its scriptural allusions and its lavish use of classical names and illustrations. Notable is the mention of the Trojan prince who withstood the fates,

> And tynt the steirsman in the flude.

This is plain citation of Virgil for the drowning of Palinurus.

Rob at least knew his classics. Pasquin's word notwithstanding, he has required some glossing to make his personal and poetic unity plain. Being only a Scottish poet, of course he had to undergo the ordeal first of a disputed existence, and secondly of the argument that he was somebody else. Possibly his tribulations are not yet over, but certainly the facts now first correlated, including very direct data both external and internal, proclaim that Rob Stene was the man who died, master of the grammar school of the Canongate, in January, 1618—'Mr Rot Stevin mr of ye grammer scoill of ye Cannogait ye tyme of

his deceis quha decisit upoun ye day of Januar ye yeir of God Im vi c. and auchtene yeires.' His will, registered 3rd September following in the Edinburgh Commissariot, is transcribed below.

'At ye Cannogait ye fyftene day of Januar 1618 yeires I Mr Rot Stevin mr of ye grammer scoill yair, being at ye pleissour of God seik and dyseisful in bodie yit haill in saull perfyte in sensis and memorie knawing na thing mair souir and certane yan death and na thing mair uncertane yan ye tyme maner and place quhair and quhen ffirst recommendis my saull to ye merciful delyverance of my heavenlie fayer in Jesus Chryst assuring my self of ye full remissioun of all my synnis in his death and meritorius sacrifice; Concerneing my wordlie adois Nominatis and Constitutis my weilbelovit spous Margt Scot my onlie executour testamentar and universal intromitter wt my haill guidis geir and debtis And levis my pairt yrof to be equallie dividit amongis oure fyve bairnes viz

'Stevins our sones and dochteris And incaiss of any of yair deceiss befoir yr perfyte yeires willis yat bairne deceissand ye portioun apertening to apertene to ye remanent survivand And ordanis hir to find sufficient cautioun to mak ye samyn forth cumand to yame at yair perfyte aige And farder nominatis my said spous tutor testamentar to my haill bairnes foirsaidis And incaiss of hir deceiss or inhabiletie I nominat and constitut my loveing friendis or ony of yame yat will accept ye samyn upoun yame tutoris testamentaris to my saidis haill bairnes yei findand cautioun ut supra In Witnes quhairof I have subscrivit yis my lattre will and testament day yeir and place foirsaidis Befoir yir witnessis Mr James Ahannay sone to umquhyle John Ahannay burges of ye Cannogait and Thomas Barbour wretter of ye body hereof.

'Sic subscribitur Mr Rot Stevin
'wt my hand.

'Mr J. Hannay witnes.
'Thomas Barbour witnes.'

From the 'Testament Testamentar and Inventar' of the personal estate given up by his widow and registered with the Will in the Edinburgh Commissariot (to the Scottish Record Society's Index of which I gratefully acknowledge the reference, enabling me to extract the documents from the Register), we learn that the deceased schoolmaster left personalty of the nett value of 'iaj. iic. lxxxxii lib. xiiis. iiiid' (£1292 13s. 4d.). The first article in the enumeration of his effects was:

'Item, his librarie estimat to tuentie pundis.' Besides the personalty we are warranted in presuming that he owned heritage, because on 9 August 1621 Alexander Stevin was served heir of his father: 'Magistri Roberti Stevin burgensis Edinburgi' (*Inquisitiones Generales*, No. 8550).

Claims to literary renown are much more precariously preserved than rights of property. Had the old Commissariot

system required the Inventories of the estates of deceased litterateurs to return complete statements of their copyrights as part of their gear certain inheritances of fame might have been better assured. Nevertheless, even as it is, it may have been possible at last to find again a missing bard of the Canongate, and restore a vernacular poet of the court of James VI. A vernacular poet; for as a maker of Latin verse his name is already registered[1] among the authors of *The Muses' Welcome*, that collection of loyal outpourings in celebration of the visit of King James, 'refulgent with triple diadem,' to his ancient capital in 1617.

> Et nos Edini gaudentes turba Camœnis
> Te colimus studiis nostris Musisque patronum
> Et cum permultos feliciter egeris annos
> Dulcem sidereo tibi vitam optamus Olympo.
>
> ROBERTUS STEPHANUS.

Evidently enough it was Rob Stene who, as a spokesman of scholastic Edinburgh, in these words closed his panegyric to the king as a patron of the Muses and of letters, academically wishing him length of days here and Olympus hereafter.

GEO. NEILSON.

[1] *The Muses' Welcome*, 1617 (Edinburgh, 1618), p. 68; see also Privy Council Register, xi. 44—references for which I thank my friend the Rev. John Anderson, Register House.

The Altar of St. Fergus in Holy Trinity, St. Andrews

A Sixteenth Century MS. Rental and Inventory

THE manuscript of which the following is a copy was bound up as the first of a collection of pamphlets in the Diocesan Library at Brechin, of which the press mark was T. viii. 18. It formed part of the library of the late Dr. A. P. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, and was bound into the collection by him, as appears from the table of contents in his writing, where it is noted as 'I Rentale Altaris S. Fergusii S. Andrews.' For better preservation, however, the little MS. has just been removed from among the pamphlets, and carefully bound by itself in white vellum. It is now kept in a case among some of the more valuable books in the library.

The MS. is on paper, in a single gathering of ten leaves, with a very elaborate water-mark, which appears to represent two men fighting within a ring fence, with the words 'PRO PATRIA' above, and 'HONIG' below, in plain Roman capitals. The water-marking runs vertically, as in a 4to.

The hand is peculiar, and varies considerably, although the whole MS. was evidently written by the same person. It is very modern in character in many places, but all the old contractions are used. Certain portions appear to have been written in red ink, which has now faded—or at any rate in a different ink from the rest. These passages are here represented by italics. In the following copy the strictest literal accuracy has been observed, but all contractions have been extended; an obelus † has been used wherever it has been thought desirable to mark what appear to be mistakes in spelling in the original. Capitals have been used for the initial letters of all proper names and small letters have been substituted for unnecessary capitals in the original.

The manuscript begins by setting forth that the perpetual chaplain of the altar of St. Fergus is bound to celebrate and pray for the souls of William and Thomas Kairnis, the founders. The writer adds that Mr. William Cubbe was the first chaplain, and that he left after seven years because the stipend was insufficient. Then begins the rental proper, which enumerates in order all the monies due to the altarage from various pieces of land in St. Andrews; first from the tenement of Robert Lawson, on the north side of South Street, between the tenements of Crail College on the east and St. Fergus on the west, which latter was situated at the corner of 'the common venell vulgarly called the "Kyrk wynd,"' and for which the chaplain of St. Fergus' altar was bound to pay rents to the monastery of St. Andrews, to the chaplain of St. Matthew celebrating in St. Bartholomew's aisle in the Parish Church, to the chaplains of the Holy Blood and of St. Ninian in the Parish Church, and to the burgh. The rental proceeds to detail the monies received from other tenements on the east side of the Kirk Wynd; first from the land of All Saints, which joined that of St. Fergus on the north, then from the next piece of land, which belonged to the Lady of Carnbee, and from the next, which belonged to Bernard Carstaris. The account goes on to specify the rents derived from the succeeding pieces of property on the east side of Kirk Wynd, viz., that of Bernard Younge, which joined Bernard Carstaris' land on the north, that of Robert Smycht, which came next, that of John Malwyn, which came next, that of the heirs of the late William Stenson, which joined Malwyn's, and then that of Christina Geddes, which followed Stenson's. We then come to rent derived from the land and garden of St. Katharine, on the south side of North Street, between the lands of Alexander Lyall on the east and of the heirs of Thomas Murra on the west: then from the land of John Tylless, the younger, and Matthew Berry, formerly the property of Andrew Rychartson, on the east side of Fisher Street, between the land of our Lady of Pity on the south and John Crystyson, *alias* Myllar, on the north. The writer adds that all these rents are from ground annuals.

The manuscript then tells us how the first founder of St. Fergus' altar (*i.e.* William Karnis) gave to it a missal written on parchment, a breviary written on parchment and chained, a silver chalice weighing 14 oz., a stone image of St. Fergus, two brass candlesticks upon the altar, a brazen star to hold oil for a light, a 'desk' for keeping the vestments, a whole vestment for

a priest, of Crammacy *(ex cereco anglice Crammacy)*, another of 'bord Alexander' inwoven with birds, a dalmatic of red 'bord Alexander,' a corporal, two linen cloths for the altar and two frontals, one of silk the other of 'bord Alexander.'

Then we are told that on May 2nd, 1409, Sir James Braid became the third chaplain of the altar, upon the resignation of Sir William Malwyne, the second chaplain, and the rest of the MS. really consists of a long account of Sir James Braid's gifts to the altar. He seems to have been wealthy and generous—a great contrast to the Sir John Mumblemattins or the Sir John Lacklatin, whom one is wont to take as the representative of the late medieval chantry priest.

Sir James Braid, we are told, stirred by the effect of holy devotion, improved the altar and its service in honour of Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and SS. Fergus and Triduana, with gifts of land, annual rents, and ornaments.

First he gave to the altar a piece of land on the north side of South Street, between the lands of St. Columba's altar on the east, George Turbane on the west, Laurence Donaldson on the north, and the King's highway on the south, from which also the chaplains of our Lady's altar derived benefit as well as the chaplain of another altar of St. Mary, and the chaplain of the altar of the Holy Blood in the Parish Church. He also gave certain furniture to the aforesaid land, *i.e.* of course, to the house on it. He endowed the altar of St. Fergus with rent from a piece of land on the north side of the street, commonly called Argaill, bounded on the east by the property of James Fettes, on the west by that of the heirs of the late William Dewar, and on the north by that of St. Leonard's College; and also with rent from the land of Janet Stenson on the north side of Market Street, adjoining the land of John Ferry, junr., on the west and that of the heirs of the late John Thekar on the east.

The land of such and such a saint which we find mentioned seems to be the land upon which stood the house inhabited by the chaplain of the altar of that saint.

The writer next describes what Sir James Braid did with regard to the altar and its ornaments. He destroyed the 'desk,' and remade and improved it with a seat. He made a press or cupboard *(armoriolum)* to keep vestments in, 'hanging on the west gable of the said church,' as well as a small one near the altar, and a little desk *(scabellum)* before the altar. He afterwards pulled down the altar and rebuilt it, enclosing locked receptacles within it

for keeping the chalice and relics. And on the altar he inserted a marble stone, consecrated and blessed. He also made a painted 'tabernacle' (*i.e.* a reredos) for the altar, and remade the old chalice, which was now of silver gilt and weighed more than 27½ oz. After considerable exertion, he obtained from King James IV. a bone of St. Triduana; part of the neck bone, and a joint of St. Fergus from Glamis; and a part of the (?) jaw *(ginginarii)* of St. Bonoc from Sir David Rynd, the curate of Leuchars. To preserve these relics, he made a silver shrine weighing more than 15 oz. He also gave to the altar two hair cloths, four linen cloths, and three tin cruets. He bound and covered the missal, and wrote in it sequences and the canon of the mass. He also gave a chained book written with his own hand, containing the services and lessons of the saints; a small missal written by himself on Lombardy paper; a whole vestment for a priest, of blue 'bord Alexander'; three corporals, and two cases to keep them in; and three painted frontals before the altar. He constructed a wooden screen round the altar, and he made an iron 'herss' [to hang] over the altar, on which he placed seven brass candlesticks. He brought an image of St. Triduana from Flanders, and an image of St. Brendan, the abbot, and he gave a painted linen cloth to cover the images in Lent. He also gave a pix to keep the bread in, a small tin 'flakat,' a glass 'flakat' and a vessel *(canna)* for the wine. He provided a bell to hang before the altar, and he gave four hand towels, a wooden desk or 'lettron' for the missal, another for the breviary, a 'roid' with a horn (*i.e.* an extinguisher) for lighting and putting out candles, an iron candlestick for three candles for the winter, and a painted 'offerand bred.'

The manuscript goes on to describe how Sir James Braid added *unum* le galre *pro latrinis* on the north side of the tenement of St. Fergus near the church, and how he made certain arrangements for the cleansing of these places. Minute directions follow as to how this ought to be done.

Braid also made large additions to the property of St. Fergus' altar in Argyll. There he built six fireplaces, a large room, a small room, and a bath. He built a dovecot, made a well, planted trees in the garden, and made trenches round it. He also made very advanced sanitary arrangements, for the management of which directions follow.

The writer concludes by adding a note to the effect that the chaplain of the altar is bound to pay a certain sum yearly to the

choristers of the church for the obit of his founder, William Karnys, to carry a candle then, and to pay the bellringer.

F. C. EELES.

INVENTORY.

[fo. 1

[1]Rentale Altaris Sancti Fergucii infra Ecclesiam parochialem. Sancti Andree. 1525.[1]

[fo. 1 v.

[Blank]

[fo. 2

Rentale altaris Sancti Fergucij situati infra ecclesiam parochialem Sancti-andree anno domini Millesimo quingentesimo xx quinto.

Memorandum est quod capellanus perpetuus dicti altaris Sancti Fergucii stricte tenetur celebrare et orare pro animabus magistrorum Wilelmi Kairnis et Thome Karnis fundatorum eiusdem.

Notandum est quod magister Willelmus Cubbe fuit primus capellanus dicti altaris ad spacium septem annorum et reliquit seruitium dicti altaris quia inde non potuit commode sustentari.

Rentale altaris Sancti Fergucij episcopi.

In primis de integro tenemento Roberti Lauson pistoris jacente infra civitatem Sancti Andree in vico australi et ex parte boreali vici eiusdem. Inter tenementum collegii de Crayll ex parte orientali et tenementum Sancti Fergucii episcopi ex parte occidentali quadraginta solidi annui red tus † annuatim sint † percipiendi.

Item tenementum Sancti Fergucii jacens in vico australi dicte ciuitatis inter tenementum dicti Roberti Lauson ex parte orientali et communem venellam vulgariter nuncupatam le Kyrk Wynd ex parte occidentali.

Notandum est quod capellanus dicti altaris annuatim tenetur soluere subscriptos annuos redditus annualariis de/dicto tenemento videlicet [fo. 2 v. monasterio Sancti Andree sex solidos et decem denarios. Item capellano Sancti Matthee celebranti in insula sancti Bertholomei in ecclesia perrochiali † sex solidos et decem denarios. Item capellano altaris Sancti Sanguinis octo solidos et decem denarios. Item capellano altaris Sancti Niniani in dicta ecclesia duos solidos annui redditus. Et pro firma burgi quatuor denarios.

Item de terra Omnium Sanctorum in dicta venella et ex parte orientali eiusdem inter tenementum Sancti Fergucii ex parte australi et terram domine de Carnbe ex parte boreali duo solidi annui redditus sunt percipiendi.

Item de terra domine de Carnbe jacente in dicta venella vulgariter nuncupata le Kyrk Wynd et ex parte orientali eiusdem inter terram Omnium Sanctorum ex parte australi et terram Bernardi Carstar*is* ex parte boreali viginti solidi annui redditus percipiendi sunt.

Et nota quod de ista dicta terra sunt decem solidi in fundatione. Et

[1-1] In a late hand, perhaps of the 18th cent.

pro clausura tenementi Sancti Fergucii quod Johannes Craufurd dedit alios decem solidos annui redditus annuatim.

/Item de terra domini Bernardi Zovng*e* jacente in dicta venella [fo. 3 inter terram Bernardi Carstar*is* ex parte australi et terram Roberti Smycht marcatoris ex parte boreali octo solidi annui redditus annuatim sunt precipiendi.

Item de terra Roberti Smyt jacente in prefata venella inter terram domini Bernardi Zovng*e* ex parte australi et terram Johannis Malwyn ex parte boreali nouem solidi annui redditus annuatim sunt percipiendi.

Item de terra Johannis Malwyn jacente in sepefata venella inter terram Roberti Smyt ex parte australi et terram hered*um* quondam Wilelmi Stenson ex parte boreali nouem solidi annui redditus annuatim sunt percipiendi.

Item de terra hered*um* quondam Wilelmi Stenson jacente in dicta venella inter terram Johannis Malwyn ex parte australi et terram Cristine Gedde † ex parte boreali octo solidi annui redditus annuatim sunt percipiendi.

Item de terra et orto Beate Katrine virginis jacen*tibus* infra ciuitatem predictam in vico boreali et ex parte australi vici eiusdem inter terram Alex-/andri Lyall ex parte orientali et terram hered*um* [fo. 3 v. Thome Murra ex parte occidentali quinque solidi annuatim sunt percipiendi.

Item de toto et integro tenemento olim Andree Rychartson jacente in vico piscatorum et ex parte orientali vici eiusdem inter terram nostre domine pietatis ex parte australi et terram Johannis Crystyson alias Myllar ex parte boreali sex solidi annui redditus annuatim sunt percipiendi.

Et nota quod terra anterior dicti tenementi nunc est Johannis Tyllefer junioris et terra interior est nunc Mathee Berry.

Et nota quod omnes isti annui redditus prescripti sunt et fuerunt de le grownd annuellis.

Item primus fundator dicti altaris Sancti Fergucii libere donavit dicto altari et capellano seruienti in dicto altari vnum missale in pergamino scriptum. Unum magnum breuiarium in pergamino scriptum et ibidem cathenatum. Item unum calicem argenteum ponderantem quatuordecim uncias. Item unam ymaginem sancti Fergucii sculptam in lapide.

/Item duo candelabra erea super altare. Item unam stellam [fo. 4 eream ad oleum imponendum pro lumine. Item unum le desk pro conseruatione vestimentorum.

Item unum integrum vestimentum sacerdotale ex cereco angilce Cramm*a*cy.

Item vnum integrum vestimentum sacerdotale ex le bord alexander intextum cum pullis. Item vnam dalmaticam de le bord alexander rubei coloris. Item vnum corporale. Item duo pallia linea pro ornamento altaris. Item vnum frontale ex cereco Et vnum frontale de le bord alexander.

Die secunda mensis maii Anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo nono discretus vir dominus Jacobus Braid capellanus tertius acquisivit dictum altare et seruitium ejusdem per resignationem dicti domini Willelmi Malwyne capellani secundi. Et pie deuotionis effectu motus meliorauit dictum altare et seruitium ejusdem in honore dei omnipotentis beate Marie virginis et

beatorum Fergusii episcopi et Triduane virginis in subscriptis terris annuis redditibus proficuis et ornamentis vt sequitur.

In primis prescriptus dominus Jacobus Braid libere dedit dicto altari vnum terram an-/teriorem jacentem infra dictam ciuitatem [fo. 4 v. in vico australi et ex parte boreali vici ejusdem inter tenementum Beati Columbe abbatis ex parte orientali et terram Georgii Turbane ex parte occidentali et terram Laurencii Donaldson ex parte boreali et viam regiam ex parte australi *Reddendo inde annuatim magistro Roberto Lawsone et suis successoribus capellanis altaris nostre Domine viginti solidos annui redditus. Item capellano seruienti ad altare beate Marie virginis infra ecclesiam parochialem Sancti Andree triginta denarios annui redditus. Item capellano seruienti ad altare Sancti Sanguinis in dicta ecclesia duos solidos annui redditus. Et pro firma burgi duos denarios. Necnon libere dedit subscripta existentia in dicta terra anteriori videlicet vnum magnum lectum ligneum cum paruo lecto eidem annexo siue conjuncto . unam magnam pressuram majori lecto annexam . unum sedile . vnum le Weschell bynk annexum sub le trap . cum predicta terra anteriore pro perpetuo remansuris.* Item unum annuum redditum viginti quatuor solidorum de tenemento jacente infra dictam ciuitatem in/vico vulgariter nuncupato le [fo. 5 Argaill et ex parte boreali vici eiusdem inter terram Jacobi Fettes ex parte orientali et terram hered*um* quondam Willelmi Dewar ex parte occidentali viam regiam ex parte australi et terras collegii Sancti Leonardi abbatis ex parte boreali.

Item duodecim denarios annui redditus de integro tenemento Jonete Stenson jacente infra civitatem predictam in vico fori et ex parte boreali vici eiusdem inter terram heredum quondam Johannis Thekar ex parte orientali et terram Johannis Ferry junioris ex parte occidentali.

Item prefatus dominus *Jacobus Brayd* distruxit dictum le desk. Et iterum de novo reedificavit et melioravit idem cum vno sedili vt patet.

Etiam edificauit unum armoriolum pendentem super gabello occidentali dicte ecclesie pro vestimentis conseruandis.

Item vnum peruum† armoriolum prope altare/ [fo. 5 v.

Et vnum scabellum ante altare *Postea distruxit dictum altare et de nouo reedificauit eum cistis et ceris pro conseruatione calicis et reliquearum† Et in dicto altari infixit* lapidem *de la merbyll consecratum et sanctificatum.*

Preterea dictus dominus Jacobus Braid fecit dicto altari vnum tabernaculum pictum vt patet.

Item distruxit calicem argenteum quatuordecim vnciarum *Et reedificauit calicem argenteum deauratum ponderantem viginti septem vncias cum dimidio vncie et amplius.*

Insuper prefatus dominus Jacobus laborauit ad manus domini nostri regis Jacobi quarti pro vno osse beate Triduane virginis quam dicto altari dedit. *Similiter* laborauit ad manus Dauid Lyon tutoris domini de Glamm*yss* pro parte ossis colli et vna junctura sancti Fergucii episcopi.

Demum acquesiuit a domino Dauid Rynd curato ecclesie parochialis de Luchqueris vnam partem ginginarii sancti Bonoci episcopi.

Et pro conseruacione dictarum reliquiarum edificauit et construxit vnum/feretrum argenteum ponderantem quindecim vncias et [fo. 6

amplius. Item dedit dicto altari duas vestes crinium *Item quatuor pallia linea pro ornamento altaris. Item fiolas stanneas.* Item ligavit et cooperuit dictum missale et inscripsit in eodem sequencias et canonem missarum.

Preterea prefatus dominus Jacobus Braid libere dedit dicto altari vnum librum manu sua propria scriptum continen† in se seruicia et legendas sanctorum bene cathenatum. Item unum peruum† missale manu sua propria scriptum in papiro Lumberdie. Item unum integrum vestimentum sacerdotale blauie coloris de le bord alexander. *Item dedit tria corporalia cum duabus cistis pro conseruatione eorundem.* Item tria pendicula ante altare picta. Item construxit vnum le barras ex lignis circa altare. *Item sepefatus dominus Jacobus Braid fabricavit vnum le herss ex ferro super altare et desuper imposuit septem candelabra erea.* Item ipse portauit de Flandria ymaginem beate/Triduane virginis Et [fo. 6 v. ymaginem sancti Brandani abbatis Etiam dedit dicto altari vnum pannum lineam pictam ad cooperandum ymagines tempore quadragesime. *Item dedit dicto altari vnam pixidem pro ostiis conseruandis.* Item vnum peruum† le flakat stanneum. Item vnum le flakat vitreum. Et vnam cannam pro vino. *Item fabricauit vnam campanam pendentem ante altare.* Item quatuor manutergia pro altare. Item vnum lectionarium ligneum anglice a lettron pro missali et aliud lectionarium pro breuiario. Item vnum le roid pro candelis accendendis et extinguendis cum cornu. *Item vnum candelabrum ferreum pro tribus candelis tempore brumali.* Item vnum le offerand bred colloratum.

Memorandum est quod dictus Jacobus Braid construxit ex parte boreali dicti tenementi[1] *Sancti Fergucii prope ecclesiam vnum le galre pro latrinis. Et in muro boreali|eiusdem edificauit duo decensus ad latrinas siue* [fo. 7 *cleocas. Notandum est quod cum opus sit purgare dictas latrinas siue cleocas debent purgari in botha siue opella interiore orientali dicti tenementi Et in eadem in pariete boriali† inuenietis vnum magnum antiquum ostium quod nunc est clausum lapidibus et distruatis lapides in summitate de dicto ostio antiquo ad mensuram quatuor pedum et videbitis coopertorium dictarum latrinarum de tabulis siue lignis et idem remoueatis et inuenietis stercus. Purgate et reedificate dictum ostium propter fetorem dictarum latrinarum.*

Notandum est quod sepefatus dominus Jacobus Braid construxit tria solia in tenemento Sancti Fergucii jacente in Argaill Et in eodem tenemento construxit sex caminas Similiter in eodem tenemento construxit vnam aulam cum camera et solio vocat† Dunseis Haw *Item construxit vnum columbare. et foueas circa ortum Necnon unum*/[fo. 7 v. *puteum. Et plantauit arbores in dicto orto cum cerlis† aliis necessariis.* Item in camera dicti quondam domini Jacobi Braid est latrina que descendit ad clausuram vbi duo magni lapides anglice flaggis jacent: et accipietis lapidem occidentalem et inuenietis quod queritis.

Et nota quod capellanus dicti altaris annuatim soluere octodecim denarios choristis dicte ecclesie pro obitu magistri Willelmi Karnys et portet vnam candelam et soluet campanario vnum denarium.

/ [ffo. 8, 9, 10.

[All blank]

The Scots at Leffingen, 1600

MR. MOTLEY'S account of the operations which preceded the battle of Nieuport, 22 June/1 July, 1600, is not pleasant reading for Scotsmen, and it is satisfactory to think that we can now show that the distinguished historian's reliance on his Dutch authorities has grievously misled him. Very briefly the preliminary facts are, that no sooner had Maurice of Nassau begun the siege of Nieuport than the news reached him that the Archduke with the Spanish army had taken Oudenborg, some ten or twelve miles off, and was approaching. He immediately broke up the siege and sent his cousin, Prince Ernest, with five or six thousand men, of whom about 1600 were Scots and English, to hold the bridge of Leffingen, nearly half-way between Oudenborg and Nieuport, and delay the Archduke's advance. Ernest arrived too late to secure the bridge, but drew up his force on the hither side of it. The Archduke, says Mr. Motley (*History of the United Netherlands*, iv. 19, 1867) 'paused . . . the doubt was but of short duration however, and the onset was made.'—All this is undisputed and probably indisputable.

But now the attack, continues the historian, 'began upon Ernest's left, and Risoir's cavalry . . . turned their backs in the most disgraceful manner without even waiting for the assault . . . they infected the Zeelanders with their own cowardice. Scarcely a moment passed before Van der Noet's whole regiment was running away as fast as the troopers, while the Scots on the right hesitated not for an instant to follow their example . . . Scots, Zeelanders . . . possessed by the demon of cowardice were running like a herd of swine . . . the Scots in an ecstasy of fear, throwing away their arms as they fled, ran through the waters . . . every man of them was slain or drowned' (p. 20). Verily these be bitter words. But as if they were not enough we have a note (p. 22): 'There can be no doubt whatever as to the rout of Leffingen.' The phrase is curious. It looks as if there had been some doubt; but Mr. Motley goes on: 'There

was no fight at all. The journal of Antony Duyck and the accounts of Meteren, Bor, and other chroniclers entirely agree with the most boastful narratives of the Spaniards. Everard van Reyd, to be sure, strongly maintains that the troops of Ernest fought to the uttermost . . . and that hardly a whole spear was found in the hands of any of the dead on the field. Nor a broken one either he might have added. . . . But Reyd was not on the field, and there is not a word in Ernest's private letters to conflict with the minute and unvarnished statements of Duyck.'

Unhappily I am unable to check Mr. Motley's Dutch authorities. Dutch books are not common in this country and my efforts to get hold of Duyck's *Journaal* have been unavailing. But there can be no doubt that Mr. Motley quotes his authorities Dutch and Spanish with perfect fairness; only one cannot help regretting that except Dutchmen and Spaniards, he had no one to guide him. The labours of the Historical MSS. Commission, to which I shall come presently, had not begun when he wrote, and the chief conflict of evidence was between the two Dutchmen, Duyck and Van Reyd. The only additional authority I can supply from Holland is the *Polemographia Nassovica* of Baudortius (as he Latinizes his name) of which the 2nd part, the only one in my possession, was published at Amsterdam in 1621. This work, Sir. W. Stirling-Maxwell says (*Don John of Austria*, vol. ii. p. 500) 'is chiefly valuable on account of its numerous historical prints'—and very curious and interesting they are—but his narrative too is not without value to us. Of the disputed Leffingen affair he says: 'Post diuturnam tandem strenuamque dimicationem in fugam se conjicere coactus Ernestus, prosequuntur summa acceleratione hostes, dissipatumque Ernesti exercitum, profligant, cædunt, obtruncant, octingentis æstuanti animo cæsis Schotis, ac septem Schotorum capitanei nempe Stuart, Barclaus, Kilpatric, Andreas Morray, Michael, Nisbet & Strachern, exceptis subregentibus ac officiarijs. Ceciderunt quinque capitanei ipso praelio, trucidati Barclay & Morray postquam ipsis injecta vincla.' This last sentence is new. I do not know if it is confirmed by other writers.

To the curious picture of the battle of Nieuport, when the Spaniards were routed the day after Leffingen, are subjoined the lines:

'Ire hostem ad bellum juvat, indulgere furori
Insano suadet victoria prima, cadebant
Dux, milesq. Scotus, pariter manifestaq. Iberi
Perfidia sepparet quem mox vindicta sequetur.'

Thus far Baudortius, who must be taken for what he is worth.

Before turning to the English evidence, however, observe how inconsistent and impossible Mr. Motley's own account of things is. 'There was no fight at all' at Leffingen he says most positively, and all Ernest's troops took to their heels at once, the Scots in particular, without a moment's hesitation and in an ecstasy of fear, etc. Yet, strange to say, we read (p. 26) 'Had the Archduke not been detained near the bridge of Leffingen by Ernest's Scotsmen and Zeelanders during three or four precious hours that morning . . . it would have fared ill for the Stadtholder and the republic.' Mr. Motley can't have it both ways. Either there was panic flight without a moment's delay or else there *was* a fight, and a very stiff one—'not a whole spear left in the hands of any of the dead.' Note by the way the word 'whole' here. What Van Reyd, from whom Mr. Motley quotes it, means is evidently that the fighting was so severe that nearly all the pikes were broken. It seems therefore a superfluity of naughtiness which prompted Mr. Motley to add 'nor a broken one either.' But the addition is necessary to cover the statement that the Scots in their terror flung away their arms as they fled.

Again, although there was no fight at Leffingen, we read (p. 55) of 'the heroic self-sacrifice of Ernest and his division by which alone the rest of the army were enabled to gain the victory.' It seems a curious description of the conduct of men who, we have been told in the most explicit terms, bolted and threw away their weapons at the first onset of their foes. Leffingen, Mr. Motley says (p. 21), might have been another Thermopylæ if Zeelanders and Scots (Scots especially!) had only shown heroic self-sacrifice—which it seems after all they did show! I do not pretend to understand these contradictions nor to harmonize statements which seem self-destructive. I think I have succeeded in showing that even as it stands Mr. Motley's narrative will not hold water. Happily we now possess evidence, unknown to him, which puts a different complexion on the whole business, and has never seen the light until published this year in the *Calendar of MSS. at Hatfield*, Part x. In the phrase which Mr. Motley himself applies to the documents hidden for two centuries and a half in the archives of Orange Nassau, we may say that these letters are 'an all unconscious controversy' on the part of those maligned Scotsmen.

There are three contemporary letters preserved at Hatfield. The first, undated and unsigned, says: 'The battle between the Archduke and Prince Maurice was fought on Sunday last the 22nd June [O.S.]. . . . All the Scots that were there, viz. one regiment slain.' (*Calendar of MSS.*, p. 193). The writer was evidently not present, and was only repeating the stories he heard, for he mixes up the combat at Leffingen when the Scots were destroyed with the subsequent battle of Nieuport. Our next letter is from Lord Grey[1] to Cecil, dated Ostend, 25th June [O.S.]. 'The 21 his Excellency sat down before Nieuport leaving Count Ernestus with some 3000 foot and 6 cornets of horse on the side next Ostend, divided from the rest of his army by the haven. About 1 of the clock that night came news that the enemy had taken Odenburgh by composition. . . . His Excellency presently dispatched Ernestus to break a bridge in the midway, and to dispute that passage, until he with the army came to his second. But Ernestus encountered by the enemy on the way was presently routed, and ran away himself with his "dach" [a word the editor does not explain], only the Scottish regiment stood fast and died bravely, scarce any officer save the colonel and two captains and very few soldiers escaping.' (*Calendar of Hatfield MSS.*, Part x. p. 197).

Here the war is carried into the enemy's camp with a vengeance! Mr. Motley praises Ernest's 'heroic self-sacrifice' —Lord Grey says bluntly that he 'ran away' with his 'dach'— whatever that may be. Who is to be believed? Assuredly Ernest must have run, for he 'lived to fight another day,' and fight well too, otherwise he must have shared the fate of the Scotsmen whose bodies lay on the sands 'hard by Ostend.' But we know nothing of his personal experiences that fatal day, any more than we do of Mr. Motley's trusted witness, Duyck. Mr. M. rejects Van Reyd's evidence because he was not present, as Duyck, I presume, was. But then the question arises, Where? If he was with Ernest he was one of the cowardly fugitives. If he was with Maurice and the main body, he wrote from hearsay the wild tales told him by panic-stricken men fleeing, by his own account, for their lives. In either case his evidence does not seem to be worth much, and I prefer Lord Grey's. It is curious, however, that Mr. Motley,

[1] Thomas, Lord Grey de Wilton. I gather from the account of him in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* that this letter has already been published by the Camden Society, but I have no means of ascertaining.

who seems specially bitter against the Scotsmen, must have had under his hands some detailed account of their conduct, for he gives the names of the captains who, he says, were killed striving to rally their men, and perhaps Duyck is his authority here as elsewhere. I cannot tell. Probably there was a Dr. Leyds among the Dutch then as in a later age, and the father of lies was not without a representative. Moreover, men at all times have been jealous of the auxiliaries who came to help them, and in this case it seems likely enough that the disgraced Dutchmen were quite ready to make out that the Scots were no better than themselves. But it is very significant that while all authorities agree that the Scots contingent was practically wiped out, no such wholesale slaughter seems to have befallen any of the rest of Ernest's forces. They were routed certainly, and many were slain; but only the Scots were killed almost to the last man. This requires explanation, but Mr. Motley not only does not give it, but does not seem to see that any explanation is wanted.

In regard to Lord Grey's letter, we must remember too that in the last years of Elizabeth's reign there was much jealousy and dislike of Scotsmen in England; and certainly no Englishman would have gone out of his way to praise any feat of arms performed by Scotsmen unless as a brave and honourable man he was constrained to record the steadfast courage they had displayed before his own eyes.

Passing over a letter from one Robert King to an unnamed Lord, dated from Middlebrough the 7th July, as merely a report of the news that had reached him (*Calendar*, p. 205); we have next a dispatch from Captain Edward Cecil to his uncle, Sir Robert, with a full account of the battle 'fought betwixt Nuporte and Ostend' a few days before, from which I extract a passage bearing on our present subject: 'We understood he was not five hours march from us: wherefore our whole army marched with all endeavour to meet him, his Excellency sending the regiment of Germans which Count Ernestus commanded, and the regiment of the Scots, to hinder the passage; which were put all to the sword hard by Ostend, where their bodies lie there yet to witness it; which made the enemy march on with such a fury as was never seen' (*Calendar*, p. 213). The writer, afterwards Sir Edward and Viscount Wimbledon, was at this time commanding a troop of cavalry under Sir Francis Vere.

The phrase 'hard by Ostend' must not be taken literally. It is not far wrong. Leffingen is about half-way between Nieuport and Ostend, but Cecil evidently used it to give a rough notion of the locality to a man not personally acquainted with it.

Since this paper was prepared, the editor of the *Review* has very kindly lent me the Latin translation of Van Reyd's work '*Belgarum Aliarumque Gentium Annales;* Auctore Everardo Reidano; Dionysio Vossio Interpreti, Lugdunum Batavorum,' 1633. Van Reyd, as Mr. Motley justly says, is most emphatic in his account of the stout resistance offered by Ernest's force and his words are worth quoting: 'Omnes pulchrâ morte, advorsisque vulneribus, quem vivi ceperant locum, cadaveribus suis texerunt: *jacebant juxta confractæ hastæ.* Equites evaserunt: cæteri ad unum omnes ab Hispani trucidati' (p. 157). Unless the words I have put in italics very grossly mistranslate the original Dutch, Mr. Motley's sentence before quoted, 'nor a broken one either he might have added,' becomes quite inexplicable.

The Editor has also been so good as to lend me the *Historia Rerum Britannicarum, etc.*, of Robert Johnston, published at Amsterdam in 1655, but he does not seem to me to add much to the earlier narratives which probably he only copies, and as a kindly Scot (see his life in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*) he may be thought a too partial witness.

In all these stories, whether in the libels of the defamers of the Scots, like Duyck, or in the positive statements of the others I have quoted, one cannot but be struck with the fact that in the disastrous day of Leffingen it is the conduct and the fate of the Scots which take the foremost place in the narrative. According to Duyck, Risoir's cavalry and Van der Noet's infantry behaved badly, but the poltroonery of the Scots in all its enormity is minutely detailed with a sort of malignant chuckle which we seem to trace even in Mr. Motley's history. On the other hand, Grey, Cecil, Van Reyd, and the rest seem to single out the the entire destruction of the Scots contingent after a desperate resistance as the chief feature of the day. The shameful libel may be explained by Dutch jealousy and the inventions of their 'Dr. Leyds,' but how are we to account for the consensus of praise unless the truth lay there clear to every honest mind?

Here then I may quit the subject. I venture to think that

I have succeeded in relieving our dead countrymen from the aspersions cast upon them. Unhappily 'the evil that men do lives after them,' and the most honest and industrious of historians may be beguiled or misled into doing grievous injustice. Still more unhappily the writer, to whose uprightness and love of truth we might have appealed—assuredly not in vain—is no longer with us. His works have become 'classics,' and we cannot hope now to get even a small note of correction or warning inserted in any new edition of the *History of the United Netherlands*. Well—it matters nothing to the men who lay dead in the sands hard by Ostend, but we their countrymen may rejoice that, in spite of centuries of undeserved obloquy, truth has at last prevailed, and we know that they were worthy sons of the land that gave them birth.

H. W. Lumsden.

On Certain Points in Scottish Ethnology

THE problem of the ethnology of Scotland has been attacked from the anthropological and linguistic sides, but the correlation of the archaeological and anthropographical evidence has not been adequately worked out. Some new material towards this has been forthcoming in certain recent researches, and this article is an attempt in the direction of a more complete statement of the prehistoric factors.

It is admitted on all hands that the primitive substratum of the population was of southern origin. In physical characters this early race was short in stature, and the cranial proportions were eminently dolichocephalic. In complexion they are generally reputed to have been swarthy. Superimposed on this Iberian race came a second, hailing from the East, which I will call Eur-asian after Sergi. They were, it is believed, a taller race, and the head form was different from that of their predecessors, being in shape and proportions markedly brachycephalic. Their complexion is matter for dispute. They arrived, it is conjectured, in two waves representing two different branches of Celtic speech; there was a certain mingling of the races, but in large measure the earlier comers were displaced westwards by the later arrivals, and these were in their turn displaced by the Teuton invaders of protohistoric times.

It is generally admitted that the chambered cairns are the sepulchral monuments of the earlier race, but it is clear that they can only represent the later phases of the culture which preceded the knowledge of metals. Of the earliest inhabitants of Scotland we know nothing, save the bare fact of their existence, at a period which must have been long prior to the chambered cairn culture. As elsewhere, the shell folk of the older neolithic age have left no permanent graves.

The builders of the chambered cairns, I think most will agree, were later incomers bringing a special cult, and the distribution of their monuments in Scotland is suggestive of the route they followed to reach our shores. In the south-west they occur in

Wigtown and Kirkcudbright, in Bute and Argyle. They extend up the west coast over the outlying islands, though little is known about them in this region. They are numerous in the Orkneys and in Caithness, and a group with special characters occurs on the borders of Inverness and Nairn. In a field where so much yet remains to be done all deductions are necessarily provisional, but this distribution is consistent with the theory that, whatever may have been the distribution of the earliest unknown neolithic inhabitants, the Iberians of the chambered cairns reached Scotland by way of the Irish Channel, that they spread upwards along the coast and over the islands to the Pentland firth and the Orkneys, while another stream followed the Great Glen along the line of lakes through Inverness to the Moray firth.

Whatever view be taken of the northern group, the south-western chambered cairns represent a terminal phase of the specific Iberian culture, and whether they be regarded as a local manifestation of a late wave of immigration, which spread up on both sides of the Irish sea, or merely as the eastern limit of the contemporary culture in Ireland, they indicate not so much a stage in a western displacement, as a movement from west to east.

The islands and peninsulas which, west of the Clyde, look towards Ireland, have indeed from the earliest times been the meeting-place of influences setting from east and west. The early chapels speak of a later conjunction, and the early kingdom of Dalriada has its prehistoric prototype.

At an epoch when, as will appear later, the east of Scotland was occupied by the Eur-asian people, the whole of this region was inhabited by an Iberian tribe whose customs and culture have certain characteristic features. As my argument chiefly hangs on observations in this district, I shall briefly recapitulate the main results of my enquiries.[1]

The sepulchral monuments are found in all stages of demolition, but by piecing together the facts, I have been able to prove that all were at one time chambered cairns of a special type (Fig. 1.).

Like all monuments of this class, they involve the practice of a specific burial custom. They are vaults for the reception of successive interments. In Scotland inhumation and cremation in some form were both practised by the chamber builders.

[1] *Pro. Soc. Antiquar. Scot.*, vols. xxxvi., xxxvii., xxxviii.

Access to the vault was provided by a passage or a simple portal. In one Argyleshire example near Oban, and in all the known cairns of the northern group, there is a long and low passage of entrance, but in all those south of Loch Awe, there is only a portal bounded by two upright stones.

The chambers are placed at one end of long rectangular cairns, which had probably in all cases a definite ground plan. The passage or portal opens on a bay marked off by upright flags, and let into the chamber extremity of the cairn. The vaults themselves are never complicated structures with subordinate lateral compartments such as seen in the northern group, but consist of a simple central series of intercommunicating compartments,

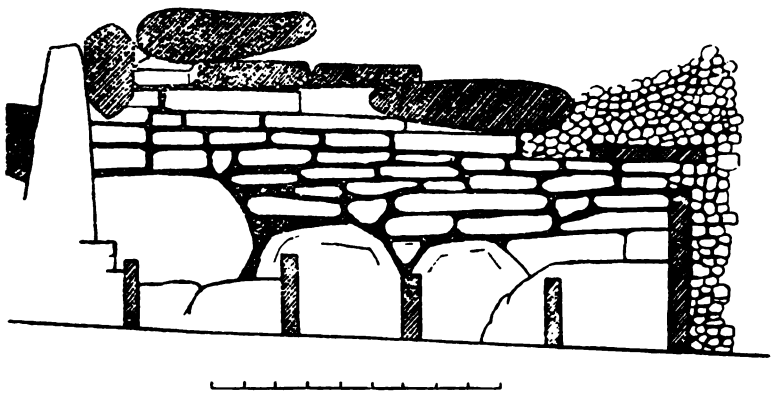


FIG. 1.—Sectional Plan of Chamber, Carn Ban, Kilmory Water, Arran.

most frequently three in number. In all the chambers provided with a mere portal of entrance the septa are formed of slabs set right across the floor, so that when denuded, the structure looks like a series of cists placed end to end. Further, in this variety the lower section of the lateral walls is formed of flags or blocks set on end or edge, and of unequal height; on the upper edge of this basal megalithic section smaller flags are piled horizontally to provide a level surface for large roofing flags, sometimes of great weight, which overlap from the portal inwards. When cairn, roofing flags, and upper built section have been removed the megalithic portion stands denuded, and constitutes the type of structure known in Ireland as a 'Giant's Grave,' of which an excellent example is to be seen on the hill overlooking Whiting Bay (Arran) on the south (Fig. II.).

The typical chambers have three or four sub-divisions, but

examples occur with only two compartments, while there are others in which the structure is reduced to a single cist, or, as it were, a single section, of the larger vaults.

The vessels of pottery found in these chambers are small round-bottomed bowls, of which there are two types. The first and simpler type is a rude bowl, with or without a thick flat rim; while the second has a receding upper portion or brim, which in the finest examples approaches the horizontal, and is finished by a thin vertical rim bounding the mouth. The decoration, when there is any, is simple, consisting of shallow fluted markings, or straight lines incised or impressed, and varied with dots. Any grouping of the lines is invariably rectilinear, but in one curious specimen the marking took the form of concentric semi-ellipses on the receding upper portion of the bowl. Occasionally there are small shelf-like handles, but they are never pierced for suspension.

Some of the vessels (Fig. III.) are exact counterparts of specimens from the Dolmens of Western France, but the more decorated bowls (Fig. IV.) resemble more closely some neolithic pottery of the Pyrenees.

This ceramic is probably late, but so far as can be yet gathered from the grave goods, the makers of it did not possess implements of bronze. It can be called Iberian in the same sense as the skulls associated with it are so called.

The skulls (Fig. V.) are typically Mediterranean, eminently dolichocephalic, having all the characters of the Long Barrow crania, and the examples collected include several of the sub-varieties described by Sergi as occurring among his so-called 'Eur-african' stock.

The Eur-asian type of burial customs and culture is specifically different from that of the Iberians. In South Britain much stress has been laid on the shape of their barrows, but in North Britain their remains are always found associated with stone cists, placed either in cairns, or within the area of circles of standing stones, or under the surface without any over-ground structure to mark the site. We cannot therefore speak of 'round barrows' in Scotland. These stone cists are closed receptacles for the remains of single individuals, not designed to be reopened for any subsequent interment. As in the Iberian sepulchres, both inhumation and cremation were practised, and there seems no key to the chronology of the two practices.

The grave goods show that they were acquainted with metals,

FIG. 2.—'Giants' Graves,' Whiting Bay, Arran, from the South.

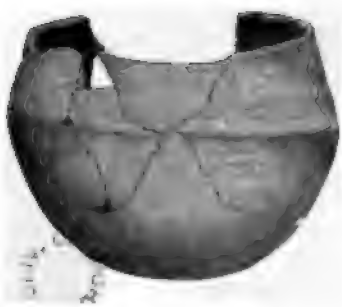


FIG. 3.—Vessel of Pottery from Beacharr Chamber, Kintyre.

FIG. 4.—Vessel of Pottery from Clachaig Chamber, Arran.

Facing page 278.

soon after, if not actually at the time of their arrival. The character of the implements is, however, of no value for the present purpose, the argument lies with the pottery. This belongs to the two well-known classes—the *food vessel*, apparently native, and the *beaker* (Fig. VI.), which has a Continental distribution. The latter has been traced by the Hon. John Abercromby,[1] in a recent paper, to Central Europe, whence it seems to have spread in the transitional period, arriving in Britain probably contemporaneously with bronze, or perhaps earlier.

The skull form (Fig. VII.) associated with the short cists, is in the majority of cases brachycephalic, but in a certain proportion a dolichocephalic type is found. This is capable of the interpretation that the Eur-asians to some degree absorbed, and merged with a pre-existing people with elongated crania. If now the *beaker* ceramic is the oldest non-Iberian pottery it should be associated with the Eur-asian type in its purity. That this expectation is fulfilled is so far proved by 22 instances known to me in which skulls associated with *beakers* have been preserved and recorded. Of these, 20 are markedly, some exaggeratedly, brachycephalic; one has an index very slightly below the conventional limit; only one is dolichocephalic and as it was found so far west and north as Derbyshire, there may have been time for admixture. The ten Scottish examples have all high brachycephalic indices, and they belong to one or other of the subvarieties of the *sphenoid* class of Sergi. The type of short cist cranium in Aberdeenshire, it has been demonstrated by Dr. Low[2] of Aberdeen, is not what is supposed to be characteristic of the Bronze Age. It conforms rather to the *Dissentis* than to the *Sion* type of His and Rütimeyer. The brow ridges are not specially prominent, and the individuals to whom the skulls belonged were short in stature. The same is true of my Caithness specimen, though in a skull from Banffshire, described in *Crania Britannica*, the brow ridges are prominent, and Dr. Davis was satisfied with the identity of the type with the 'ancient British' skulls in South Britain. As this skull was also found with a *beaker* there is no reason to suppose that we are dealing with anything more than individual variations. These types prevailed in Central Europe, where indeed they still persist, at

[1] *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxii., 1902, and *Pro. Soc. Antiquar. Scot.*, vol. xxxviii.

[2] *Proc. Anat. and Anthro. Soc. Univ. of Aberdeen*, 1902-1904.

the epoch when it is conjectured the *beaker* ceramic spread from that region.

The association of the *beaker* with the Eur-asian type of skull is so close, that its distribution may fairly be taken as representing the extension of that race at the period during which the ceramic persisted. Mr. Abercromby gives a map indicating the localities of *beaker* finds up to the present time. Though necessarily provisional, it is most suggestive in the Scottish area. The localities are thickly dotted along the eastern sea-board, especially in the north-eastern counties, but to the west there are only a few sporadic sites, while in Ireland there are only two doubtful instances—one in County Down and another in Sligo.

It may therefore be fairly concluded, always on the assumption of the *beaker* being the earliest form of bronze age pottery, that the Eur-asians arrived from the east either by way of the sea, or up the east coast from the south of Britain; and there is evidence that they were confined to the eastern parts of the country for a certain period, which may have been a relatively long one.

The Iberians in the extreme North were probably long isolated, though the short cist culture spread into Caithness and onwards to the North. South of the Moray firth, at a certain defined period the eastern sea-board was dominated by the Eur-asians, and the western by the chamber-building Iberians, both races superimposed on an unknown primitive early neolithic substratum. The two races were separated at first by the forest-covered mountains of the Highlands and Southern Uplands. There were two easy routes to the west, the great glen and the midland plain.

The group of chambered structures in Nairnshire is remarkable for the special features of the monuments. They seem to have been surrounded with concentric circles of standing stones, and the chambers are rounded single compartments with a short passage of entrance. Two broken vessels of pottery were dug out of one of the chambers in 1828, and one is described as being a rude vessel reddish in colour, flat at the bottom, and rounded at the top like a 'garden pot.' It would be interesting to know if this was a beaker, as one is tempted to speculate that the circles with central chambers, are transitions to the circles with closed cists. In any case, the Eur-asians and Iberians must have come in contact in this region.

FIG. 6.—Beaker from Cist at Lesmurdie, Banffshire. (Hon. John Abercromby, Proc.S.A. Scot., Vol. XXXVII. and *Crania Britannica*, pl. 16.)

FIG. 5.—Norma Verticalis of Skull from Clachaig Chamber, Arran.

FIG. 7.—Norma Verticalis of Skull from Cist at Acharole, Caithness, found with a Beaker.

Facing page 280.

The evidence of merging of the two types of custom and culture is more complete in the South.

I have said that in Arran and Bute there are examples of simplification of the chambered structures, until a final stage is reached in which the reduced chamber is nothing more than a rough cist, which differs from the short cists only in its

FIG. 9.—Urn from Chamber No. 1, Glecknabae Cairn. (Scale, ½.)

comparative rudeness and its larger size, and in the one important particular that the fourth side is lower than the other three, and forms the sill of a portal guarded by two upright stones; all the typical characters of cairn and chamber have

FIG. 10.—Urn from Chamber at north-west corner Glecknabae Cairn. (Scale, ½.)

disappeared save the portal of entrance, which remains as evidence of the persistence of the Iberian custom of successive interments in the same vault.

It might be imagined that such a simple structure was the first stage in the evolution, and not the final stage in the devolution of the complicated chamber. The key which unlocked the problem was discovered in a remarkable cairn on the western shore of the Island of Bute, near Glecknabae farm.

The cairn contained two rude cists or small chambers of the class indicated, as well as a short cist as a secondary interment. (Fig. VIII.) The roof was absent in each case—but a fine example of a denuded chamber of the same kind at Sandbank, on the Holy Loch, has the roof still *in situ*. It is formed of a single slab resting on the upper edges of the lateral stones, so that there is little doubt that, like the other characters of the typical chambers, the building with small flags was also absent, increasing the resemblance to the more carefully constructed and smaller short cist. The Sandbank monument has two tall pillars guarding the portal—but in the Bute example the portal stones are low flags which do not rise higher than the chamber walls.

The final link of the argument is provided by the pottery in the two small chambers in the Glecknabae cairn. In the one chamber typical examples of the round bottomed *Iberian pottery* were recovered (Fig. IX.)—while in the other were the fragments of four vessels of the *beaker* class (Fig. X.), rude in form and very simple in decoration, which was, however, zonular in one of the fragments.

All the phenomena clearly point to a degeneration *in situ* of the Iberian before the Eur-asian type of custom and culture, and we accordingly find that at a period clearly subsequent to the period with which I have been dealing, the district was occupied by the Eur-asian race—for a considerable number of short cists have been unearthed, several of which had bronze objects, and *sphenoid* brachycephalic crania have been found in them. It is noteworthy that though *beakers* have been found in Argyleshire, the majority of the cists have yielded urns of the *food vessel* class (Fig. XI.). This speaks for the later date of this type of ceramic, and helps the general argument founded on the supposed priority of the *beaker* fictilia. It is also to be noted that this *food vessel* pottery is Scottish, and distinct from the contemporary Irish ceramic which takes the form of low bowl-like vessels, which are highly ornamented. The intercourse between Argyle and Antrim was still maintained, however, for certain urns from the Kilmartin district are distinctly Irish in type—so much so that Canon Greenwell concluded from his observations in that region, that the same race must have occupied Argyleshire as was spread over the north of Ireland at that epoch.

The prehistoric argument is now complete. As the two kinds of culture and custom merged in the west, so judging

Fig. 8.—View from the east of Portal Chamber No. 1, Glecknabae Cairn, Bute.

Facing page 282.

by analogies elsewhere, it may be reasonably surmised that the two racial types established relationships, of which we may find traces in the present population.

Our information regarding the physical characters of the living population of Scotland is yet so meagre from a scientific point of view, that it is not possible to speak in more than a general way of the distribution of traits. I hope this may ere long be remedied, if the efforts of the present Anthropometric Committee of the British Association are supported and seconded, as they ought to be. I do not intend to enter here on the whole question, but only briefly to refer to two points.

The researches of Sir William Turner, recently published,[1] have demonstrated that 'there is a strong strain of brachycephaly in the population of Scotland at the present time.'

FIG. 11.—Urn of food-vessel type from Cist in Scalpsie Tumulus. (Scale, ½.)

This strain is especially well marked in the districts now the least Celtic, and it is a fact of possible significance, that the area corresponds to the area of seeming maximum distribution of the *beaker* ceramic in prehistoric times, which, so far as we yet know, is practically invariably associated with crania showing brachycephalic proportions.

From the data given in Sir William Turner's memoir, and such few other observations as we possess, it seems to be

[1] *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, vol. xl., part iii., 1903.

present in smaller proportions in the west. In Dr. Beddoe's[1] series of 55 Higherlanders it is practically absent, and the contrast between east and west is maintained when we compare his series with that of Messrs. Gray and Tocher of the inhabitants of East Aberdeenshire.[2]

Turning now to 'pigmentation,' we know from Dr. Beddoe's work by his 'Index of Nigresence method,' that all over the north and outer Hebrides there is a predominance of blond traits due to the infusion of Scandinavian blood. In the south-east the same is the case, due to the intermingling of various other Teutonic elements. The prevailing tint in the north-east counties is fair, but Messrs. Gray and Tocher have demonstrated a considerable admixture of brunette traits. The blond traits are certainly Teutonic, but are the brunette to be attributed to the Iberian long heads, or to the broad heads?

At the present day all the isolated spots of brachycephaly round the North Sea—in Belgium, in Holland and on the South-west Coast of Norway—seem to be darker than the rest of the inhabitants, and Professor Ripley[3] refers them all to his 'Alpine race.' Taking the origin of the *beaker* into account along with the identity of the skull form, the conclusion seems legitimate that the *beaker* folk were a part of the Eur-asian stock in Central Europe, and therefore probably moderately dark in complexion, and as the brachycephalic strain in the eastern countries can only be due to this early immigration, the brunette traits may perhaps be due to that ancient race also.

Passing over to the west it is noticeable that wherever there are known Iberian remains, brunette is the more dominant trait, as tested by Dr. Beddoe's method, and in Argyleshire and Buteshire, where they are so numerous, the proportion is at its maximum. This is doubtless due to the persistence of Iberian traits, though if the brachycephalic Eur-asians were also moderately dark any admixture with them, such as I have postulated, would not have altered the tint. If the prevailing cranial characters and the pigmentation be taken together, the conclusion points to a predominance of the Iberian features in the present population. Scandinavian infusion of course complicates the problem, since the skull form is little different from the Iberian; but it would

[1] *The Races of Britain*, 1885.

[2] *Jour. Anthro. Institute*, vol. xxx., n.s. iii., 1900.

[3] *The Races of Europe*, 1900.

appear that while in the north the Scandinavian blondness has largely swamped the brunette traits, in Argyle, Bute and the Western Highlands generally, these have remained less affected.

If all these hints of evidence, for they are perhaps hardly more than that, be summed up, the aggregate is strong in favour of the conclusion that the present conditions were established in remote times; that while in the East there is a preponderance of late Teutonic elements superimposed on a considerable Eur-asian or 'Alpine' (Ripley) factor, in the west there is a preponderance of Iberian elements on which has been superimposed a weaker strain of the 'Alpine' type. The one in fact is Teuto-Celtic, the other Ibero-Celtic with a certain infusion of Scandinavian blood, and both overlie a still more ancient unknown early neolithic substratum.

If the Ibero-Celts were the Picts, then we have evidence that primitively the Pictish kingdom extended all the way south through Argyle and Bute—and the results of the excavations of the Argyleshire forts conducted during last season by the Society of Antiquaries, have special interest in this connection.

One point more. If the chamber-builders were short, dark, and dolichocephalous, and the short cist folk of medium height, moderately dark, and brachycephalous, what of the 'Caledonians' of Tacitus? Was he right after all about their Germanic origin? Professor Ripley inclines to believe he may have been, and Huxley suggested as a solution of the difficulty that long before the known invasions, a stream of Scandinavians set into Scotland and formed a large part of our primitive population. There is another consideration, however, in this connection which I do not remember to have seen stated, or if so, it has not received the attention it deserves. The Iberians of the chambered cairns have no title to be regarded as the sole representatives of the Stone Age in Scotland[1] any more than the builders of the 'Giants' Chambers' in Scandinavia. The earlier neolithic shell-folk cannot be left out of account as a possible factor among the prehistoric population of North Britain. We cannot argue from the pigmentation of the late Iberians to that of early neolithic inhabitants.

If we accept the North African origin from a common stock of both the Mediterranean and Teutonic race types, we require to accept also the evolution of the latter in a special habitat,

[1] Cf. Dr. Munro's *Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 326.

and under special climatic conditions. In what respect would North Britain and the Northern Islands differ from Scandinavia in distant Neolithic times? Was North Britain part of the original home of the tall blond race, and would Dr. Beddoe's representative of the Caledonians of Tacitus[1]—a six feet high, harsh featured, red haired and blue eyed Gael, with a cephalic index of 72·8—stand for the type?

T. H. Bryce.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, table, p. 234.

Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union

III

THE TEXTILE GROUP (*Continued*)[1]

Minor Woollen Manufactories

Woollen Manufacture at Glasgow (James Armour), 1683.
Woollen Manufacture at Paul's Work, Edinburgh, 1683-1708.
Woollen Manufacture at Musselburgh, (?) 1695.
Woollen Manufacture at Aberdeen, 1696.
The Woollen Manufacture of Glasgow (Wm. Cochrane), 1699.
Woollen and Linen Manufactory of John Corse, Glasgow, 1700.
William Hog's Manufacture, (?) 1702-3.
The Woollen Manufacture of North-Mills, Aberdeenshire (Wm. Black), 1703.
Lyell's Manufactory at Gairdin, in Angus-shire, 1704.

IN addition to the Newmills Company, there was a large number of other cloth works, some of them of considerable importance. In fact, owing to the advantages given by the Act of 1681 for encouraging trade and manufactures, as well as the special privileges obtained by the Newmills Company, people had turned their minds and stocks by preference towards the woollen trade.[2] In 1683, the privileges of a manufacture were granted to the undertaking of James Armour at Glasgow, which was intended to produce serges and other kinds of cloth.[3]

[1] See *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. i. p. 407, and vol. ii. p. 53.

[2] *Memorial concerning the State of Manufactures before and since the year* 1700. Advocates' Library. Pamphlets, vol. 197.

[3] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, viii. p. 361.

There is no record as to the success or failure of this venture, but it would appear that it did not ruin the promoter, as a James Armour, of Glasgow, was associated with Chamberlain in the proposal for establishing a Land Bank.

In 1683, the privileges of a manufacture were granted to a broadcloth manufactory at Paul's Work, in Edinburgh, which had already been in operation. This undertaking had been established by a partnership of several persons, and evidence was produced before the Privy Council to show that the whole process from the purchase of the rough wool, including dyeing and mixing, up to the delivery of broadcloth was performed in the factory and that the cloth had gained the approval of the merchants of Edinburgh.[4] It is by no means easy to differentiate this Company from the Scots Linen Manufacture, which had also buildings at Paul's Work.[5] The Company of 1683 is said to have made linens as well as cloth,[6] and, therefore, when Dupin was forming his linen company in 1690, he may either have acquired the premises of the older concern, or again, the two businesses may have co-existed side by side—the address of each being 'Paul's Work.' On the whole, it seems that the advertisement already quoted,[7] with reference to the sale or feuing of Paul's Work related to this rather than to the buildings occupied by the Linen Company, because, in the description, there is no reference to linen, and there is mention of the Bonnington Mills, which had long been used for the production of cloth. The undertaking offered for sale in 1708 had a subsidy from the Town Council of Edinburgh for the teaching of apprentices—a kind of grant given to many of the woollen factories.

For over ten years, no records of new cloth works have come to light. The reason for this, as well as the starting of numerous undertakings from 1695 to 1705, is to be found in the attitude of the State to the importation of foreign cloth and the exportation of wool.[8] As soon as there were grounds to expect that a return would be made to the protectionist policy in vogue from 1681 to 1685, new woollen companies began to be created. Works had been established at Musselburgh, by a Gilbert Robertson, of Whitehouse, who, in 1695, petitioned Parliament

[4] Decreta of Privy Council of Scotland, f. 181.

[5] *Vide Scottish Historical Review*, ii. p. 55. [6] Warden's *Linen Trade*, p. 428.

[7] *Vide* The Scots Linen Manufacture. *Scottish Historical Review*, ii. p. 60.

[8] *Vide Scottish Historical Review*, i. p. 183.

for the same privileges that had been granted to the Newmills Company. He stated that he had been very well encouraged by the success of his labour, and was resolved to extend his works by assuming others in partnership.[9] In 1703, the same request was again preferred, and by that time the undertaking had grown. 'Many hundreds' of workpeople were employed,[10] and, by the inclusion of a number of partners, a considerable stock had been adventured.[11]

In 1696, a company, consisting of a moderately large membership, was established in the city of Aberdeen.[12]

An influential company was formed in Glasgow in 1699, consisting of ten persons, including William Dunlop, Principal of the University; Mungo Cochrane, a distiller; and several shipowners. It proposed 'to make woollen stuffs of all sorts, such as damasks, half-silks, draughts, friezes, drogats, tartans, craips, capitations, russets, and all other stuffs for men and women's apparel, either in summer or winter.' It was expected that this varied assortment of products could be sold 'at an easie rate,' and, to secure a high standard of workmanship, 'able artists' had been brought from abroad. The company sought special consideration from the Privy Council in view of the fact that £10,000 sterling was annually paid to Ireland from the South and West of Scotland for woollen goods, which would now be made at home.[13] A similar petition was presented to Parliament for the privileges of a manufacture, under the Act of 1681.[14] This company soon made rapid progress, and about the year 1700 it employed 1400 persons, this being the largest number recorded as receiving wages simultaneously from any one firm.[15] In 1704, this Company took the lead as the premier cloth factory in petitioning Parliament for a more liberal policy towards the manufacturers.[16] From 1704, there is no further mention of this company; as already shown, being a producer of fine woollen goods it would have suffered by the Union, and

[9] Parliamentary Papers, 1695. 'The Petition of G. Robertson.'

[10] *Memorial concerning the State of Manufactures, ut supra.*

[11] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, xi. p. 81.

[12] *Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. p. 155.

[13] *Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. pp. 126, 127.

[14] Parliamentary Papers Undated. 'The Petition of William Cochrane.'

[15] *Memorial, ut supra.*

[16] Parliamentary Papers, 1704. 'Proposals in favour of the Woollen Manufactories, and particularly that of Glasgow.'

when later efforts were made to start the industry again in Glasgow, such efforts were regarded as founding the trade anew. Another woollen factory, which had a branch for making linen, was started in 1700 by John Corse.[17]

The second series of the minutes of the Newmills Company, which begins in 1701, presents some interesting side-lights on the condition of other cloth factories. Mention is there made of the more important of the contemporary undertakings, namely the Musselburgh, the Glasgow, and Paul's Work Companies. Another business, established at Hamilton, is also referred to. The relations between these different factories were partly harmonious, partly antagonistic. After the Act of 1701, prohibiting the export of wool, joint action was taken by the Newmills and Paul's Work Companies to convict persons evading this enactment.[18] It appears, too, that improved technical processes were communicated by the Musselburgh to the Newmills Company.[19] The chief occasion of friction arose out of the Acts giving the owners of factories extensive powers over servants they brought into the country. The Newmills Company several times complained of 'the running away' of skilled hands to other cloth works, and the measures taken for the recovery of the fugitives are recorded.[20]

Besides the works already mentioned, there were some others founded in the early years of the eighteenth century. One was owned by William Hog, of Harcarse, in Berwickshire, which had the unique distinction to survive the Union.[21] The methods of managing Gordon's mill, near Aberdeen, which was known as the manufactory of North-Mills, are of considerable interest. The proprietor, an advocate, named William Black, stated that his servants, who were highly trained, were bound to work for any one who would employ them, and work only for their master 'when they have nothing else to do—yea, when any work comes from the country, his is laid aside.' This was the only method by which Scots manufactures could be obtained at reasonable

[17] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, x. App. p. 56.

[18] *The Records of a Scottish Cloth Manufacturing Company* (1681-1703), p. 274. There is another reference to the Paul's Work as late as January 20th, 1703, when the master became security for a purchaser of cloth from the Newmills Company. This entry is in the statistical matter, which is not included in the printed copy.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 238. [20] *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 234, 264, 268.

[21] Collection of Petitions to the Barons of the Exchequer, *ut supra*. 'Proposals of William Hog' (dated January, 1709).

prices! One is not surprised to find Black was not in any society, as he explains it, because the partners 'would not so unanimously agree in running such hazards.' In the study of Parliamentary petitions, one comes to expect that the amount demanded at the close will be in proportion to the benevolence in the preamble, and the present is a case in point. Black asked the privilege of a manufacture, and, in addition, parallel grants to those enjoyed by the Newmills Company, with the very important further requirement of Parliamentary sanction for the county raising any sum, not exceeding a week's cess, to be paid to Black for maintaining and teaching apprentices. Parliament granted one part of the petition, namely, the privilege of a manufacture: the immunities granted Newmills were refused to the Northmills manufactory, and the Commissioners of Supply for Aberdeenshire were authorised to raise £1000 yearly for five years to be paid Black for maintaining and teaching the trade to boys from the county.[22]

James Lyell, of Gairdin, had obtained, in 1695, the privilege of a manufacture for a process for extracting oil from seeds, and for the preparation of hare and rabbit skins to be made into hats.[23] In 1704, he petitioned Parliament for the same encouragement for his woollen manufactory established at Gairdin, in Angusshire, asking at the same time that he should be allowed £1000 Scots a year to enable him to teach the trade to poor boys. In support of his request, he stated that it was well known that 'joint-stocks and co-partneries were seldom or never so sure, advantageous, and successful as the industry of private persons who have sufficient stock and skill for carrying on such an undertaking, and who, being encouraged to work for themselves, do not only improve in the work but in a short time bring low the prices and employ the poor.'[24] Evidently, even in the first years of the eighteenth century, the effect of pauper labour on prices had been felt.

The Silk Manufactory (1697)

As early as 1682, an effort had been made to introduce the spinning of silk into Scotland. In that year, a monopoly for seventeen years was granted to George Sanders for a manu-

[22] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, xi. pp. 81, 82. [23] *Ibid.*, ix. p. 420.
[24] Parliamentary Papers, 1704. 'The Petition of James Lyell of Garden.'

factory for the twisting and throwing of all sorts of raw silk. Sanders having failed to succeed in his undertaking, the Privy Council, on June 15th, 1697, authorised Joseph Ormiston and William Elliot to set up a similar undertaking, which was to have the privilege of a manufacture under the Act of 1681.[25] In the year 1698, the promoters presented a petition to Parliament in which they stated that the enterprise had not as yet been started, 'because it is very obvious that except others had been discharged and debarred from setting up and prosecuting the same manufacture for a certain space of years, during which we might have expected a reimbursement of our charges and expenses that usually attend such an undertaking, your petitioners could not follow the said Act [of the Privy Council] without evidently hazarding the loss of our stock, beside the disappointment of any small gain that might reasonably be expected by the undertakers of any such public work.'[26] It was added that though the Privy Council had granted the privilege of the undertaking being a manufacture, it had been loth to give a monopoly, that being more proper for Parliament. The signatories, therefore, asked the sole privilege of a manufacture for winding, throwing, twisting, and dyeing all sorts of raw and unwrought silks for themselves and the partners they intended to assume.[27] This petition was considered by Parliament, but the partnership was subjected to a peculiar species of opposition. The tendency of the Act of 1681 was not only to encourage trade and manufactures but also to repress luxury by the prohibition of the wearing of certain costly materials. These provisions, like other clauses of the Act, had ceased to be observed, and in all probability they would have been forgotten had it not been that the country was beginning to experience a scarcity of resources, which was partly due to the payment of the capital subscribed to the Darien Company, partly, but in a less degree, to investments in new manufacturing enterprises which as yet had yielded small returns. Under the influence of the prevailing mercantilist ideas, the want of spending power was attributed to the growth of luxury, and there was a marked tendency to revert to the enactment of sumptuary laws. Accordingly, in 1698, an 'Act to regulate the

[25] Acts of the Privy Council of Scotland. *Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. p. 155.

[26] Parliamentary Papers, 1698. 'The Petition of Joseph Ormiston and William Elliot, Merchants, anent a Silk Manufactory.'

[27] *Ibid.*

wearing of silk stuffs' was introduced, but it was ordered to lie on the table.[28]

Though Ormiston and his partners had failed to secure a monopoly, and though their projected enterprise was threatened by sumptuary legislation, the scheme was proceeded with, and at the same time efforts were made to secure other privileges. In 1700, an Act was brought before Parliament to prohibit the importation of foreign silk stuffs; and, after some exceptions had been made, it was passed in 1701.[29] With this encouragement, the undertaking made progress, and, about this time, 23 looms were in use.[30] By this period, profits had been earned sufficient to excite the envy of persons who were not members of the company, and complaints were made that the benefits of the trade were confined to a small number of persons.[31] Another objection to the company was urged by the merchants of Edinburgh, who complained that the silk manufacture was injurious to the cloth trade. The former industry depended of necessity on imported raw material, whereas the latter utilized a home product, therefore the woollen trade should be encouraged and the silk-weaving industry suppressed.[32]

A much more serious menace to the continued prosperity of the undertaking than the opposition of the cloth manufacturers arose from the neglect of the Act of 1701, prohibiting the importation of foreign silk, and to the facilities for smuggling goods that could be packed in small bulk.[33] As in the case of the Royal Lustring Company of England, it was found that it was almost impossible to maintain prices owing to the supply of smuggled goods being of considerable magnitude. Besides, the

[28] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, x. p. 144.

[29] *Ibid.*, x. pp. 146, 147, 240, 280.

[30] *Memorial concerning the state of Manufactures before and since the year* 1700. Pamphlets, No. 197 (Advocates' Library).

[31] Parliamentary Papers after 1702. 'Answers to Memorial given in by the Merchant Tailors.'

[32] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, xi. p. 132. The statement in the text must be taken as an *ex parte* one. Even as late as 1774 it is recorded that little of the wool then used was the product of the country, most of it being brought from Newcastle and London (Postlethwayt's *Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, Article on Scotland). The minutes of the Newmills Company show that when Scottish wool was used at all it could only be made into the lowest grade of cloth, while an analysis of the names of sellers to the company suggests that the purchases may have been dictated by other than strictly commercial objects. At the same time very large purchases of Spanish wool were made.

[33] *Ibid.*, xi. pp. 53, 54.

passing of laws to encourage certain companies, or individuals, by the prohibition of competing imports, threw the onus of discovery and prosecution on the favoured companies, and this resulted in the prosecutors sustaining 'much reproach and discouragement.'[34] In addition, the scarcity of capital began to be more felt in the first years of the eighteenth century, and persons who did not find a remedy in land-bank schemes, or the revival of the Darien Company, continued to press for a sumptuary law. One writer in favour of such legislation says, 'who can deny that every heritor in Scotland doth spend more on superfluities for himself, his wife, and children, than his taxes for the public amount to, and much more—is not this prohibition an easy and virtuous way to reimburse ourselves?'[35] The silk manufacturers were charged with encouraging prodigality, and much was made of the fact that this was one of the very few manufactures encouraged by Parliament which produced articles of luxury.[36] It was also objected that this industry employed very few hands. This was said to be a 'mistake, for it is well known that there are a great many young gentlemen, who formerly were in great straits, who are now subsisting by winding silk'—indeed, the proprietors of the manufactory contended that they employed as many persons, proportionately to the size of the country, as were paid wages in the same industry in England.[37] The merchants who retailed silk memorialised Parliament showing the injury they had sustained by the partners in the manufactory themselves acting as retailers (as had been done by the Newmills Company), which was looked upon as 'an attempt to drive a plain monopoly.'[38] When it is remembered that the founders of the company endeavoured to obtain a monopoly, it is amusing to find they profess to be surprised at this charge being made, and point to the fact that anyone may start a manufactory. In 1705, an overture for an Act prohibiting the wearing of any silk (except black silk) was brought before Parliament.[39] The proprietors of the silk manufactory petitioned

[34] Parliamentary Papers after 1702. 'Answers to Memorial given in by Merchant Tailors.'

[35] *Ibid.*, 1700. 'Reasons General for a Sumptuary Law.'

[36] Parliamentary Papers, 1704. 'Answers of the Masters of the Silk Manufactory to the Representations of the Retailing Merchants.'

[37] *Ibid.* [38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, xi. p. 219. Parliamentary Papers, 1705. 'Draft teb-silk.'

against this overture becoming law. They stated that the industry had been brought to an extraordinary degree of perfection;[40] but, as against this, it was alleged that the web was imported into Scotland already warped.[41] The manufacturers further pleaded for consideration from Parliament in view of the fact that, through the establishment of the industry, 'very many poor were profitably and virtuously employed,' and that they could sell silks as cheaply as those imported from England.[42] The Union gave them an opportunity of testing the latter assertion, apparently to the detriment of the Scottish silk industry, for, in 1709, we find Joseph Ormiston giving his attention to the cloth trade, and coming forward, as a petitioner on behalf of a proposed company, for a part of the grant payable by the Commissioners of the Equivalent.[43]

Other Textile and Allied Industries

The Maunfacture of Colchester Baizes (1693).
The Manufacture of Stockings (1700).
The Sail-Cloth Manufactory at Leith (1694).
Rope Work of James and Thomas Deans (about 1690).
The Rope Manufactory at Glasgow (1690).
Cordage Manufactory at Glasgow (1700).

John Holland, the founder of the Bank of Scotland, was one of the many persons with capital at their disposal who, after the Revolution, were endeavouring to develop Scottish industries. He was instrumental in forming a company for producing 'that sort of cloth, commonly known as Colchester Baises, which will consume a great deal of cloth, which cannot be profitable either at home or abroad.' By an Act of Parliament, dated June 14th, 1693, a company was created, consisting in the first instance, of six persons named, to which the usual statutory privileges of a manufacture were granted. Further, as in the case of the Scots Linen Manufacture, and other Companies, an entry in the books to be kept in Edinburgh and

[40] Parliamentary Papers, 1705. 'Petition of the Merchants and Others concerned in the Silk Manufactory.'

[41] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, xi. p. 54.

[42] Parliamentary Papers, 1705. Petition, *ut supra*.

[43] Collection of Petitions to the Barons of the Exchequer. (Edinburgh University Library). 'Petition of Joseph Ormiston.'

London, was sufficient title to the ownership of shares. This Act gives the curious privilege of a monopoly for seven years as against other joint-stock companies, but not against private persons, subject to the condition that works should be established within two years, otherwise the grant would determine.[44]

As early as 1682, the Newmills Company had introduced the making of stockings by the use of weaving-frames, but the plant was sold in 1689. In 1700, a number of merchants in Edinburgh petitioned for encouragement in this industry,[45] and in 1706, there were two firms engaged in the trade.[46]

Up till the time of William III., Scottish shipping was under a grave disadvantage in that it was necessary to build vessels of any considerable size out of the country, and, once a ship had been obtained, stores, such as sail-cloth and cordage, had to be imported. Attempts were now made to remedy this state of affairs by the formation of a company for the manufacture of sail-cloth. In 1694, a patent was granted certain undertakers incorporating them as a '*Societas*,' with a monopoly for seven years.[47] By an Act of Parliament of the year 1696, the monopoly was extended to nineteen years.[48] A factory had been built at Leith, which was burnt down in 1710. As the monopoly was due to lapse (unless renewed) in 1713, the proprietors gave up the trade, and the premises were rebuilt as the Great Brewery, in the Yard Heads.[49]

For the provision of home-made ropes, a rope-work had been started at Newhaven, by James Deans, who had retired from business after incurring considerable loss. In 1694, his son, Thomas Deans, received the privileges of a manufacture from the Privy Council, 'being prepared to venture another stock in the same work.'[50] In the Newmills minutes, there is considerable information as to the members of the Deans family. By 1703, Thomas Deans was deceased, and his will was produced by his executor in connection with a holding of stock in the Newmills Company, which amounted to £9000 Scots, or £750 sterling.[51]

[44] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix. p. 313.

[45] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix. p. 231. [46] *Edinburgh Courant*, No. 189.

[47] Reg. Magni Sig. (General Register House, Edinburgh), vol. xiv., 1692-1700, f. 76.

[48] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix. p. 103.

[49] *The Scots Postman*, No. 854, Feb. 28, 1711.

[50] Acts of the Privy Council quoted by *Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. p. 78.

[51] *The Records of a Scottish Cloth Manufacturing Company*, 1681-1713, pp. 336, 337.

In 1690, a rope-manufacturing company had been established at Glasgow, with a capital of £40,000 Scots, or rather over £3000 sterling,[52] to which, on May 7th, 1696, the Privy Council granted the privileges of a manufacture.[53] Two years later, this company petitioned Parliament for a prohibition of imported cordage from the Sound or the East Seas. It was pointed out, in reply, that the whole kingdom could not be supplied conveniently from Glasgow, 'because of the dangerous passage by sea,' and that it was easier for ship-owners in the North of Scotland to obtain cordage from Holland than from Glasgow, till the time came when ropes could be manufactured in their own districts.[54] Accordingly, a duty of 5os. per cwt. was imposed on imported cordage to encourage the Glasgow company.[55] By the time M'Ure wrote his *View of Glasgow*, this undertaking was already known as the 'old rope work,' and, in 1777, it was still in existence.[56]

In 1700, a petition was addressed to Parliament for encouragement to establish a cordage manufactory at Glasgow.[57] There is no evidence to show whether this or the former company, or again a later undertaking, is that of which M'Ure gives the following description: 'The Rope Work is situated on the west side of Stockwell Street, consisting of two stately lodgings, belonging to the proprietors,—great store houses—Spinning houses,—garden, and Boiling-houses; and the old green for spinning large cables, tarred and white ropes, with a pleasant garden.'[58]

W. R. Scott.

[52] *Gibson's History of Glasgow*, p. 245.
[53] *Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland*, iii. p. 87.
[54] Parliamentary Papers, 1698. 'Overture anent Ropes and Cordage.'
[55] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, x. p. 154.
[56] *Gibson's History of Glasgow*, *ut supra*, p. 245.
[57] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix. p. 231.
[58] *Glasgow, Past and Present*, p. 584.

Record Room

COUNTESS OF MURRAY'S LETTER, 1544.

THE following letter, preserved in the Advocates' Library (Balcarres MS., iv. 135), is the work of a woman when writing was not commonly woman's work in Scotland, and alludes to great events, of which almost every trace has now perished from the page of History. It is addressed to Mary of Guise, mother of Queen Mary. By the rotting away of the margin a few words are lost.

'Madame, efter all hertlie commendacioun and service unto 3our grace. Ples ye samyn wit, I ressavit 3our graces writtinges fra Rosay Herrald desyrand me to solist my lord my husband to cum to yis Parliament. 3our grace neidis nocht to bid me solist any man to 3our graces plessur, and in speciall my lord my husband quhilk I beleif . . . t litil solistacioun to do 3our grace service, for he hes bene sa in his persoun sen [his last h]ame cummyn yat he mycht nother ryd nor gang to do his awin besynes in ye . . . and is laitlie pasit to 3our houss of Dingwall for ye rewling [of this] cuntre becauss he is informit yat ye Lord of ye Ilis is brokin furth. . . . Ross is cuntreth yat yai desir mast, for and it be nocht debatit it wilbe alss evill rewlit as ye Ilis. For ther is nother yat nor na uther plessur yat he may do bot he wald do to your grace war nocht his infirmite. I pray God yat every man yat hes promittit 3our grace kindnes keip it alss weill as hes mynd and myn is to zour grace. And forther I have schawin my mynd to yis berar at lintht quhilk I wald nocht writt, to quhome 3our grace ples gife credence. And ye Blissit Wirgin have 3our grace eternalie. At Dingwall, ye xxiiij day of October.

Be 3our Graces humble and obedient servitrice,

CONTAS OF MURRAY.'

(*Addressed on the back*) 'To the Quenis Grace.'

Neither the year nor the writer's name appears; yet, from a study of the contents I infer that she was the wife of James, Earl of Murray, bastard brother of King James IV., and wrote it in the year 1544. True, Wood's edition of *Douglas' Peerage* states that Murray died on the 12th June, 1544, but I have not

been able to verify Wood's authority for this date and take the liberty of supposing it a misprint for the 12th of January, 1544-5; for in the Register of the Great Seal his name appears as witness to charters of November, 1544 (*Registrum Magni Sigilli*), and he certainly was alive on the 10th of June, 1544. For on that day he signed the bond by which Cardinal Beaton and many of the nobility undertook to uphold the authority of the Queen Dowager, when Governor Arran's failure to oppose the English expedition which had just burnt Leith and part of Edinburgh roused all his rivals to unite against him (*State Papers*, v. 393). That bond is evidently in the writer's mind when she 'prays God yat every man yat hes promittit,' etc.; and the outcome of it was the Parliament which she was to urge her husband to attend. This Parliament actually met at Stirling in November, when the Governor was holding his at Edinburgh; and it was, as she feared, so ill supported that its members, instead of deposing the Governor, were fain to come to an agreement with him, when he threatened to proceed against them for disobedience to his authority (*Hamilton Papers*, ii. 449; *Lodge's Illustrations* (edit. 1791), i. 43, 147; *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, ii. 445). The earldom of Ross and castle of Dingwall formed part of the dowry of Mary of Guise (Teulet, 131), and she had apparently committed them to Murray's care—and defence; for the attempts of the Lords of the Isles to recover possession of the earldom had continued ever since John of the Isles surrendered it to the Crown in the year 1476. The succession of these Lords of the Isles is set forth in Mr. Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*, but there is much that remains obscure. The breaking forth which the Countess here mentions was signalised by the battle of Blair-nan-leine in June, 1544 (when Lord Lovat and his Frasers fought an equal party of Macdonalds near Loch Lochy and both sides were exterminated almost to a man), and also by a foray of the Macdonalds into Glenmoriston in October (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 34; *Fraser's Chiefs of Grant*, i. 111, etc.). This particular Lord of the Isles was Donald M'Connell, who in the following year made a compact with Henry VIII. to assist a raiding expedition into Scotland from the West. In the negociations he was styled lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, and it appeared that he was over thirty years old, and had been a prisoner ever since his birth, his father and others of his family having been put to death by King James V.

(*State Papers*, iii. 518, 523, v. 477). The expedition, under Lennox and Ormond, sailed from Dublin on the 17th November, 1545, but of its doings we know absolutely nothing save that its leaders were home again in the following January and Donald was dead and his successor seeking alliance with England on the same terms (*State Papers*, iii. 548). The tradition is probably true that the division of Henry's money (which was probably little enough, for he was then in desperate straits) caused strife among the Island chieftains, and that Donald returned to Drogheda with the English and died there (see notes to Scott's *Lord of the Isles*).

The use of the word 'debate' in the sense of to beat down or ward off is to be noted. A similar instance occurs in the following passage, written that very year: 'As to all our lordis that wes in Ingland, I fynd sic honestie with tham that there is no men radyar to debait the warre as thai ar—sa, if the King of Ingland will nocht be contenttit with the peace that wes takin I pray you send me word.' Curiously enough the writer of that passage proceeds, 'Geif Donnald of the Ilis keipis his Yuill at Ennernes I sall vrite schortly to yow at mair lentht' (*British Museum, Add. MS.*, 32, 656, f. 109—*the punctuation of this as printed in Hamilton Papers is misleading*). That was written to the King of England's lieutenant in December, and indeed this outbreak of the Lord of the Isles must have caused some stir, for we read of a report in Antwerp that there was 'risen a new king in Scotland out of the Scottyshe Irysshe' (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. XIX., Pt. ii., No. 795).

R. H. BRODIE.

CAPTAIN COLIN CAMPBELL OF SKIPNESS'S HIGHLAND COMPANY.

A BUNDLE of eighteenth century papers belonging to the Right Rev. Bishop Campbell of Glasgow and Galloway has been placed at our disposal. The documents contain minor points of West Highland history, and have their centre in the person of Captain Colin Campbell of Skipness. Numbers 3, 8, and 9 of the expanded inventory here made, on account of their particular interest, are copied in full.

1.

'SEASINE in favours of Coline Campbell of Blythswood of ane @ rent of 455 lib. payable out of the Lands of Skipnish, &c.

Dat. 3d June 1714.'

[This Sasine registered 'att Dumbartan' 9th July 1714 in the Particular Register of Sasines for the 'bounds & shyres of Argyle Tarbet Bute Arran and Dumbartan' is the title, in consideration of £7590 Scots advanced by Colin Campbell of Blythswood to Angus Campbell of Skipnish and Coline Campbell his eldest lawful son, to 'All and haill ane yearly Annual rent of ffour hundered fifty-five pounds [Scots] . . . answerable and corresponding to the said principall summ of Seven thousand five hundered and ninty pounds [Scots] . . . to be uplifted and taken . . . forth of ALL AND HAILL the lands and others underwritten viz. the [*blank*] merk land of Clenaig, the four merk land of Creggan the one merk land of Stronreistill, the one merk land of Garveorline the one merk land of Altazalivois the one merk land of Ariuair the seven merk land of Skipnish Keilphein and Glenskippell the two merk land of Auchatadownan and the two merk land of Ballinakeille . . . Lying within the parish of Kilcolmmanell and Sheriffdom of Argyll.' The Notary is 'Archibaldus Campbell Clericus Lismorensis Diocesis': his motto is Ditat servata ffides.]

2.

Commission of Deputy Lieutenancy of the Shire of Argyle in favour of 'Angus Campbell of Skifnadge' granted by John Duke of Argyll Earl of Greenwich Marquis of Kintyre and Lorne Earl of Campbell and Cowell, Viscount Lochow and Glen Ilay Baron of Chatham, Inverrary Mull Movern and Ferry Hereditary Justice Generall of the Shire of Argyll, the Islands &c. Hereditary Lord Lieutenant and High Sherif of the said Shire Hereditary Great Master of the Household in Scotland Lord Lieutenant of the County of Surry Lord Lieutenant of the Shire of Dumbarton. One of His Majesties most Hon^ble Privy Councill Collonell of the Royall Regiment of Horse Guards Generall of the Foot, Generall and Commander in chief of his Majesties Forces in North Britain Governour of the Island of Minorca Groom of the Stole to his Royall Highness the Prince of Wales and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter' subscribed at London 31st August 1715 'before the Right Hon^ble the Earl of Ilay and Earl of Bute witnesses to the same.'

Bute Witness. (Signed) ARGYLL.
Ilay Witness.

[Seal: Quarterly 1st and 4th, gyronny of eight; 2nd and 3rd, a lymphad; round the shield, the Garter; behind, a baton and a sword (point upwards) saltirewise, the baton ensigned with an imperial crown, thereon the crest of Scotland. Above the shield and Garter, a ducal coronet, no crest. Supporters, two lions guardant standing on a compartment. On an escroll under the shield (between an ornament that may be intended for rue and two thistle heads) the motto *Ne obliviscaris*].

3.

(*Superscribed*)
GEORGE R.

WHEREAS we have thought fitt that an Independant Company be formed in the Highlands of North Britain under your Command, to consist of yourself as Lieutenant, One Ensign, Two Sergeants Two Corporalls, One Drum, and Thirty effective Private Men. THESE are to Authorise you by Beat of Drum or otherwise to Raise so many Voluntiers in the Highlands of North Britain as shall be wanting to Compleat the said Independant Company to the above Numbers. And all Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other our Officers whom it may Concern, are hereby required to be Assisting unto you in Providing Quarters, Impressing Carriages, and otherwise as there shall be occasion. GIVEN at Our Court at St. James's this 12th day of May 1725. In the Eleventh Year of our Reign

To our Trusty and welbeloved Lieu[t] Colin Campbell of Skipness, Commander of an Independant Comp[a] of Foot or to the Officer appointed by him to Raise Voluntiers for that Company.

By his Majesty's Command
H. PELHAM

4.

Commission, mostly effaced through damp, by King George I. to 'Our Trusty and Welbeloved Captain Lieutenant Colin Campbell of Skipness . . . to be Commander of an Independent Company in the Highlands of North Britain.'

5.

Commission addressed to Captain Lieutenant Campbell of Skipness, similar to No. 3, to 'augment' the Company by one serjeant, one corporal, one drummer, and thirty private men; given 27th January, 1726/7.

6.

Order by George Wade, Esq., Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces, Castles, Forts, and Barracks in North Britain, etc., to Captain Colin Campbell, or the Officer commanding his Highland Company at Ruthven, ordering him 'to march the Company under your Command from their present quarters and stations so as to be at Ruthven on the 23rd instant'; given at Edinburgh, 1st July, 1731.

(Signed) GEORGE WADE.

7.

Order by Joshua Guest, Esq., Brigadier-General commanding in chief His Majesty's Forces in North Britain, to Captain Campbell of Skipness, or the officer commanding his Highland Company at Fort-William, ordering him 'to cause the Company under your command to assemble at Tay Bridge and places adjacent on or before the ninth day of June next in order to be reviewed upon the eleventh,' also 'to order two men to be left at High Bridge who are to continue there 'till releiv'd by the next Company who posesses your Quarters'; given at Edinburgh, 19th May, 1739.

(Signed) Jos. GUEST.

8.

RULES AND ORDERS to be observed in recruiting the Right Honble the Earl of Crawfurd's Regiment of Foot.

Yow are not to inlist any Irish-man nor any vagabond or stragging fallow let him be never so fine a man, but such men only as are born or heve resided some time in the Neighbourhood where yow are recruiting.

No man will be accepted of, but such as are protestants born in the Isle of Brittain not exceeding Twenty five years of age five feet seven inches without shoes. They must be straight, well limbd and shouldered with good Countinances and no ways disabled or distorted either in body feet or limbs and great care to be taken to guard against Ruptures or other hidden sores or distempers.

No Seafareing men to be inlisted.

Young Lads from 16 to 20 years of age if made for growing will be accepted of tho' they may want one inch of 5 feet 7 inches.

GEORGE GRANT.

Inverness January 10th 1740.

9.

A Regimental Court martial held at Perth this 13th day of Aprile 1741.

Captain George Munro P[r]eses.
Lieu[t] M'Donald Lieu[t] ffraser.
Lieu[t] Grant Ensign Menzies.

Duncan M'Callum of Lord Sempill's Regiment & of Captain Colin Campbell's Company Confin'd for insulting & beating serjant Finlay Munro Then serjant of the guard.

Serjant Munro says that upon wensday last the prisoner was going to the field in truses, Contrary to orders, and that upon desiring him to go home to get himself kilted: he said, that if he would go home he wou'd not be at the field that day Then the Serjant took hold of him and desird him at his peril to kilt Upon which the prisoner struck him & blooded him with the strock.

The prisoner says in his defence that where his hose & linens are wash'd is a great way from his quarters and that he brought his arms with him to his washer womans house in order to dress there. That [on] his way the Serjant challenged him for being in truses and that he said that he could find No fault with him if he came in due time, well Drest, to the field.

The Serjant refuses that the prisoner said that if he came in due time well drest to the field he wou'd not be blamed.

Lieu[t] M'kinzie walking on the Street before relieving the guard saw the Serjant & the prisoner grappling, & heard the Serjant desire the prisoner go home & kilt and was answered that he wou'd be drest time enough. The Serjant then took him by the Arm, and desird him to go & dress: Upon which he struck the serjant & pushd him with his ffirelock: after which the serjant struck him and his Bonet & Comb fell down then Lieu[t] M'kinzie orderd him to the guard.

Donald Munro Corp[l] says he hear'd the serjant desire the prisoner to go & put himself in kilt, & was answered: The Devil a stick to which the serjant replyd that he wou'd Oblige him to go home & do it. The prisoner again answered that if he would go home he wou'd come out no more that day, at which time Lieu[t] M'kinzie Calld for the Corp[l] & askd him what was the Matter then he turned to acquaint him after which he saw the ffirelock cross between them & blood on the serjant & the prisoners Bonnet & Comb down And if there was any strocks it must have been when his back was towards them.

Donald Campbell soldier on Monzie's Company says he heard the serjant desire the prisoner to go hom & Kilt, and that the prisoner repplyd that he would not for he was not fit for it Then the Serjant said he would force him to go to which the prisoner answerd y[t] if he would go, he wou'd not return that day being undisposed. The Serjant then turn'd his back to him & said they were like a flock of Sheep, to which the prisoner answerd, that he was as like a sheep as he was Upon which the Serj[t] Returned with his fist up: but did not see him lay it on: but saw the prisoners Bonet & Comb upon the street & saw the prisoner retreating backward with his ffirelock Cross betwixt them yet did not see him strick the serj[t] nor any blood on's Mouth.

The Court martial having considered the Complaint made against the prisoner & his defences with the Evidences laid against him Are Unanimously of Opinion that the prisoner is guilty of a Breach of the Eighth Article of War And Therefore shou'd receive one Hundered Lashes with a Cat of nine tails on his bare Back in the field before the Companys when the Commanding Officer shall appoint.

GEO: MUNRO.

[The undernoted extract communicated by the courtesy of the authorities at the War Office will explain the foregoing reference to the Eighth Article of War.

1742.

'RULES and ARTICLES for the better Government of Our Horse and Foot Guards in Our Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and Dominions beyond the Seas.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Art. 8th.

'The Penalty of striking or resisting a Superior officer in the Execution of his office or refusing to obey orders.

If any officer or soldier shall strike, or use any violence against his superior officer, being in the execution of his office, or shall refuse to obey any Lawfull Command of his superior officer, all and every Person or Persons so offending, shall suffer Death, or such other Punishment as by a Court Martial shall be inflicted.'

It may, of course, be assumed that this article of military law for 1742 was a repetition in terms of the regulation for the previous year.]

Reviews of Books

A List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700, including those printed furth of the Realm for Scottish Booksellers. By Harry P. Aldis. Pp. xvi, 153. 4to. Printed for the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society. 1904.

This is an extremely valuable addition to the history of Scottish printers and printing, for it brings together under one cover a vast amount of information not previously collected, and procurable only by diligent research in the most out-of-the-way and unlikely directions. The one systematic work on the early Scottish printers is Messrs. Dickson and Edmond's *Annals*, wonderfully complete, as later research has shown, but coming down only to 1600. Mr. Edmond has also compiled an exhaustive list of the Aberdeen printers from 1620 to 1736. But outside these works the history of Scottish printers must be laboriously pieced together from sources like Watson's preface to his *History*, with its not unbiassed account of his contemporaries and rivals, or the chaotic wealth of information in Lee's *Memorial for the Bible Societies of Scotland*, with such aid as is obtainable from incidental notices in legal and other records. Here all these repositories have been utilised, and their yield augmented by much personal investigation. Avowedly Mr. Aldis's book is of the nature of an interim report on the material available for a complete Scottish bibliography—for such a work is one of the chief objects of the Society at whose instance the *List* has been issued—and it gives earnest of a contribution, huge in bulk and abounding in interest, to the literary history of the country. Here we have almost 4000 title entries, confined in the overwhelming majority of cases to a single line each, but showing in this brief space the short title, size, place, printer or bookseller, an occasional reference to authorities, a library where a copy may be found, and an indication of the information possessed or desired by the Society respecting the separate pieces of printing. Assume that in a full bibliography these entries would increase in bulk from twelve to twenty-fold by collation and annotation, and the proportions of the finished work may be estimated. Should it ever 'materialise' its importance can scarcely be overestimated, while the quality of the work in this preliminary list would at once bespeak for it accuracy and authority. For Mr. Aldis has not been content to give a chronological list of books issued; he has added in alphabetical order notes upon the printers and booksellers mentioned,

drawn from recondite sources, in which he has essentialised the careers of those long-dead exponents of the art preservative of arts. Testing this part of the volume, and basing upon considerable study of the subject in its relation to Glasgow, it can be said that none but the very slightest flaws have been detected—if flaws they can be called. It is worth while pointing out, however, that James Watson's imprisonment for printing Darien books preceded his trial, at which he was sentenced to be banished ten miles from the city of Edinburgh. This led the famous printer to Glasgow, where he found it necessary, backed by the surety of two members of the Hammermen's Incorporation, to undertake to 'leive civilly and peaciblie with his neighbours' and to 'obey the Magistrates and Counsel of Glasgow and Bailie and Constables of Gorbellis.' This was in January, 1701, six months after the trial, and probably it was on his return to Edinburgh in the same year that Mrs. Anderson attempted to shut up the office in which he had just resumed business. Mr. Aldis thinks the 'Andrew Hepburn' appearing on a book ostensibly printed in Glasgow in 1689 is 'probably a fictitious name.' If he means that there was no such printer in Glasgow at that date he is probably enough correct; but the extant burgess rolls of the city do not preclude the supposition that a bookseller of the name may have been in business and may have published in his own name a book printed by someone else. A note explaining how a press came to be in operation in the wilds of Kintyre so early as 1685 would have been welcome. The one piece of printing that testifies to the existence of the press is a 'Declaration and Apology of the Protestant People,' drawn up in Holland, and issued from Campbell-Toun by the Earl of Argyle on his invasion of Scotland in the Protestant interest in concert with the Duke of Monmouth. Argyle's expedition left Holland on the 2nd May, 1685, touched at Orkney on the 6th, and is supposed to have reached Campbeltown on the 12th or 13th. Here the declaration must have been printed almost immediately, for the document had reached the Privy Council in Edinburgh by the 18th. The press and 'irons' were no doubt brought from Holland, and would almost certainly be also used to print the appeal which Argyle addressed to his vassals, and which was printed at Tarbert, Loch Fyne, on the 27th of the same month. Is it because no copy of the Tarbert document exists that Mr. Aldis has not included a mention of it in his entries for 1685? After all, the points we have noted are but small blemishes on a work which is a monument of patient industry, accuracy, and research, upon which Mr. Aldis is to be heartily congratulated. It should be added that the *List* differs from the others papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in that its circulation is not restricted to the membership. In order to show what has already been done, and in the hope of enlisting outside aid in the discovery of additions to the entries already in hand, it has been resolved to place a limited number on sale.

W. Stewart.

MUSEUMS: THEIR HISTORY AND THEIR USE. With a Bibliography and List of Museums in the United Kingdom. By David Murray, LL.D., F.S.A. 3 vols. Glasgow: J. MacLehose & Sons. 1904. 32s. net.

THIS is in part a very readable, and as a whole likely to be a very useful, book. The first of the three volumes is devoted to a history of the development of museums and a statement of Dr. Murray's views as to their uses. The list of museums in the United Kingdom occupies some twenty pages at the end. The second and third volumes are occupied by the Bibliography. The first volume, therefore, is the only one to which the reader as such will turn; and the reader, if he be in search of curious lore, and if he care to be put on the track of a little-disturbed but very interesting class of books—the old literature of museums—will be amply repaid. He will be very grateful to Dr. Murray for bringing to light and life again the collectors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and for tracing so clearly and fully the gradual development of the scientific spirit in those who formed or who inherited the accumulation of curios which were the nuclei of the museums of our time. If he has read Mr. H. G. Wells's dreadful book, *The Time Machine*, he will remember the fate prophesied by that dismal seer for our museums, and rejoice that he at least will not be a witness of that stage of civilisation.

Dr. Murray's investigations have covered an enormous amount of ground: he is admirably modest in the claim he puts forward for his work, which is a really remarkable achievement, and will be of very great utility to those who have the charge of museums or of departmental libraries. That the Bibliography is not free from errors the author is aware: he will not be ungrateful to me if I point out those which have crept into the entries relating to the museum with which I am personally connected. The Fitzwilliam Museum should be described in the *List* as arch(aeological) and art(istic), not as arch. and anth(ropological). In the Bibliography I would note that Mr. H. A. Chapman's *Handbook to the Museum* is a quite recent publication, and not identical with the *Guide* of 1868: also that the controversial pamphlets referring to the purchase of the Leake Collection of Coins are rather misleadingly placed, as if they referred to the Leake gems—both gems and coins are in the museum—and that the annual reports of the syndicate did not begin in 1894, for the fifty-sixth will be issued shortly: and, lastly, that in the Corrections (iii. 326) the first two items belong to the Museum of General and Local Archaeology, and the third (Catalogue of Pictures) is not a folio book. These are all small points. What Dr. Murray gives us is most welcome, and we can improve upon his lists and bibliography for ourselves as opportunity offers. For the Scotch reader the book will have a special interest. Glasgow's opportunities, achievements, and shortcomings as a museum-making community are eloquently set forth, and I cordially hope that Dr. Murray's counsels may be laid to heart by those who have the power to carry them into effect.

M. R. JAMES.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. By Andrew Lang. Vol. III. Pp. x, 424, with frontispiece and maps. 8vo. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1904. 15s. nett.

THE third volume of Mr. Lang's *History of Scotland* is a very welcome addition to his works, and will be read with pleasure by all who admire his quick light style, his skilful manipulation of words, and his happy use of contemporary illustration, which make us pardon his sudden digressions and hasty conclusions. Dealing with Scottish History, from the accession of Charles I. to the Revolution which deposed his son James II., Mr. Lang covers the whole of the period when Prelacy, supported by and itself supporting the King, warred with the Puritanism of the great mass of the people, known later as the 'Covenanters.' It is a pity, therefore, that Mr. Lang should have taken up, as he does, the attitude that the position of the King's party was excusable, and that of the latter wholly indefensible, as by so doing he gives his history, whether consciously or not, an extreme bias, and every argument has an anti-covenanting twist which we fear may rob it of much of its true value. In fact this volume is in many respects a comparison of other histories, with Mr. Lang's remarks thrown in, and as such we prefer to regard it.

The author deals gently with Charles I., and shows that the religious strife was not exclusively of his making, and also that the fear of a revocation of crown lands, like the great 'Reduction' in Sweden, had much to do with the political unrest. As we have indicated, we think he does not wholly appreciate the Covenanters' position. It is perfectly true that they were quite as intolerant of opposition as the King's party, and that he is probably right when he says that the Arminians were the sole remnant who knew, perhaps, what liberty meant; yet he does not seem to feel that without the fierce unreasoning protest of the Covenanters, Regal despotism of an extreme type would probably have been quickly established in Scotland. Montrose is Mr. Lang's hero, and there we should not 'quarrel him,' did he not always take an opportunity of belittling that somewhat unloveable figure, Argyll. The power of the preachers at its height, and the 'Purgings' when the unfortunate young Charles II. was in their hands, did little to check disorder, but Cromwell's power did, and the author is undeniably right in pointing out the humiliation the Scots felt in being absorbed in England—the Earl of Airlie writes of the period as the 'tyme of the *English* Usurpers' and Cromwell's power, though bowed to, was hated as that of an alien. In this short notice it is impossible to do more than glance at the whole period covered by the volume, but in doing so we are glad to note that Mr. Lang does full justice to the sacrifice made by the Episcopate in going out with James II., of whose character and weakness he gives a fair estimate, and we cannot help wishing that the later Covenanters had fared as well at his hands, as do Claverhouse and the Royalists, who have so much of his sympathy, and gain so much by his advocacy.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF IRISH HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY, MAINLY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By C. Litton Falkiner. Pp. xx, 433, with 3 maps. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 18s. nett.

THIS work consists of two parts. Part I. is devoted to a series of original papers. These deal with such matters as 'His Majesty's Castle of Dublin,' 'The Phœnix Park,' 'The Irish Guards,' 'The Counties,' and 'The Woods' of Ireland, etc., etc. Part II. contains several contemporary accounts of Ireland in the seventeenth century.

Among students of Irish history Mr. Falkiner's name is a guarantee of painstaking and conscientious work. Any quarrel, which the present reviewer may have with him, is almost entirely confined to questions of treatment and arrangement. Such matters are largely 'of opinion.' We are glad to see that in his preface the author emphasises the importance, nay, the necessity of local history. No one who has approached the study of Irish history in the right spirit can have failed to appreciate this. Yet it is a truth by no means widely recognised. For instance, up to the middle of the seventeenth century the motive power in Irish history is to be sought in the policy of the great families. Until we have a series of complete and 'scientific' manuals dealing with family and local history, no accurate or satisfactory 'History of Ireland' can be written.

In many other respects Mr. Falkiner's preface is interesting and suggestive; but even his skill in the art of persuasion does not carry conviction as to the wisdom of the manner in which his material is arranged. Between the first and second parts of this book there is no essential connection. An exhaustive collection of seventeenth century notices of Ireland would have proved most useful to the student. The second portion of the book fails to fulfil this condition. It is incomplete, and though full of interesting matter, and enriched by many notes, its inclusion in the present work unfortunately suggests 'padding.' In my opinion the author would have rendered more valuable service had he issued these travels in a separate volume. To the general reader, and indeed to the student, these reprints will, however, prove of great interest. In particular, those acquainted with the south and west of Ireland will be struck by the extraordinary persistence of local customs and character. Did space permit me I could wish to dwell longer upon this point. It should be noticed that one of these papers 'A Discourse of Ireland,' anno 1620, by Luke Gernon, is here printed for the first time.[1] Mr. Falkiner also emphasises the value of Sir

[1] When commenting on the passage [p. 357, Gernon's discourse]: 'I never saw fayrer wenches nor fowler *calliots*, so we call the old wemen.' Mr. Falkiner strives to explain 'calliot' by *callet*, 'a scold,' or *callot*, 'a skull-cap.' Surely the word is the Celtic 'cailleach' = old women or hags? This word is still in use, and in Limerick, where Gernon was stationed, is to this day pronounced 'calloch.' 'CALLIOT,' [the 'h' might in MS. be mistaken for 't,'] was probably Gernon's nearest attempt to a phonetic spelling. This is the more likely, seeing that in the next few lines he makes an attempt to render the sound of the Celtic '*house mistress*' by 'Benytee.'

William Brereton's travels, a document neglected by Froude, Lecky, and Gardiner.

He has likewise established the identity of the mysterious 'Jorevin' de Rocheford.

With regard to Part I., which is more especially Mr. Falkiner's work, much has already been written on the subject of 'Dublin Castle,' and also upon the 'Irish Guards.' It cannot be said that these papers, although interesting and readable, add very greatly to our knowledge. The most original paper in the series is that which deals with the Phœnix Park. This, which must have necessitated much research, is a valuable contribution to the history of Dublin. Interesting also is the article on the Parish Church of the Irish Parliament. Why, however, does Mr. Falkiner not refer to the episode of the stabbing of a certain Lord Chancellor which is said to have occurred on the steps of this edifice? Less 'original,' yet most suggestive, are the two papers which deal with the 'woods' and the 'counties' of Erin. The part played by the forests in the warfare of the period is justly emphasised, while the history of Irish forestry is traced, in outline, down to the end of the eighteenth century. The pages devoted to the origin of the counties form a good commentary on the necessity of the study of Irish *local* history, and may be read with profit. The section entitled, 'Illustrations of the Civic and Commercial History of Dublin,' contains much curious information, but deals with the eighteenth rather than with the seventeenth century.

This book is most readable, and can be recommended not only to those who aim at making a serious study of Irish history, but also to those who merely wish to possess some acquaintance with the social life of the 'Mere' and of the Anglo-Irish.

JOHN WARDELL.

ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA. Third Series. Vol. I. AN ACCOUNT OF JESMOND. By Frederick Walter Dendy. Pp. x, 231. F'cap. 4to. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: R. Robinson & Co. 1904.

THE Newcastle Society of Antiquaries has turned down old leaves and opened fresh pages. Its principal publication, the *Archaeologia Aeliana*, started in 1815 in unwieldy quarto, achieved an output of four volumes in forty years! Then, through what the late Dr. Collingwood Bruce was wont to call 'much tribulation,' demy 8vo. was adopted, and in that form, during the last fifty years, twenty-five volumes of the *Archaeologia* and twelve volumes of *Proceedings* have been issued. Now yearly volumes in small quarto appear, resembling those of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, bound in buckram, ready for the bookshelf.

This volume, the first of the new series, is devoted to an account of Jesmond (one of the townships of the city of Newcastle), by Mr. F. W. Dendy, a V.-P. of the Society, who has already made his mark in local literature by editing, for the Surtees Society, the books and papers of the Newcastle Company of Merchant Adventurers and the records of the

Newcastle Society of Hostmen. His Jesmond researches yield material of considerable historical interest. Out of the mists and myths of the thirteenth century he brings up a knightly warrior who made the name of Jesmond famous in Border annals, and, through marital enterprises linked it with potent figures in Scottish history. Adam of Jesmond, faintly limned by early chroniclers, stands out in these pages bright and clear. A devoted adherent of Henry III., he fought for that monarch in the troubles north of Tweed, assisted him in the Gascon wars, and helped him to put down the rebellion of Simon de Montfort and the Barons. In the Crusades, too, he played his part, and finally gave up his life. For, in July, 1270, he set out with Prince Edward, Robert Bruce the younger, the Earl of Carrick, and other daring spirits to fight the Paynim in the seventh and last Crusade, and never returned. Christiana, his widow, had been a widow before, her first husband being Thomas de Lascelles. By him she is said to have had a daughter, Erminia, who, marrying John de Seton, became the mother of Christopher and John Seton. And now, being again bereaved, Christiana was wooed and won by Robert Bruce the elder, who, in right of her title to dower, became lord of Jesmond.

In the early part of the fourteenth century the Manor of Jesmond was acquired by Richard Emeldon, eighteen times mayor, and five times Parliamentary representative of Newcastle—a man of high position in north-country affairs. Fighting for his king at the battle of Halidon Hill in July, 1333, he was slain, and the manor was divided among his three daughters. It is curious to note that this thirding, in a year which contained three threes, has continued down to the present day, and that a portion of the land is still held under its original manorial title.

The devolution of these separate thirds through various noble and knightly families, to whose muniments the author must have had unusual facility of access, is followed by an account of St. Mary's Chapel, once a notable resort of pilgrims, and now, in picturesque ruin, an example of the earliest Norman work in Newcastle. There is also the story of Jesmond Dene, converted by the late Lord Armstrong into a garden of delight, and by him bestowed as a free gift upon his fellow-citizens.

Upon heraldry Mr. Dendy admits weakness, but the blazoning of the shields of the lords of Jesmond, thirty-two in number, leaves nothing to be desired. The index, too, is excellent. It covers thirty-six pages, and each entry contains the pith of the subject matter, whether relating to persons or places.

RICHARD WELFORD.

MON GRAND PÈRE À LA COUR DE LOUIS XV. ET À CELLE DE LOUIS XVI. Nouvelles à la Main. Pp. 218. 4to. Paris: Honoré Champion, Librairie Spéciale pour l'Histoire de France. 1904.

THE writer of *Une Famille Royaliste Irlandaise et Française et Le Prince Charles Edouard*, a work which has already appeared in an English dress, has placed historical students under further obligations by the publication of this work. In it he has added considerably to the materials he had already supplied from private and family sources for a fuller knowledge of the

French career of those Irish regiments who are known in history as the Irish Brigade. Of Irish origin, but long settled in France, the family of Walsh were connected during several generations with the celebrated regiment of Irish Guards, which was raised by the first Duke of Ormond after the Restoration, and which after the Revolution enjoyed for a century a career of honourable distinction under the French Crown. Their services were recognised in the title of Earl conferred by the Old Pretender and in that of Comte de Serrant given by Louis XV. The Duc de la Trémoïlle, to whom we owe the publication of these papers, is connected through the female line with this family, whose representatives were successively Colonels of the Walsh Regiment, and is the custodian of the documents from which these very interesting 'nouvelles à la main' are printed. Already in his *Souvenirs de la Revolution*: *Mes Parents* (Paris, 1901), the editor had supplemented in a considerable degree the information given in *Une Famille Royaliste* regarding the conditions under which the Walsh Regiment was maintained in the French service, and the present volume provides a good deal more on the same topic. It is from this point of view mainly that the book is of interest in connection with the history of the Three Kingdoms, and it is on this account that it is noticed here. To those concerned with French history for the period embraced by the correspondence, the volume makes, of course, a larger appeal. The documents range from 1767 to 1793, though only a very few are of later date than 1782. Most of the letters are those of Philippe Walsh to his father, the Comte de Serrant. They give a lively and natural account of the doings of a young officer in the army of the last sovereigns of pre-Revolution France. The utility of the publication, which is beautifully printed, would have been much enhanced by a table of contents, to say nothing of an index, which in a volume emanating from a *librairie spéciale pour l'Histoire* it seems natural to expect and odd to be without.

C. Litton Falkiner.

Studies in Biblical Law. By Harold M. Wiener, M.A., LL.B. Pp. ix, 128. Demy 8vo. London: David Nutt. 1904. 3s. 6d. nett.

The author asserts that this book 'represents the first attempt to apply the ordinary methods of legal study to the solution of Biblical problems.' He sums up his attitude towards the literary and historical criticism which has been applied to the text of the Pentateuch during the last hundred years as follows:—'First, the development hypothesis is dead . . . no development has been shown. None can be shown. Secondly, the critics have entirely failed to point to any evidence either of composite authorship or post-Mosaic date.' He then proceeds, on the ground of a purely non-critical survey of the traditional text, to make a series of observations about Hebrew covenants and laws, comparing some of the latter with those of other nations. A large part of the book, however, is occupied by denunciations of the critics, 'the members of this strange school,' as he calls them. 'Their treatment of legal and historical materials is beneath contempt: so are their exegesis and literary criticism.' The author is not unconscious of the violence of

his language, for in his preface he says, 'In view of the present condition of Biblical studies, I have been compelled to resort to ruthless intellectual weapons.' Yet he has a certain measure of compassion for the unhappy victims of his acerbity :—'While I have not hesitated to make use of them (viz., the aforesaid weapons) I have felt sincere regret for the pain they must necessarily cause.' But in any case, let it be understood that the merciless devastation he has effected is not the outcome of any personal rancour : 'The books I have refuted were selected because they appeared to be representatives of a whole school of thought, and I have throughout regarded the writers as types, not as individuals.' We fear we can only advise the author that as he has begun by 'refuting' those books, he should now at length proceed to examine them. His work in our opinion is entirely vitiated by what is a practical denial of the validity of the inductive method in connection with the study of the Old Testament.

J. Cullen.

Historical Mysteries. By Andrew Lang. Pp. 304, with frontispiece. 8vo. London : Smith, Elder & Co., 1904. 9s. nett.

By his elaborate studies regarding 'Pickle the Spy,' 'Mary Queen of Scots,' 'The Gowrie Conspiracy,' etc., Mr. Andrew Lang has established a reputation as the Dupin or Sherlock Holmes of historical mysteries. In his most recent volume he has gathered together fourteen shorter studies of similar kind which originally appeared in the *Cornhill* and *Blackwood's* magazines and the *Morning Post*. In point of time they range from 1600, the year of the Gowrie Conspiracy, to 1871, when Sir William Crookes experimented with the 'medium,' Daniel Dunglas Home. Several of the subjects cannot be called historical in the greater sense of the term. Some, indeed, like 'The Case of Elizabeth Canning,' or 'The Campden Mystery,' savour more like curiosities of the criminal courts. Nor does the author pretend to discover in each case new conclusive evidence which shall finally settle the question. In the case of Allan Breck and the Appin Murder he avowedly leaves the mystery where he found it, even while he confesses to have learned on the spot the Celtic secret regarding '*the other man*.' In each case, however, he recounts in clear and deft fashion the vital details of the affair, with the very latest evidence regarding it; in each case the tale re-told is a romance of real life of absorbing interest; and in each case, like everything written by Mr. Lang, the narrative is done with conspicuous vitality and point.

Among the other mysteries, 'Queen Oglethorpe' recounts the remarkable intrigues and fortunes, at the exiled Jacobite court, of the family of girls whose brother was supposed to have been substituted for the dead child of James II., and to have been the Old Pretender. 'The Chevalier d'Éon,' again, collects the latest light on the career of the secret agent of Louis XV., who, in his later days, 'returned to London in the semblance of a bediamonded old dame, who, after dinner, did not depart with the ladies.' Each, it will be seen, affords

a highly interesting glimpse of certain back-waters of history. In the matter of the Gowrie Conspiracy, Mr. Lang argues, and fairly makes out his case, for the innocence of King James. For those who believed the opposite it is only just to remember that Gowrie's was not the first of such opportune removals in James's time. The slaughter of the 'Bonnie Earl of Moray,' nine years earlier, was popularly thought to be owed to the King's jealousy, and the folly of the Queen. But the book enters a wide arena. Mr. Lang himself mentions another half score of the unsolved riddles of history. It may be hoped that he will go on, and after the same entertaining manner set forth more.

GEORGE EYRE-TODD.

THE LETTERS OF DOROTHY WADHAM, 1609-1618, edited, with Notes and Appendices, by the Rev. R. B. Gardiner, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. viii, 89. 8vo. Oxford: Henry Frowde. 1904. 6s. nett.

THESE letters show how a foundress ruled the Warden and Fellows of a college which owed its all to her. The lady probably could boast of no more education than the amount necessary to enable her to pen her signature, but she had decided views on the subject of appointments and other details of the management of the learned institution which she had brought into existence. The Warden and Fellows proved wonderfully submissive to the rule of an old woman: she happened to hold the strings of a purse whose contents they might hope to share. The rights of a foundress are coextensive with those of a founder; when she is giving all she has, a woman's 'sphere' becomes really spherical, and ceases to be a province enclosed by a debatable frontier.

M. BATESON.

HIERURGIA ANGLICANA. DOCUMENTS AND EXTRACTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CEREMONIAL OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AFTER THE REFORMATION. Edited by members of the Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society, A.D. 1848. New edition, revised and considerably enlarged by Vernon Staley. London: Alexander Moring, the De La More Press. Vol. i. 1902; vol. ii. 1903.

IT was certain that any editor of the Hierurgia Anglicana would have much to add. Since 1848 our knowledge of post-Reformation usages has greatly increased. Again, the original work was issued in parts over a period of five years. Mr. Staley has classified as far as possible the various quotations, and the book is now a mine of varied learning. Not everything in it is of equal value; as the editor judiciously says, too much as well as too little may be made of its testimony, but as a whole the work is one which the student will seldom consult in vain. We can scarcely congratulate the publishers, however, on the plan of having a separate index to each volume, and then a supplemental index to both. One may regret that Mr. Staley did not extend his reading to Scotland, for the survival of pre-Reformation customs is a subject as yet but little studied here. For example, the

white cloth which is spread on the book boards of each church at times of Holy Communion is the houseling-cloth. The ringing of bells at certain hours in Scottish parishes frequently commemorates services that have ceased to be. Indeed the misfortune of this book is that it nominally confines itself to the 'Anglican' Church, while its value might have been greatly increased by a survey of the ceremonial of the 'Christian' Church in the three kingdoms. Mr. Staley tacitly admits this when he makes a quotation from the Canons of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK.

NAPOLEON AND ENGLAND, 1803-1813. By P. Coquelle. Translated from the French by Gordon D. Knox. With an Introduction by J. Holland Rose, Litt.D. Pp. xix, 288. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons, 1904. 5s. nett.

WE are glad to have this translation of M. Coquelle's study, which does much to elucidate the policy of Napoleon in regard to England after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. The author successfully takes up the position that, through all the negotiations, it was not Britain which desired war with France, but Napoleon, who could not rest while the command of the sea rested with the power which he regarded as the natural enemy of France. England in 1802 received the French ambassador cordially and was ready to proceed upon a peaceful footing, but was at once met by the check that Napoleon was unwilling to evacuate the Low Countries. The *emigrés* then gave some uneasiness to the First Consul, and we get a glimpse of the court of the exiled Count d'Artois at Holyrood, where the people of Edinburgh gave him royal honours. The question of Holland proved, however, the real obstacle to continued peace. Napoleon was unwilling to evacuate it, in spite of the obligations of the treaty of Lunéville, and his occupation was a standing menace to England, while, as an excuse, he demanded that Britain should abandon Malta. Two private letters, hitherto unpublished (2nd and 3rd April, 1803), from Andréossy to Napoleon, seem to fix upon the latter the intention of provoking a war. 'Everybody wants peace,' wrote the ambassador, 'by preserving the peace of Europe you will crush the country without appealing to the arbitrament of the mailed fist.' No evacuation, however, took place, the English ambassador left Paris on the 12th May, and hostilities began. The English action of seizing two French ships, followed by Napoleon's arbitrary act of imprisoning over a thousand British subjects (including an ambassador) calls forth the curious comment from the author, 'The conduct of the two belligerents was equally unjust, but while the English only seized a few sailors and passengers, Bonaparte imprisoned a large number of the English aristocracy.' In 1806, Fox's disclosure of an alleged attempt to assassinate Napoleon—now Emperor—led to some parleyings; but the retention of Holland again intervened, for Britain was no more prepared in 1806 than she had been in 1803 to see it in French power. In her desire for peace, however, Britain even offered to withdraw from Sicily, which Napoleon desired for his brother Joseph, only claiming

compensation for the deposed king. After some futile and even comic negotiations, however, the appointment of the untactful Lord Lauderdale as negotiator ended in failure. From 1807-1808 Austria attempted to intervene, but failed owing to the attitude of Napoleon. Official diplomacy then ceased and secret methods began, and the schemes of Fouché, Labouchère, and Ouvrard for peace ended in Fouché's exile. In 1810 real negotiations commenced under Colin Alexander MacKenzie, sent to Morlaix to treat for a general exchange of prisoners, whose number was a burden to both sides, but unfortunately they had no success. An exchange was again proposed in 1811, and this was supported by Lord Holland, and by Napoleon himself after the Russian expedition, when, however, it was too late. The whole book shows, we think, that the author makes out his case, which Mr. Rose strengthens by his short introduction. It is, moreover, of great interest inasmuch as it shows incidentally the extraordinary power of Napoleon.

A. Francis Steuart.

Notes on the Early History of the Dioceses of Tuam, Killala, and Achonry. By Hubert Thomas Knox. Pp. xvi, 410. 8vo. With maps. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd. 10s. 6d. nett.

This book is of much more than ecclesiastical interest, and though very modestly designed has a distinct value for the student of the social and political development of Ireland. For a proper understanding of the history of Ireland from the introduction of Christianity to the Anglo-Norman Conquest a knowledge of her ecclesiastical history is of the utmost importance. The bearing of religious problems upon the political evolution of the country is, of course, a main factor down to a very much later date; but a clear conception of the actual ecclesiastical organisation of the country in the earlier period is an essential to any attempt to realise the social system of Ireland in that age. For in the extraordinarily fluid state of the political institutions of the country, the Church was the only organisation with any approach to a settled constitution and a defined sphere of influence. There is consequently no better introduction to a study of that clan or sept history of tribal Ireland which still remains to a great degree unexplored, than a study of the diocesan history of the Church in Ireland. It is upon this account that we welcome Mr. Knox's *Notes*. Notes indeed they are, and only notes. They are very far from being a history; and it is to be regretted that so industrious a worker has not combined the rôle of teacher with that of student, by endeavouring to co-ordinate the information he has collected and to crystallise the results of his study. But in a field where workers are scanty and the rewards are small it would be ungenerous to be disdainful of labour so thorough, and help so modestly tendered, towards the materials for history. Mr. Knox says his notes 'are published in their present form because they would probably never be published at all if they were held back to be recast, and are even so better than no history at all.' They certainly are, and Mr. Knox is entitled to hearty gratitude for presenting the results of years of research in an orderly form for the

benefit of his comrades in the same field of inquiry. Granted such conditions as those which Mr. Knox lays down for his book, all that can be asked is accuracy of transcription, ample references and an adequate index, and we find all these between his covers.

C. LITTON FALKINER.

A HISTORY OF NORTHUMBERLAND. Vols. vi. and vii. By John Crawford Hodgson, F.S.A. Vol. VI., pp. vii, 418; Vol. VII., pp. vii, 530. Newcastle upon Tyne: Andrew Reid and Co., 1902 and 1904.

THE members of the Northumberland County History Committee deserve the warmest congratulation on the regularity with which the volumes of their great work are issuing from the press. In an undertaking of this kind which requires so much research and the collection of evidence from so many sources, it speaks well for the industry of Mr. J. Crawford Hodgson, the editor, and his loyal band of colleagues that such an enormous output of good material should be accomplished in so short a time. For a long period the antiquaries of Northumberland have been setting an example of unselfish co-operation in a common work. The scheme for writing the history of the county was first conceived over seventy years ago by the Rev. John Hodgson, an antiquary whose name takes high rank with those of Whitaker, Hunter, Surtees and Raine among the great county historians of northern England. On the death of Mr. Hodgson after completing three quarto volumes, the project lay in abeyance till the late Mr. Hodgson Hinde wrote a general introduction in 1858 in which he discoursed on the political history of the county with much learning and ability. Nothing further was done till the formation of the present county committee in 1890 when the original scheme was revived with the view of completing Hodgson's work. Since that date seven volumes have been issued on a uniform plan, each volume averaging over 450 pages with illustrations of castles, churches, houses, bridges, charters, seals, old prints and antiquities of various descriptions. In such a laborious undertaking it was inevitable that there should be a change of editor, but it is pleasing to note that little alteration has been made in the method of treatment. Mr. Edward Bateson had charge of the first and second volumes of the new series, Mr. Allen Hinds of the third, while Mr. Crawford Hodgson has successfully carried on the tradition in producing the last four that have been published.

In the two volumes before us districts so wide apart as the neighbourhood of Hexham and Alnwick have been selected. The sixth volume comprises the extensive parishes of Bywell St. Andrew and Bywell St. Peter which include, after the fashion of many civil parishes in the northern counties, a large number of townships and cover an area astride the river Tyne little short of sixty square miles. The region treated of in the seventh volume lies to the south and west of Alnwick between the Aln and 'the beautiful Coquet,' comprising the two ancient parishes of Edlingham and Felton with their respective chapelries of Bolton and Framlington and the monastic franchise of Brinkburn. The parochial history is prefaced by a descriptive account of the geographical situation, geological features and Romano-British remains of the area with which each volume is concerned. The

method which employs the township as the unit in tracing territorial ownership is open to grave objection. But if local conditions suggested its adoption, care should have been taken to note the manors or sub-manors of which it was composed. This, however, has not been the case. Little attention has been given to the part played by the manorial system in local government and little use has been made of the manor rolls which must still exist in Northumberland as in other places. According to our experience the manor was not always conterminous with either township or parish at the date when charter evidence begins to give us guidance, and as a matter of fact in dealing with the ownership of land it is impossible to ignore the question of tenure which is its fundamental dogma. The difficulty of discussing political institutions piecemeal is admitted, but one cannot help feeling that such things should not be altogether overlooked in a work of this kind. There are many tenurial and institutional problems of great interest which lie at the roots of Northumbrian history, still waiting for intelligent interpretation. Perhaps it is hardly fair to point out these omissions. The parochial history as a whole has been carefully traced and the authorities for the more important statements have been given in footnotes. So far as possible the pedigrees with which the volumes abound have been verified or at least they have not been put forward as exact compilations without reference to the sources from which they were derived.

Special features which invest the two volumes with undoubted interest for Scottish students are the contributions of the Rev. Dr. Greenwell who has written full accounts of the great baronial families of Baliol and Dunbar. The history of the barony of Baliol forms a fitting introduction to the topography of the sixth as the house of Gospatric serves a like purpose for the seventh volume. To the task of working out the descent of two families which exercised such a vast territorial influence on both sides of the Border, Dr. Greenwell has brought a long experience as well as a wide acquaintance with Anglo-Scottish chronicle and record. The house of Gospatric alone occupies almost a hundred pages and bears evidence on every page of clear thinking and sound judgment. But this service, important though it be, is only a part of the indebtedness of the *History of Northumberland* to Dr. Greenwell, for the editor acknowledges his sympathetic co-operation in the preparation of the work. In fact Mr. Crawford Hodgson has been most fortunate in his colleagues, as his colleagues have been fortunate in their editor. Without such collaboration a county history on the present scale could not have been written with the fulness and accuracy that prevail through successive volumes.

It only remains to say a word on the general make-up and turn-out of the volumes. True to the traditions of Northumbrian clannishness the printing has been done within the county and a better selection could not have been made. The paper appears somewhat heavy to our taste, but the illustrations are superb.

PLACE NAMES OF SCOTLAND. By James B. Johnston, B.D. Second Edition. Pp. cxi, 308. Crown 8vo. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1903. 6s. net.

THE preface opens thus: 'The fact that twelve years have now elapsed since the preparation of the first edition of this book shows that earnest interest in the study is still confined to a few.' There have been people in the north unkind enough to impugn the authority, to contemn the author's Gaelic, and to maintain that in northern names his errors are to be computed not by instances but by categories. People in the south, too, who were eager to welcome improvements in a second edition of a promising but defective treatise, are distressed by its lapses and futilities, its insufficiency in charter and local knowledge, and the rarity of its happy solutions. Taking at random a handful of names: Borland, Bothwell, Cunningham, Eaglesfield, Kirtle, Lochmaben, Lockerbie, Mains, Ruthwell, Solway, let me dissect them. 'Boreland' like 'Mains' is a term whose important history is evidently unknown to Mr. Johnston. In 'Bothwell' he assigns the second syllable to Norman *ville*, whereas a charter seen by the present writer deals with the 'weyll' or fishpool in the Clyde, which is more probably the source. 'Cunningham,' Mr. Johnston explains as a Gaelic plural meaning milkpails! 'Eaglesfield' he does not know to have been adopted last century from a Mr. Smith's Christian name! 'Lochmaben' is impossibly derived as 'the loch of the bare hill'; there is no hill there. 'Lockerbie' has nothing to do with 'Loker'—whoever he may have been—its oldest form Locardebi proves it to have been named from the family of Locard, afterwards Lockhart, found in the train of the early Bruces. 'Ruthwell' has nothing to do with either 'rood' or 'well.' 'Solway' has a large history which required no trouble to trace. Last comes the 'Water of Kirtle.' It is suggested that it might be from Icelandic *Kyrtill*, a petticoat! The work teems with hopeless etymologies, and although there is a percentage of good ones the trouble is to find them among so many guesses at large.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE ADVENTURES OF KING JAMES II. OF ENGLAND. By the author of 'The Life of Sir Kenelem Digby.' Pp. xliii. 502 with illustrations. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. 13s. 6d. nett.

IN this book the author aims at turning popular attention to the complete life of James II. For the ordinary man, he urges, knows James only at his worst, knows him only as king. But James was more than a king. Most of his life he spent as a soldier, a sailor, and a civil official, capacities in which he deserves respect, while, above all, as the sharer in many adventures he calls for an interest and a sympathy which have rarely been shown him. To the end, then, that in place of the unfortunate memories connected with James's kingship, 'the mind may retain rather the picture of James as a hero and a capable military commander,' the author relates the stirring

episodes in James's life, from the day when as a boy clad in his silks and velvets he saw the battle of Edgehill, until as a worn-out man he made his edifying end at Bourbon. But though well printed, well illustrated, and having an admirable introduction, the book is disappointing, for the author is unfortunate not only in his subject but in his style. After all, James II. is a dull hero. As a soldier he sinks into utter insignificance beside his great leaders Turenne and Condé. As a sailor he plays a more conspicuous part, but to most men the second Dutch War recalls the name of De Ruyter, not that of James of York. It may be true that the life of James II. is characterised mainly by the number and variety of its adventures, but it is as true that in these very adventures James himself rarely plays the leading part.

M. T. R.

Le Comte Guillaume de Portes, 1750-1823; un Gentilhomme suisse au service de la Hollande et de la France (d'après des lettres et documents inédits) par Conrad de Mandach. Pp. ii. 338, 8vo. Librairie académique Perrin et Cie. Paris, 1904.

This book derives its chief general interest from the relation of the de Portes family to that of the pastor Curchod, father of Madame Necker. The friendship, beginning when M. de Portes, *père*, was the *châtelain* and M. Curchod the pastor of the little parish of Crassier, near Lausanne, was continued in the second generation, and the pages in which Guillaume de Portes describes his visits to Madame Necker in the Rue Bergère at Paris are among the most interesting in the volume. Its author, however, claims special historical value for the account left by M. de Portes of the campaign of 1787, when the 'Patriots' of Holland were attacked by Prussia on behalf of the Stadholder, William V. of Orange. The journal written by the Comte, who fought with the 'Patriots,' is one of the few accounts coming from their side, and, as such, must be reckoned with by future historians. The book is well and pleasantly written.

Sophia H. MacLehose.

Mediaeval Manchester and the Beginning of Lancashire. By James Tait, Professor of Ancient and Mediaeval History. Pp. x. 211, with frontispiece and maps, 8vo. No. 1 of the Historical Series of Publications of the University of Manchester. Printed at the Manchester University Press, 1904.

Professor Tait has produced for the first time a really scholarly work upon the early history of Manchester. From the imaginative volumes of Dr. Whitaker, published in 1771-75, to the recent work by Edward Baines, the written histories of Manchester have been largely founded upon traditions, unconfirmed by documentary evidence. It is easy to frame plausible theories upon strained etymologies of place-names, and to invent *post facto* history to account for their existence and survival. But Professor Tait is too sound a historian to follow such will-o'-the-wisps into the Serbonian bog of mere conjecture. He confines himself strictly to 'legible history,' and begins his veritable account of Manchester in the

year 923, quoting an entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which narrates how King Edward the Elder, having reconquered Danish Mercia, and reached its north-western boundary, the river Mersey, built a fort at Thelwall on the south side of the river, and sent a detachment of Mercians up stream 'to Mameceaster, in Northumbria, to repair and man it.' This may link on the tenth century fort to the early Roman camp, and might afford material for much air-woven speculation, had Professor Tait not been otherwise-minded. He points out that no record of Manchester occurs for over a century after this date. King Edward's expedition had evidently dissociated the land 'between the Ribble and Mersey' from Northumbria, and annexed it to Mercia; hence, in *Domesday Book*, this large tract is surveyed as an appendage to Cheshire, while the northern half of the present Lancashire formed part of Yorkshire. From the period of William the Conqueror to the present day the tracing of the history of Manchester is comparatively easy to so thorough a student of mediaeval and modern times as the author. He details the development of the parish, manor, and barony in his first chapter; then he shows how the urban element began to appear in the thirteenth century, and suggests that Thomas Grelley's charter of 1301, by which Manchester became a 'free borough,' probably confirmed existing usages. An elaborate comparison is made of the three charters—Salford, 1230; Stockport, 1260; and Manchester, 1301—which seems to favour this theory. A detailed account of the Grelley family, the first recorded lords of Manchester, is given, from Albert Greslet (*fl.* 1086-94), who figures in *Domesday Book*, to Thomas Grelley, the last of the direct male line, who died, unmarried, in 1311. Professor Tait has drawn up a genealogical table to show that 'Royal blood ran in the veins of the last male Grelley,' through his descent from David I. of Scotland. His grandmother was Cicely, sister of King John Balliol. In this chart, the author has made a curious slip. He describes Alan of Galloway as son of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the grandson of David I.; but Alan was only son-in-law, having married Earl David's daughter Margaret. Though a book about Manchester may not seem a likely place for students of Scottish history to find much material, it will be a mistake for them to neglect Professor Tait's volume. They will there learn how David I. of Scotland, during the reign of Stephen, obtained the northern half of what is now Lancashire, and was in possession of 'the Honour of Lancaster,' at least, it was granted by Stephen to David's son, Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, in February, 1136. It may be remembered that a few years ago a controversy was carried on in the columns of the *Glasgow Herald* regarding David's possession of the 'Honour of Huntingdon.' Professor Tait conclusively shows that 'Honour' did not imply earldom, but only included the property. David never was Earl of Lancaster, but he claimed the 'Honour' as belonging to the earldom of Northumberland, and in 1149 he ceded it to Randle Gernons, Earl of Chester, in exchange for Randle's hereditary claim upon Carlisle. The only fault that can be found with Professor Tait's volume is that the index is too meagre, and that sometimes his references to Scottish history are not absolutely immaculate.

A. H. Millar.

PLACE-NAMES OF ROSS AND CROMARTY. By W. J. Watson, M.A. (Aberd.), B.A. (Oxon.), Rector of Inverness Royal Academy. Pp. lxxxvi, 302. Demy 8vo. Inverness: The Northern Counties Publishing Company, 1904. 7s. 6d.

IN this volume Mr. Watson makes an important contribution to the study of northern place-names, such as marks, indeed, a distinct advance among works of this class. By familiarising himself with the actual pronunciation, taking pains to secure accurate written forms, and having strict regard to phonetic and accentual change, he goes far towards the precision and conclusiveness so desirable in such investigations, but not at all common. One portion, at least, of his critical apparatus he has had to construct for himself, in an 'account of the treatment in Gaelic of the old Norse vowels and consonants.' That this should be a 'pioneer piece of work' suggests how much of haphazard must have gone before. Not that Mr. Watson, even so equipped, has solved every difficulty. 'Doubtless Pictish' or 'pre-Gaelic' indicates more than once a residuum that is scarcely likely ever to yield even to the closest analysis. Adequate material does not exist.

The arrangement in parishes has, no doubt, its advantages, but on the other hand, it results in useless repetitions. 'Milltoun' variously spelled occurs no fewer than seven times, always with the same obvious explanation. Mr. Watson might have discriminated, too, between an independent Gaelic name and a mere home-made translation of one already fixed. *Baile Dhubhaich* is a genuine alternative for Tain, but is *Baile-chailnidh* thus admissible alongside of Pitcalnie (p. 51). It throws no light on the obscurity, and had it been accepted in ordinary usage, the older prefix, as is shown by other examples, would have disappeared. One would have liked to know the authority for *Baile-Dhà 'idh* (p. 125), the Gaelic version of Davidston—on record much earlier than the date attached—the origin of which is purely English, and even traceable. Clearly 'G. Bindeil' (p. 46) is just Norse Bindal (*bind-dalr*) on Gaelic lips. In place-names the line must be drawn somewhere. *Na Sùdraichean* for 'The Souters' will be new to most people thereabout. Once more, is it not simply 'The Souters' in tartan? On the other hand, 'Drieminory' (phonetic) is a live and ancient variant for the South Sutor, and is so given by Hugh Miller. Had it not been for a stupid *ad hoc* story, the connection with 'shoemakers' (sutors) would never have suggested itself for serious discussion (p. 126).

In certain cases Mr. Watson might have taken the general reader rather more into his confidence. Even the elementary reason why *muic* is 'out of the question' for Balmuchy (p. 41) might have been hinted at, especially as in the Appendix (p. 275) he comes back to the same interpretation by a different route. Occasionally we miss a term in the syllogism. How is the Norse *gya*, 'a chasm', even with a Gaelic plural, to be held to apply to a place on account of 'the precipitous rocks on the coast' (p. 47), unless there are actual *goes*, which Mr. Watson does not say. Similar uncertainty attaches, among others, to the etymology and explanation given for 'Lewis.'

To his 'threefold data' Mr. Watson might have done well to add after 'physical characteristics' the element of, say, 'historic circumstance.' Investigation along this line would have saved him from even recording the 'supposition' that the Moothill of Dingwall had anything to do with the 'meeting of the Thing' (p. 93). There is no evidence of such connection in this or any other parallel case. The Dingwall 'Moothill' is of the same class as the Mothill at Cromarty, the 'Mons' of Ormond, and apparently the 'Cnoc a' mhòid' (Moothill) of Logie Easter (p. 62). Mr. Watson, however, simply records these without any attempt at explanation. Yet the last example is, probably, the key to the puzzle of 'Scotsburn' (p. lxxxiii). The 'drowning pool' near was that of the barony of Milnton, not of Nigg.

Mr. Watson seems to be rather loose in his knowledge of the topography of Tarbat. 'Teampall' on p. 48 is a misprint for 'Teampull.'

To the list of Celtic saints commemorated in Ross might have been added, after Skene's identification, Riagail, the Regulus or Rule of Cromarty. Mr. Watson seems doubtful about 'Oran' in Sgùrr U(dh)ran (Glenshiel), and presumably Achyuran (not given) at its base. And who is the saint, if saint it be, of Killechuinard (not given) farther along on the south shore of Loch Duich? When the author limits the sanctuaries in Ross to two (p. lxvi), he overlooks Lewis where, Martin says, every church was a sanctuary.

The Lewis portion of the book, however, is incomplete. Mr. Watson gives 'first' a list of 'the chief Norse words that enter into the composition of names' there, but there is no second list of any sort. The work thus comes to a somewhat huddled and unsatisfactory conclusion. 'Minch' is twice mentioned, but not once accounted for. 'Hamarr' (p. 270) could scarcely, on its merits, mean at once, 'a hammer-shaped crag, and a crag standing out like an anvil.' In old Norse 'hamarr' meant, for *an* obvious reason, both 'rock' and 'hammer.' There are other and more interesting dedications to St. Columba in Lewis than that on the islet of the same name.

Mr. Watson draws attention to his lists of obsolete names, but, unfortunately, makes rarely any attempt to sift or analyse them. Modern 'fancy nomenclature,' such as Barbaraville, Jemimaville, Arabella, and the like, should have been ignored.

The admirable introduction, historical and linguistic, deserves special mention. That the Pictish 'family relations' were non-Celtic (p. xiii) is not so certain as Mr. Watson assumes. It is not likely that he intends to suggest any real difference between (geographically) Northern and Southern Picts, but the language is ambiguous. The force of *neimhidh*, 'church-land' (p. lxii) would have been better brought out by laying stress not upon the secondary 'fanum' or 'sacellum,' but upon the primitive significance of a plot of ground devoted to a sacred purpose. This exactly suits the context.

The work as a whole is of the greatest interest and value alike to the Celtic philologist and the student of Highland history. There is a good index, and the get-up of the book is most attractive.

W. M. Mackenzie.

SAMUEL RUTHERFORD. A STUDY, BIOGRAPHICAL AND SOMEWHAT CRITICAL, IN THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH COVENANT. By Robert Gilmour, Minister of the United Free Church, Musselburgh. Pp. xii, 244. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1904. Price 2s. 6d. net.

THIS curiously composite character, with its contradictory elements of spirituality and spitefulness, of touching sympathy (as revealed in his 'Letters') and of virulent invective (as manifested in his polemical pamphlets) is one that is indeed difficult to estimate fairly or describe objectively in calm, unbiassed portraiture.

The latest biographer of Samuel Rutherfurd (or Rutherford as he prefers, from 'considerations of sentiment,' to name him) has plainly, at all events, endeavoured to hold the balance level and true in his estimate of this great Scottish Reformer. How far he has succeeded we must leave to the readers of this painstaking and sympathetic study to determine. He has certainly done justice to his religious and patriotic enthusiasm, his intellectual acumen, and his strenuous sincerity of conviction.

Perhaps in his estimate of the contemporary influence and subsequent effects of seventeenth century politico-ecclesiastical ideals he has allowed his judgment to be somewhat biassed by his own political sympathies. If Mr. Gilmour is an affectionate admirer of the 'Saint of the Covenant' he is not blind to the flaws and blemishes in the strangely mingled and complex nature of one who may be regarded as combining the characters of Barnabas and Boanerges.

We are grateful for an excellent index, and only wish that the author had given a fuller bibliography than the brief references in his preface, and also that he had presented a more convincing authentication of the striking portrait which forms the frontispiece of the volume.

P. HENDERSON AITKEN.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ST. BONIFACE. By James M. Williamson, M.D. Pp. iv, 138, with 4 illustrations. 8vo. Ventnor: W. J. Knight; London: Henry Frowde, 1904. 5s. nett.

DR. WILLIAMSON has given us a most acceptable book, both because it is pleasantly written and because it supplies a want in popular Ecclesiastical History. Probably only students of Church History will recognise in St. Winfrith the Saxon the distinguished man who is known in the Latin Church as St. Boniface of Mainz, the apostle of Germany. Few Englishmen have figured more heroically in the world-politics of their time than Winfrith. He is among the first from these islands to combine missionary enthusiasm with far-seeing statesmanship. Every Englishman ought to rejoice at this accessible and interesting biography of one of the greatest Saxons. If Boniface had been a Scotsman his memory would have been warmly treasured in his native land. The illustrations are good. The one of the bronze statue at Fulda will help the Saint's countrymen to realise what they might have done at home.

A. B. SCOTT.

MAGNUS SINCLAIR, a Border Historical Novel. By Howard Pease, B.A., F.S.A. Pp. xiv, 397. Cr. 8vo. London: Constable, 1904. 6s.

THE historical and antiquarian interests of the author are well known, and they are visible from this book—an historical novel, concerned with life on the Border and the war in Scotland, about the year 1650. The author has, he tells us in his preface, taken pains to ensure accuracy as to time and place. He has added at the end of his volume 17 pages of interesting historical notes. But it is to be feared that his learning has rather over-weighted his imagination. In spite of some forceful and well-written passages, one has the impression that his story, and how best to tell it, have been rather secondary matters in Mr. Pease's mind. Neither his history nor his plot is so attractive as his obvious and genuine affection for the wholesome Border-country.

HISTORICAL ABERDEEN: THE GREEN AND ITS STORY. By G. M. Fraser. Pp. 44, with six illustrations. Aberdeen: William Smith, 1904.

ALREADY in the thirteenth century there was in Aberdeen a street called 'le Grene,' variously referred to in subsequent times as '*vicus viridis*,' '*vicus de la Grene*,' etc., and giving name in or before the sixteenth century to 'the Grein quarter' of the city. Now it has found a historian in the librarian of the Aberdeen Public Library, who sympathetically sketches its annals associated with the monastery buildings of the Trinity and Carmelite friars, and with the well-known Bow Brig. Mr. Fraser's argument that the Green (as the street is still called) was never a green, but was only the way to a green on the Denburn side, is not satisfactory topographically, nor does it remove the ambiguities of archive references, *e.g.* to the *domus le Grene*, to *crofts in le Grene End*, and to the boundaries of various holdings. This apart, the booklet is an attractive and well-written essay on a segment of Aberdeen.

SELECT STATUTES, CASES, AND DOCUMENTS TO ILLUSTRATE ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. Edited by C. Grant Robertson, M.A. Pp. xviii, 452. Medium 8vo. London: Methuen & Co., 1904. 10s. 6d. nett.

THIS handsome and handy volume is another evidence of the scientific spirit with which the modern school of history is so deeply permeated: students are here afforded an opportunity of examining authorities for themselves and freed from entire dependence on the *ipse dixit* of their teacher. The editor's scheme is a comprehensive one. Part I. contains a collection of Statutes which attempts to cover in 215 pages the period between 1660 and 1832; Part II. is really a book of leading cases on constitutional law; while an Appendix brings together a few miscellaneous documents relative to the years subsequent to 1832. Mr.

Grant Robertson thus presents his readers with what is intended to accomplish for nearly two centuries and a half a similar task to that which two well-known volumes, edited by Prof. Prothero and Mr. S. R. Gardiner respectively, have performed for the century which separates Queen Elizabeth's accession from the date of the Restoration.

Two points of contrast are suggested by the comparison which is thus invited. Where his predecessors supplied their readers with welcome guidance by means of weighty and luminous introductions, Mr. Robertson is content to leave his documents to speak for themselves. These documents, moreover, by no means cover the period selected with the same thoroughness as either of the earlier volumes does. We note, to take one instance only, the absence of the Statute 11 and 12 William III., c. 4, which has been characterized as 'perhaps the darkest blot upon the history of the Revolution.' Space for the more notable omissions might perhaps have been found by relegating the contents of Part II. to a separate book of leading cases, of which indeed there are several already in existence. The best guarantee of the usefulness of this volume in its present shape, however, is that Mr. Robertson's own experience as a lecturer has shown the need for it. The value of such a collection depends on the thoroughness and correctness with which the compiler has done his work; and this requirement is here well satisfied. There is much evidence throughout of scholarly care, although the editor has fallen short of that absolute accuracy which is at once so desirable and so impossible to attain. Thus, in the words of the Coronation Oath Act, 'acuse' on p. 67 reads strangely for 'cause,' and 'Sandaff' on p. 24 should obviously be 'Llandaff.' On the whole, however, there are comparatively few mistakes, and the book will be found useful for students and teachers of history.

WM. S. M'KECHNIE.

CORRESPONDANCE DE LA FAMILLE DES ESSARS; CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION. Par le Comte de Saint-Pol. Pp. 76. 8vo. F. Paillart, Imprimeur-éditeur, Abbeville, 1903.

THE Comte de Saint-Pol has chosen his extracts from the correspondence of the des Essarts with a due regard to their historic value, and his *brochure* furnishes the student of the emigration during the French Revolution with details of very great interest. One is especially grateful for the reprint of documents; such, for example, as those employed in the contest between the Marquise des Essarts—wife of an *émigré*, but herself returned to France—and the municipal and district authorities regarding property held by her in her own right. To save her property the lady was at length constrained to enter a suit for divorce from her husband, whom she re-married when the Revolution was at an end. The value of this correspondence is belied by the short space it occupies.

SOPHIA H. MACLEHOSE.

THE CALEDONIAN MEDICAL JOURNAL. Edited by W. A. Macnaughton, M.A., M.D., D.Ph., and Andrew Little, M.B., C.M. October, 1904. 1s.

THE principal item of interest to readers of the *Scottish Historical Review* in this Journal is the address on 'Ancient Gaelic Medical MSS.' delivered to the members of the Caledonian Medical Society at their last annual meeting by the President, Dr. George Mackay, F.R.C.S.E. Nine fac-simile plates illustrate his observations on these rare old records now preserved in the *Society of Scottish Antiquaries'* Collection, Edinburgh, in the 'Laing' Collection of the *Edinburgh University Library*, and especially in the *Advocates' Library*, which contains the Kilbride and the Highland and Agricultural Society's MSS. Of these latter he refers to fourteen, besides three others belonging to the Faculty, and one in each of the first-named collections. In a popular paper of this kind it was perhaps not to be expected that the author would expatiate on the bibliography of his subject; still even one typical collation would have been interesting and instructive to many lovers of old books. We are all the same indebted to Dr. Mackay for having thus briefly indicated a field of literary and historical research, hitherto practically untouched, not only on account of its inaccessibility, but also because successful exploration of this *terra incognita* demands on the part of the investigator, besides a comprehensive medical knowledge, an expert acquaintance with the peculiar difficulties of mediæval hand-writing, ligatures, contractions, etc, and the practical art of conveying the results of such examination to students of ancient literature in a clear and convincing way.

P. HENDERSON AITKEN.

Messrs. James Finch & Co., 33 Paternoster Row, publish two very unequal historical sketches. One of these does them high credit. It is *Great Britain and Her American Colonies*, by E. L. S. Horsburgh (pp. 100), a succinct well-planned and well-written account of the relations between the mother country and the American states, with especial reference to the political and military policy and events of the Revolution period. The other is *Christianity and History*, by J. Neville Figgis (pp. 80), a somewhat rhetorical tract, much stronger in Christian principle than in English composition.

The Revue des Études Historiques (Nov.-Dec.) has an article tracing the history of the *lettres de cachet* familiar to most of us from their connection with the Bastille. Reminiscences by Joseph Bailly (1801-1831) bring us waifs and strays—among them a description of the abortive attack of British fireships on Napoleon's fleet at Boulogne in 1804.

Another Napoleonic memory is preserved in *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* (Dec.) which reprints the plan of campaign for defence in case of a French invasion.

> 'If an Enemy should land upon our Shores, every possible exertion should be made to deprive him of the means of subsistence. The Navy will soon cut off his communication with the Sea;

> the Army will confine him on Shore in such a way as to make it impossible for him to draw any supplies from the adjacent country. In this situation he will be forced to lay down his Arms, or to give Battle on disadvantageous terms.'

This was a succinct statement of the doctrine of sea-power, with a fine ring of confidence in the national fortune and resource.

Chief matter of northern interest in the *Revue Historique* of late (Sep.-Oct.) was M. Ch. Bémont's notice of Scottish books in his survey of recent contributions to British history. Works so grouped concern more particularly Queen Mary and her period from the infancy when Somerset hoped to found an Empire of Britain down to the religious troubles which she bequeathed to her son. Names which have distinguished our own list of contributors—Andrew Lang, Hay Fleming, Hume Brown, T. G. Law, and W. L. Mathieson—are conspicuous among the authors appreciatively examined. The subsequent number (Nov.-Dec.) contains a neat and satisfying critical analysis of the 'Journal' of Louise of Savoie, mother of Francis I. Written in diary form under dates from 1489 to 1522, its history is found almost always exact and its chronology entitled to very great confidence, although the studies of M. Henri Hauser prove that it was not written as a journal from year to year, but is a redaction probably of 1522. This critic establishes an improved text for the 'Journal' and an unimpaired authority for its historical contents.

We have received the *Review of Reviews*; the Canadian *Queen's Quarterly*; *Scottish Notes and Queries*; the Swedish industrial and commercial journal *Affärsvärlden*, profusely illustrated; the *American Historical Review*, with a good paper on materials in British archives for American Colonial History, and an excellent sheaf of articles, criticisms, and notes.

The Sanctuary Calendar, edited by Percy Dearmer and F. C. Eccles (Rivingtons, pp. 55, 1s.), will interest ecclesiologists, both lay and cleric, with its pictures of robes, altars, and effigies, and its liturgical directions and calendar explanations.

The Reliquary (Jan.) illustrates many fragments of antiquity—details of churches, fonts, money boxes, portrait-medals of Christ, cresset stones (stones with cavities for tallow and wick), an ancient British burial, and a bronze caldron from Peeblesshire. A meritorious tentative paper essays to define the character of the neolithic dwelling in England as generally or approximately circular in plan and beehive shaped in elevation.

Extra welcome falls to *The Antiquary* (Jan. and Feb.), starting this year a new series with an increase of pages and a rising tone. Subjects dealt with include Mr. C. Lynam's notes on Lapley font, sculptured

with Scripture scenes and inscribed 'Het geborte Christi,' Mr. Loftie's historical annotations on some London street names, an article on the younger Pitt as barrister, a revival of discussion of the Irish round towers, and a new interpretation of an alliterative poetic 'prophecy' now shewn to concern Edward III.

From the Carnegie Institution of Washington, one of the papers of the Bureau of Historical Research, there comes an excellent essay on *The Influence of Grenville on Pitt's Foreign Policy*, 1787-1798 (pp. 79) by Ephraim Douglass Adams. Turning to capital account the mass of recent publications, especially the Dropmore manuscripts in the Hist. MSS. Com. Reports, it shews the deepening hold of Grenville on Pitt, first as a confidential subordinate and afterwards as an independent force contrary to Pitt's individual policy especially in relation to war or peace with France.

The English Historical Review (Jan.) is particularly important and interesting. Dr. Greenidge, who is against the sceptics, discusses the authenticity of the Twelve Tables. Sir E. Fry treats of Roncesvalles without new conclusions. Mr. H. W. C. Davis's observations on Cumberland before the Norman Conquest are commented upon by us elsewhere. Mr. F. Baring revives debate on the oft-fought battlefield of Hastings. But nothing in the contents of this number will surpass in value Mr. Whitley Stokes's editing of an unpublished text, the Irish abridgment of the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, an old vernacular translation of Giraldus Cambrensis, curious at many points for its archæological light on the original Latin. Mr. G. F. Warner prints from the original in the British Museum a letter of Anna of Denmark, Queen of James VI., dated from Dalkeith, 31st July, 1601, evidently designed to nourish at Rome the belief that the king of Scotland was going over, if not already gone, 'from the darkness of heresy to the light of Catholic truth.' This article of Mr. Warner's is opportune in its corroboration of the draft of the later letters published by A. Oskar Meyer last year, and reviewed on page 249 of this number.

The Viking is having his day again, now that he has a club established for the sole purpose of doing him honour and collecting his memoirs. The publications of the new Vikings are of large interest and larger promise, and the *Viking Club* deserves well of Scotland. One of its enterprises is a scheme for an elaborate survey and register of Orkney place names, in which there are to be set down all particulars, such as the situation of each named place, its natural features, and the forms and pronunciation of each name, with examples of the older spellings from sagas, charters, and rentals. It may be hoped that some day much of the amateur guessing which often discredits place-name study will succumb to scientific method. This Orkney co-operative plan merits encouragement.

Queries

SIR GILBERT ELLIOT. The following affords an interesting puzzle in necrology. According to Musgrave's *Obituary*, Sir Gilbert Elliot, third baronet of Minto, died 2nd Feb., 1777, reference being made in support of this date to *The Annual Register*, p. 226; *The London Magazine*, p. 110; and *The Scots Magazine*, p. 54. On looking up these authorities I find *The Annual Register* gives the date of death as between the 14th and 25th Jan., 1777; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1st Feb., 1777; and *The Scots Magazine*, — Jan., 1777. Again, Foster in his *Members of Parliament* gives the date as 11th Feb., 1777; in the *Annals of a Border Club* it appears as 7th Jan.; while in *The Dictionary of National Biography* and *The Border Elliots* it is given as 11th Jan. Which date is to be accepted? GEORGE STRONACH.

PANTON. When did the Rev. W. Panton, M.A., Master of Edinburgh Grammar School, Canongate, marry Christian Douglas of the family of Douglas to whom the Akers family is now affiliated?

ST. WTYN'S WYND, MONTROSE. We learn from Mr. J. G. Low's *Memorials of the Church of St. John the Evangelist*, Montrose, that 'John Cant in 1492 bequeathed to the Blackfriars *inter alia* certain tenements in St. Wtyn's Wynd and the Rude Wynd.' Who is the Saint here called St. Wtyn? J. M. MACKINLAY.

COLONEL OF THE COWS. In a volume of *The Famous Scots Series* on 'Viscount Dundee' there occurs the following sentence: 'Two hundred men, as wild as himself [Allan Macdonald] were gathered about Keepoch, the notorious raider, the "Colonel of the Cows," as he was dubbed by Dundee.' Can any of your readers tell me if this 'Colonel of the Cows' is meant for 'Coll of the Cows,' a son of Keppoch? G. S.

Communications and Replies

BLANCHET, THE PAINTER. In 'Miss Katherine Read, Court Paintress,' by Mr. A. Francis Steuart (*Scottish Historical Review*, vol. ii., p. 39), it is mentioned that Miss Read's teacher in Rome in 1751 was a Frenchman named Blanchet, and Mr. Steuart in a footnote states that he cannot identify this artist. We are indebted to 'J. F.' for a communication which shows that one Blanchet painted a number of Jacobite portraits, four of which are in the possession of Mr. Hay of Duns Castle, to whose ancestor, Alexander Hay of Drumelzier, they were presented by the exiled court. The portrait of Prince Charles is, he says, dated 1739 and signed 'G. L. (?) Blanchet.' Mr. F. S. Mawdesley has also kindly communicated to Mr. Steuart that a portrait by L. A. Blanchet of the Duke of York as a Cardinal is in the Earl of Moray's possession, and that it is reproduced in Allardyce's *Historical Papers* (New Spalding Club), ii., p. 606. Another portrait by 'Blanchet' belonging to Colonel Walpole is reproduced in Lang's *Prince Charles*, p. 54 (Goupil Series), and in Drummond Nories' *Prince Charles*, vol. i., p. 38. Whichever Blanchet was Miss Read's master it seems certain, therefore, that he was a Jacobite painter.

WALDEVE BROTHER OF DOLFIN AND THE ABBEY OF CROYLAND. The identity of Waldeve of Allerdale, son of Earl Gospatric of Northumberland, better known as Waldeve brother of Dolfin, with the Waldeve who was abbot of Croyland from 1124 to 1138, has been accepted with more or less diffidence since it was suggested by scholars like Dr. Lappenberg and M. Prevost. Canon Greenwell recently ventured to dispute the identity on the ground that 'it seems scarcely probable that Waldeve son of Gospatric should have entered a monastery so remote from the district with which he was connected, though instances are not uncommon where persons of as high a position as Waldeve assumed the monastic habit. The name was not uncommon at the time, and attached to persons of noble blood, and it is more probable that Waldeve, the abbot of Croyland, was brother to some other Gospatric than the brother of Dolfin' (*Hist. of Northumberland*, vii. 28-9). The view of Dr. Greenwell has not given general satisfaction. Mr. H. W. C. Davis thinks that 'his argument that a Northumbrian would not enter so distant a monastery is weak,' for 'Croyland had a Northumbrian connexion' (*Engl. Hist. Rev.*, xx. 64-5, Jan. 1905). On the other hand, Sir Archibald C. Lawrie states that 'it is possible that he became a monk of Croyland Abbey, and was abbot for the

fourteen years between 1124 and 1138' (*Scottish Charters*, p. 328), though he said on a previous page (p. 318) that 'Waldef brother of Dolfin died before 1138, leaving a legitimate son and heir, Alan, and a daughter, Guynold, who married Uchtred son of Fergus of Galloway.' These conflicting views, advanced with such moderation, may be considered worth a brief discussion.

The origin of the supposition may be ascribed to certain statements of Orderic Viel (bk. iv., cap. 17: xii. 31), which appear at first sight to make the identification unassailable. Orderic says that the abbot of Croyland who succeeded in 1124 was 'Guallevus angligena, Crulandensis coenobii monachus, frater Gospatricii, de magna nobilitate Anglorum.' There can be no dispute that this description suits Waldeve and Gospatric, sons of the famous Earl of Northumberland. It has, however, this distinction, that Waldeve is never called Waldeve brother of Gospatric in English or Scottish evidences: he is invariably named Waldeve brother of Dolfin, or Waldeve son of Gospatric the Earl. No special authority can be allowed to Orderic's statement owing to his stay at Croyland, for his visit to the abbey took place some years before Waldeve's election. It must be admitted also that the identification involves no straining of chronology. Gospatric, brother of Dolfin and Waldeve, was dead before 16 August, 1139 (Raine, *North Durham*, App. No. 20), but we know that he was alive in 1135 or 1136 (*Priory of Hexham*, i. App. No. 9, Surtees Soc.). It matters little whether we accept or reject the interpretation of John of Brompton's text, that this Gospatric was the *summus dux Lodonensium* who was slain at the Battle of the Standard in 1138. The consideration of importance is that if Gospatric, one of the Earl's sons, could be living in 1136, there is no improbability in the assumption that Waldeve, another of them, could be abbot of Croyland from 1124 to 1138. Abbot Waldeve came down to York in 1128 and was present at the consecration of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. 215), an event of supreme interest to northern churchmen. A good example had been set to Waldeve and other magnates of Cumberland by Walter of Carlisle, who took the religious habit soon after 1120, and endowed the priory of his adoption with his territorial possessions. Renunciation of the world by great landowners became fashionable, instances of which are well known in Galloway and Lothian as well as on the English side of the Border.

Now when we turn to Waldeve, son of the Earl, in his home in Cumberland we get little inducement to acknowledge him as abbot of Croyland. His ecclesiastical sympathies seem to have been with the Augustinians rather than the Benedictines. At all events he was the munificent benefactor of the priories of Carlisle, Hexham and Gisburne. It is odd, on the supposition that he had been abbot, that Prior Richard of Hexham should have omitted his name when he chronicled his deposition in 1138 by Alberic the legate, though he thought the name of his successor worthy of mention. Prior John had nothing to add to his predecessor's observations. The two

chroniclers, who lived in the 'county' of Gospatric, one of whom was a canon of Hexham at the time of the deposition, were apparently ignorant of the abbot's identity with Waldeve of Cumberland, the patron of their house, son of their great Earl, *de magna nobilitate Anglorum*. The author of the *Lives of the Abbots of Croyland* (Cotton MS., Vesp. B. xi. f. 77 *a*) vouchsafes no further information except that Waldeve had been deposed on the petition of the convent.

Orderic says that Waldeve had been a monk of Croyland at the time of his election to the abbacy in 1124. The year is important. It is very difficult at this period to date charters, not witnessed by official personages, with any degree of exactness. But a few deeds admit of reasonable certainty. Waldeve of Allerdale was present with Archbishop Thurstin at the dedication of the priory church of St. Bees, which, from the internal evidence of the charters of foundation, must have taken place after 1120. With John, Bishop of Glasgow, he was in attendance at the court of King David in Dunfermline (*Reg. of Dunferm.*, No. 19), which must have been in or after 1124, and judging from the wanderings of that wayward prelate the date may well be placed so late as 1127, or even later. From this it seems doubtful that Waldeve brother of Dolfin, who can have been nobody else but the son of Earl Gospatric, was the monk of Croyland elected abbot of that monastery in 1124.

Other points may be mentioned which appear to make the identification very precarious. Waldeve son of Earl Gospatric, Alan son of Waldeve, and Waldeve son of Alan followed each other in due succession to the Cumberland lordship. The latter Waldeve died without issue in minority, but of sufficient age to make grants of his property. Waldeve, the supposititious abbot, had a wife, Sigirid by name, who is often associated with her son Alan after the death of her husband, or after his abandonment of the world. The loss of Waldeve by vow or by death was soon made up by the choice of another husband, Roger son of Gilbert, a large landowner in Cumberland, of the house of Lancaster, barons of Kendal. Several charters of Waldeve and Sigirid, Roger and Sigirid, Alan and Sigirid, and jointly of Alan, Roger and Sigirid are available. When it is not possible from these deeds to fix an approximate date for Sigirid's second marriage, it would be better perhaps not to hazard a guess. But there can be no doubt that a perusal of them without any prepossessions about Croyland would inevitably impress the reader with the conviction that Alan succeeded, and that Sigirid married after the death of Waldeve.

There is, however, one bit of unquestionable evidence which appears to me of sufficient weight to distinguish Waldeve the abbot of Croyland from Waldeve the lord of Allerdale. In the Pipe Roll of 1130 (pp. 48-9) remissions are made under King's writ to Lancelin brother of the abbot of Croyland (*Lantscelino fratri Abbatis de Croilanda*) by the sheriff of Huntingdon. To suggest that Lancelin was another son of Gospatric, Earl of Northumberland, would be absurd. It may be rash to identify him with Lanzelin of Domesday, an under-tenant of Nor-

thampton, where the abbey had considerable possessions, but the difference of date is no bar to the identification. It is notable that in the accounts of the same sheriff remissions are made to the King of Scotland and Hugh Olifard, a member of one of those Norman families afterwards imported into Scotland by David I. through his connexion with the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton. This local connexion may have been the influence which caused the abbot of Croyland to join the Scottish king and the northern prelates and nobles at York in 1128 rather than any previous affinity with Scotland or Northumbria.

JAMES WILSON.

THE TRADES-BOOKS OF ST. ANDREWS. In his review of *The Baxter Books of St. Andrews*, in the last number of the *Scottish Historical Review*, Mr. Renwick expresses the opinion that it may be difficult to gather from any single source such a complete series of records. Comparatively little has been done to elucidate the history of the various crafts in Scotland. That there is abundance of unpublished material can hardly be doubted. As an indication of what exists, I now give a list of the records of the St. Andrews crafts, so far as they are known to me. In this city there were seven incorporated trades, namely, the hammermen or smiths, the baxters or bakers, the wrights, the tailors, the fleshers, the websters or weavers, and the cordiners or shoemakers. The deacon of each of these crafts was, *ex officio*, a member of Town Council; and so was the deacon-convener. Some of the minute-books are not quite continuous, and none of them goes back to the origin of the craft to which it relates.

Hammermen,	1539-1792	Tailors,	1659-1815
Baxters,	1548-1566	„	1815-1866
„	1573-1800	Fleshers,	1610-1844
„	1800-1861	Weavers,	1751-1848
Wrights,	1605-1795	Shoemakers,	1616-1796
„	1795-1854	Conveners,	1594-1817
„	1814-1855	„	1817-1847
„ Box-masters,	1796-1816		
„ „	1816-1869		

There is also one volume of a trade which was not incorporated, namely, the Maltmen, 1762-1849

Of these volumes some are in the town's safe, some in the University Library, and some are still in private hands. In the meantime they are all in St. Andrews and in safe keeping. It will be noticed that two of the wrights' books partly cover the same period, but the one is not a duplicate of the other. I have only examined them very superficially, but observed that each contained minutes which were not in the other, and when both contain minutes of the same meeting the language of these does not always correspond. One seems to have been kept by the deacon, the other by the official clerk. Although the cordiners' book only goes back to 1616 as a minute-book, it contains complete lists of the deacons, freemen, and apprentices from 1524 to 1616, copied from an earlier

volume, and it also contains a number of statutes and ordinances copied from the old book. At the beginning of the maltmen's book some rules are copied in from an earlier book which began in 1730.

Perhaps some one may be able to supplement the above list. There is reason to believe that several volumes were destroyed by ignorant owners not many years ago, but others may be in private hands either in St. Andrews or elsewhere. It may be mentioned that the hammermen's volume turned up in Paisley and the earliest of the wrights' in Edinburgh.

The Editor is indebted to Dr. Hay Fleming of St. Andrews for this note. Similar lists for other towns would be of value.

CAPTAIN JOHN PATON OF MEADOWHEAD. This Covenanter-soldier has not been happy in his biographer in *The Dictionary of National Biography*. His Christian name has been changed into 'James' and his farm into 'Meadowbank.' A very few lines are considered sufficient for a soldier who fought for Protestantism in Germany under Gustavus Adolphus, for Presbyterianism with Cromwell at Marston Moor, for his king at Worcester, for the Covenant at Bothwell Brig, and died when about eighty years old on the scaffold, boldly adhering to his principles. But space is found for an extract from the *Historical Notices* of Lauder of Fountainhall, an active persecutor of the Covenanters. In vol. ii. page 559, Lauder notes: '9th May, 1684. Captain Paton is execute by hanging at the Grassmarket. He was willing to have taken the Test, but a quorum of the Privy Council could not be then had to reprieve him.'

Lauder's book was not published till 1822; it confirms to some extent the assertion at the time that Paton might have been saved from the gallows. The Covenanting party said the Bishop of Edinburgh deliberately held back a reprieve obtained from the King by General Dalziel with whom Paton fought at Worcester. He might have been saved, according to Lauder, had the Privy Council taken the trouble to meet. Lauder may be trusted to tell the truth about his friends of the Council, but no one who has read the Captain's testimony on the scaffold will believe this story about the Test.

A recent search among local records has brought to light a few items about Captain Paton and his relatives.

First as regards his maternal grand-parents. In the register of the Court of Session, in a case of Lawburrows, complaint is made in 1632 that Sir William Muir of Rowallan had infringed his bond of caution by assaulting Thomas, son of Janet Muir, widow of Matthew Paton, in Warnockland. The complaint is made not only in her own name, but in that of Jonet (*sic*) Paton, her daughter and her spouse John Paton, in Meadowhead. And also in the name of John, Marion, Agnes, Thomas, Robert, and Alexander, bairns of the said Janet Muir. This John Paton in Meadowhead is the *Captain's father*, who it thus appears married a Paton from Warnockland, a farm on the Rowallan estate, about four miles away. Sir William is the well-known historian of his own family, who describes himself as 'pious and learned'! The assault may have been his pious way of collecting rents!

Concerning the Captain's first marriage a register found in Lochgoin contains: '1656, June 25, John Paton in Meadowhead and Janet Lindsay-Paton in Airnoch were married,' by Mr. Guthrie. This farm of Airtnoch adjoins Meadowhead, and in *Scots Worthies* Howie says his children continued tenants of both farms till the day of his death.

'1659, May 24. A daughter of John Paton in Artnoch was buried unbaptised.'

His second marriage is not registered, but the Fenwick register records: '1679, January 3. David, son of John Paton and Janet Miller in Meadowhead was baptised.'

No other issue of this marriage is found in the registers, but Howie reports that by this second wife he had six children, the eldest, a daughter, being about fourteen in 1684. There are families living who trace their descent from a Janet who married Thomas Taylor in Craigenduntan (an adjoining farm) and from a Mary who died in Rawsmuir, Grougar, and was buried 23rd October, 1755, aged seventy-eight—making her birth-year 1677. The Kilmarnock register gives her marriage 5th January, 1705, to Andrew Brown, servitor to James Gemmell in Blackwood, Grougar (the first marriage of both).

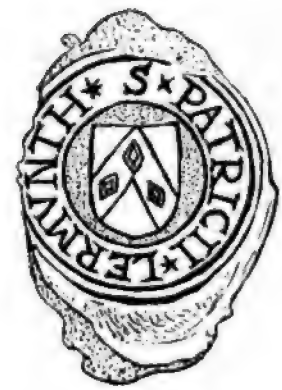
At least one of these children was a son, as Howie in his *Memoirs* (published 1796), page 34, says: 'I arose and took my Bible (which was that which Captain John Paton gave to his wife off the scaffold, which I had lately got in a compliment from my wife's mother, my wife's father having got it from the said Captain's *son's* daughter's husband after her death).' This Bible is still at Lochgoin.

J. R. Paton.

Notes and Comments

THERE has recently been made over to the Town Council of St. Andrews the rectangular stone here figured from a sketch made by Mr. Hardie of the *St. Andrews Citizen*. This stone from the Old Town Hall in Market Street, with the arms of the city and of Provost Learmonth and the date 1565, has been preserved in the Museum for forty years or more. The arms in the one compartment are those of Provost Sir Patrick Learmonth of Dairsie, while in the other

Armorial Stone at St. Andrews.



there appear the boar and the tree of the city arms. Another little sketch by Mr. Hardie here reproduced gives a very clear impression from Sir Patrick's seal. He appears to have been provost from 1550 until 1586. On the list of the provosts drawn up by Mr. Hay Fleming, the Learmonths very nearly monopolise the office from 1495 until 1607. 'They held the provostship so long,' he remarks, 'that they seem to have regarded it at one time as almost if not altogether a hereditary right in the family.'

ALLITERATIVE study is helped by two essays in the Publications of the Modern Language Association of America (xix. 1), both concerning the beautiful poem, *The Pearl*, which, maugre philology, 'certain Scotch writers continue to ascribe to Huchown' or Sir Hew of Eglinton. Professor W. H. Schofield establishes an important relationship between a Latin eclogue by Boccacio, written soon after 1358, and part of the plot of *Pearl*. In the eclogue the poet's vision is

New Light on The Pearl.

of his dead little daughter appearing to him in Paradise richly vestured and glorified. The father is astonished, and the child explains that she owes her transformation to the Virgin. In *Pearl* this plot is repeated, with additions, however, of moment (which have been assigned to the *Trentalle of Gregory*), including the surprised father asking whether his child is not the queen of heaven herself and why she wears the crown. Although the precise connexion of Boccacio's poem with *Pearl*—whether as immediate source or as a variant of a theme of the time—can hardly be settled 'in a hand while,' the parallel is no accident and is vital. Dr. Carleton F. Brown writes on the author of *Pearl* in the light of his theological opinions, and fairly establishes the curious point that the poet, incidentally discussing the rank in heaven of a baptised infant, resolves the problem somewhat against current orthodoxy in holding that by parity from the parable of the vineyard the degree of grace of the infant is the same as that of an adult. Dr. Brown also carefully works out proof that *Pearl* contains repeated citations from Mandeville's *Itinerary*, almost certainly in its French version. These twin essays of American scholars are capital types of a demonstrative system of literary analysis: the theory springs from a basis of fact-building. Whether we accept all the conclusions or not, we owe the authors the gratitude due for solid news from the fourteenth century.

Maiden Lilliard's Monument.

'FAIR Maiden Lilliard
Lies under this stane,
Little was her stature
But muckle was her fame,
Upon the English loons
She laid monie thumps,
An' when her legs were cuttit off
She fought upon her stumps.'

A.D. 1544.

Tradition, what crimes against history are committed in thy name! *The Story of Maiden Lilliard: Is it a Myth?* This is the title of a paper by Mr. George Watson, Edinburgh, read at a meeting of the Hawick Archæological Society, 20th December, 1904. Associated popularly with an incident of the battle of Ancrum Moor, the monument inscribed as above is a well-known landmark for the Border tourist. Mr. Watson's answer to his own question leaves no doubt whatever that the episode of the heroic maid is a myth altogether. The name of Lyliattis Cros, variously spelt, is familiar in record a century and a half before the day of Ancrum Moor. A charter of William the Lyon mentions the erection of a great stone on the north side of 'Lilisyhates' as a boundary, and from the fourteenth century 'Lylyet Cros' was a recognised meeting place for Border negotiations. Similarly, on the west march, the Border meeting place was at the Lochmaben-stane, then called Clochmaben-stane, on the edge of the Solway at the mouths of the Sark and Kirtle. History and etymology together thus appear absolutely to exclude the tale of tradition dating back to the first half of the eighteenth century. It is a splinter of romance, probably due to the place name being imaginatively explained by

folk-lore under the influence of the ballad of Chevy Chase, where Witherington, it will be remembered, although 'in doleful dumps,' with his legs smitten off, still 'fought upon his stumps.' Mr. Watson deserves commendation for a demonstration so complete. But no doubt there will still be sticklers for the verity of the tale. Even when the feet are cut from under it, the story will for a generation or two longer fight on what remains of the stumps.

Protection of Historical Monuments.

THE Antiquaries' Club and the Cockburn Association of Edinburgh have printed for private circulation a pamphlet under the title *The Care of Historical Cities* (Edinburgh: Darien Press, pp. 31, price 1s.) containing a report on the measures in force in Continental countries for the protection of historical and artistic monuments in the older cities. It is very properly acknowledged that laws and regulations are of small avail unless they represent public opinion. But the enactment of local bye-laws of this sort is in itself a proof of the public sense of their necessity. Citations from such ordinances in force at Rome, throughout Bavaria, in Hildesheim, Rothenburg on the Tauber, Lübeck and Frankfurt am Main are capital supports of the argument implied by the pamphlet that in our own country the statutory protections for certain 'Ancient Monuments' are only a beginning, and that there is urgent need of an extension of the principle. Of course, there will be difficulties in the way of determining the best methods of check. Where town improvements are proposed, the municipalities are by no means the safest guardians of a delicate public trust, where aesthetic and historical considerations may conflict with a projected line of street. On the Continent, as with ourselves, protective societies sometimes co-operate with urban authorities, but such conjunct action must be precarious. Corporations are jealous of outside control, even for aesthetic and antiquarian uses. A qualified power of veto, vested in town councils and county councils would be a marked advance on no veto at all.

Plea for the Historical Teaching of History.

A SARCASM lurks in the very title of the inaugural lecture of Mr. C. H. Firth as Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. His *Plea for the Historical Teaching of History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904, pp. 30, 1s.) is, as he himself announces, a plea for giving future historians a proper professional training in Oxford, and is 'therefore'—significant word—'an attack on the system of historical education which renders it impossible.' Believing as he does that real work in history means discovery, that the study implies an endeavour to add to the common inheritance of knowledge, he concludes that surely the teaching of history means an endeavour to train men capable of adding to knowledge. Yet, he sadly owns, 'at present there is no place in England where men are properly trained for that work.' And so he argues for a co-ordination of studies, *e.g.* in palaeography, diplomatic, medieval history, archaeology, and incidentally historical bibliography, so as to equip men for research. It need hardly be said that from the standpoint of a historical periodical Professor Firth's contention to be granted needs only enunciation. In

Scotland the Fraser chair goes some way to meet the requirements of special teaching, and great hopes are entertained that Prof. Hume Brown's zeal will ere long have its reward in a school of Scottish history. But of course in the matter of co-ordination Scotland is nowhere, and recent teaching of history has few triumphs to claim in notable additions to knowledge made by students of the historical schools. We have to learn much of our history at haphazard, only acquiring by the errors of experience a working knowledge of the tools. Perhaps it will not always be so. A plea like Mr. Firth's adjusted to the Scottish forum ought to command attention. Universities are apt in such matters to be centres of conservative chaos, but even the wilderness listens to a living voice.

Gospatric's Letter.

DEBATE concerning Gospatric's letter, which has been often noted in our columns (i. 62, 105, 240, 344, 353), scarcely seems to have yet solved any of the chief disputed issues. Our readers are familiar with certain of the arguments of Mr. Wilson for a date after 1067 and before 1092. A case for a date before the Conquest is presented with considerable detail by Mr. H. W. C. Davis in the January number of the *English Historical Review*. The chief points are (1) that the document seems to imply the co-existence of Earl Siward and Gospatric when Gospatric granted the letter; (2) that Gospatric does not style himself earl; (3) that 'Eadread' is best understood as Ealdred, earl of Bernicia 1019-1038, predecessor of Siward, who was earl of Northumberland 1041-1055; (4) that therefore the document cannot be dated later than 1055; (5) that probably the granter was thus not Gospatric, son of Maldred, but a Gospatric of about a generation earlier, Gospatric, son of Uhtred, earl of Bernicia; and (6) that Allerdale, no longer Cumbrian, had probably been annexed to Northumbria shortly before this curious writ was drawn up. We have not at present the advantage of being able to consider Mr. Wilson's full historical setting of the document, though we know that when it appears in a forthcoming volume of the *Victoria History of Cumberland* it will contain important propositions regarding the holding of Cumbria from 945 onward, and the relationship of Cumberland to the Northumbrian earldom both before and after the Conquest. Meantime Mr. Wilson's position seems to be that the Northumbrian earls exercised jurisdiction over the Cumbria south of Solway for the most part of the eleventh century to the exclusion of Scotland. After 1066 Gospatric, son of Maldred, did his best to maintain the independence of the earldom by playing the Norman against the Scot and trusting neither. 'The peace which Earl Siward and Gospatric bestowed on the Cumbrian thanes' was in this view not granted concurrently, but successively. When Mr. Davis says that 'the lord of Allerdale ignores Earl Siward in disposing of rights to the east and south of Shauk, etc.,' the interpretation appears strained, for the grant would be natural and regular enough if by successive magnates.

The positions of Dolfin and Waldeve at Carlisle and in Allerdale at a subsequent date are thought to be strong arguments in favour of Gospatric, son of Maldred. In fact, the deed would explain their presence in these

places. The lateness of the transaction is further supported by the allusion to Moryn as the owner of Dalston. He was dead at the time of the grant, but Harvey, son of Moryn, was in possession of that lordship *temp.* Henry I., and forfeited it before the accession of Henry II. The same view may be taken of the mention of Sigulf. The proposed modification of the form of the name of 'Eadread' in the hope of identifying him with Earl Ealdred suggests the observation that there is perhaps no need for such illustrious kinship, if a change of form be allowed.

Comparison of the phrases 'in Eadread's days' and 'in Moryn's days' suggests similar local positions. There was an Ealdred in Cumbria, the contemporary of Moryn, who held a large slice of the district bordering on Allerdale. From this Ealdred two of the most distinguished of the thirteenth-century families of the district have taken their origin.

Evidently the two Gospatrics and the two Ealdreds will need as much 'deciphering' as did the two Dromios. And there were other Gospatrics contemporary besides. The matter calls for some balancing. Doubtless the scale on the main issue must ultimately turn according as we conclude upon the first of the six points of discussion noted above, in the light of Mr. Wilson's placing of Moryn in Cumbrian record.

Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow.

At a meeting of the Historical and Philological Section of the Royal Philosophical Society (Feb. 15) Mr. J. T. T. Brown, vice-president, read a paper on 'Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*.' Starting with an examination of the *Historia*, the lecturer showed that the Vulgate version must be a redaction made some time between 1139 and 1147. Rejecting Dr. Evans's theory that the work was written before 1129 by command of Henry I., he rather maintained the view that the first edition cannot be earlier than 1135, the Bec manuscript used by Henry of Huntingdon in 1139 most probably representing the earliest text. In his opinion the Merlin book was originally a separate work dedicated to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and only incorporated afterwards. Having adverted to Henry of Huntingdon's use of Geoffrey, he expressed an opinion that the passage in William of Malmesbury as to Arthurian fables is an expression of contempt inserted by that historian when revising his chronicle, and is to be regarded as a veiled attack on the *Historia*. By some such explanation he thought the facetious allusion to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon in Geoffrey's epilogue can best be explained. He concluded with an account of Geoffrey's influence on English literature from the 12th century to the present day.

Glasgow Archæological Society.

Professor Medley, in a paper (Feb. 23) on 'The Setting of the Miracle Plays,' remarked that the miracle plays were deserving of closer study, as going to prove that life in our island in the Middle Ages was not a unique development along lines essentially its own, but was merely one phase of the general development which permeated the whole of Western Europe. Mr. James S. Fleming described and traced the history of the old castle of Newark at Port-Glasgow. Some discussion followed as to ensuring its preservation.

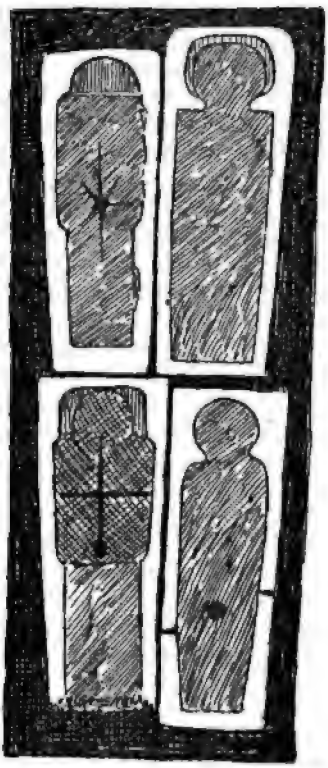
St. Andrews Cathedral.

FEW men of our time have 'howked' more or to better purpose—literally and allegorically speaking—than Mr. Hay Fleming. His *Howkings in St. Andrews Cathedral and its Precincts in* 1904 is a reprint of articles from the *St. Andrews Citizen* in September and October last. Most notable have been the results from the operations in the chapter-house. Two full-length cists or slab coffins were found in the vestibule of the chapter-house, which has been regarded as the old chapter-house; subsequently five dug-out coffins were found in the new chapter-house. These burials Mr. Hay Fleming tentatively suggests as possible to be identified with the two burials recorded by Bower in the old chapter-house—viz., of the priors John of Hadyngton and Adam Machan; and the five he mentions as having been made in the new chapter-house—viz., of John of Forfar, John of Gowry, William of Lothian, Robert of Montrose, and James Bisset. Rough sketches (Nos. 1 and 2) of the five coffins from the new chapter-house are here given from the reprint. The skull in the first of these is peculiarly shaped, as shown in the cut No. 3. In the coffin at the right-hand bottom corner of cut No. 2 there was found the heart-shaped piece of lead shown in cut No. 4, suspected to have been an amulet. In the top left coffin of sketch No. 2 the remains bore the mark of its owner having undergone a serious operation, a circular hole larger than a half-penny having been cut in the skull almost directly over the right ear. Other cuts here given show fragments of glass found in the transepts and chapter-house during the operations of the Saint Andrews Antiquarian Society. These illustrations are by Mr. Hardie, and have been kindly lent by Messrs. Innes, Cupar-Fife.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

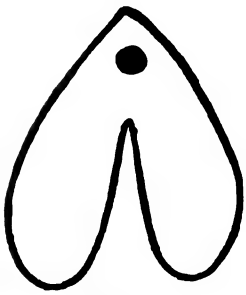
MR. J. S. FLEMING described (Jan. 9) the ancient building known as the Regent Mar's Ludging, in Stirling. Its roofless walls consist of an ivy-covered front elevation with two hexagonal towers flanking an archway, and showing among other sculptures the Royal Arms of Scotland, with the date '1570' over the archway. The history of its erection is obscure, but there seems to be little foundation for the popular tradition that it was constructed with the stones of Cambuskenneth Abbey.—Mr. Alan Reid described the more interesting points in the history of Colinton Church and parish, and gave examples of the sculptured emblems and memorials to be found among its monuments, including the burial places of the Pitcairns of Dreghorn, the Gillespie family, and Inglis of Redhall. One grave-slab of mediæval times taken out of the floor of the church bears in the centre a cross, with a quatrefoil head of a type common in the thirteenth century, flanked on the sinister side by a broad-bladed sword with cross-hilt. A fine sundial, bearing the name and arms of Sir James Foulis of Colinton and the date 1630, is built into the south-west angle of the church.—Mr. Alexander O. Curle communicated some notes on the account-book of Dame Magdalen Nicholson, widow of Sir Gilbert Elliot, first Baronet of Stobs, 1671 to 1693, a daughter of Sir John Nicholson, of Lasswade.

The Hon. John Abercromby, secretary, described (Feb. 13) some excavations made last summer in Shetland and also the exploration of a cairn

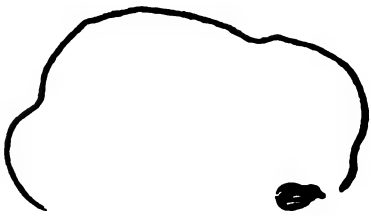


No. 2

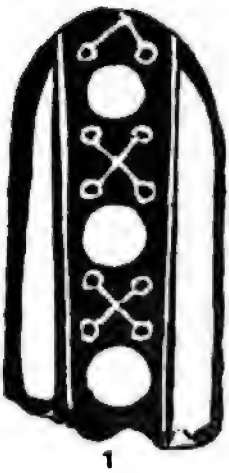
No. 1



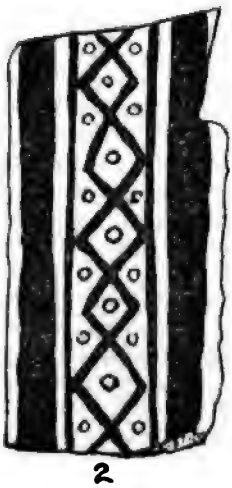
No. 4



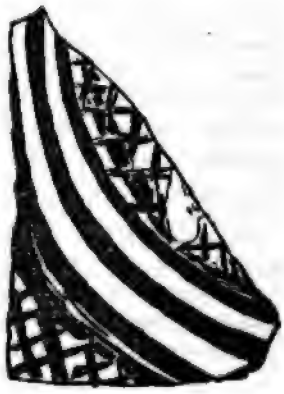
No. 3



1



2



on the top of Dunglow, one of the Cleish Hills, in Kinross-shire. The first site examined in Shetland was at Fathaland, in the parish of Northmavine, a low grassy mound which had been supposed to be a Broch. The excavation, however, showed it to be a dry-built structure with none of the normal characteristics of a Broch. The entrance, about 4 feet wide, is on the south side, leading into a chamber or space of irregular shape about 24 feet across. The objects found were fragments of rude unglazed pottery, some vessels of steatite, and many fragments, net sinkers, pestles or pounders, and bones of domestic animals, and shells of edible molluscs. He also reported on his excavations of a sepulchral cairn known as the Trowie Knowe, about half-a-mile north of Lochend. On one of the summits of the Cleish Hills, on the southern boundary of Kinross-shire, named Dunglow, at an altitude of 1240 feet, there is a somewhat inconspicuous cairn, having a diameter of about 50 feet, and not exceeding six feet in height. Excavation revealed no definite structure in the cairn, but towards the centre there was found a hollowed-out tree trunk of oak about 7 feet in length, and much decayed towards one end. The other end indicated that it was probably the remains of a tree-coffin burial, of which several examples are on record in Scotland, England, and Scandinavia, yielding interesting remains of the Bronze Age.—Mr. Alexander Curle gave an account of the fortifications on Ruberslaw, Roxburghshire, and of some Roman remains found there. On a slope towards the base of the hill are two contiguous rectangular enclosures, each nearly 100 feet square. In the debris of the upper fortifications there have been found several shaped building stones of sandstone, carefully dressed on one face with the diamond broaching characteristic of Roman work.—Mr. F. R. Coles, assistant keeper of the Museum, gave an account of the excavation of two stone circles, and the survey of several others on Deeside. One at Garrol Wood, in the parish of Durris, is a circle with a recumbent stone between two of the pillars, of which eight remain standing and one is prostrate. The other circle excavated was in the Ordie Gordie Wood at Glassel. Nothing was found except charcoal and one small chip of flint. A circle in the Image Wood, Aboyne, was found to consist of five stones, a sixth being absent.—Mr. J. Graham Callander recorded the discovery of two cinerary urns and a pendant of slate found in a gravel pit at Seggiecrook, in the parish of Kennethmont, Aberdeenshire. The first urn was found upright, and filled with burnt human bones, among which were four pieces of flint. The second urn was much broken, but had contained the burnt bones of a cremated interment like the first, and had been ornamented with patterns made by the impress of a twisted cord of two strands in the soft clay.—Colonel Malcolm, C.B., of Poltalloch, Argyllshire, exhibited seven entire urns and three portions of broken urns found at various times on his estate, and preserved at Poltalloch House. The majority of them are of the low bowl-shaped variety usually found with unburnt burials, and are profusely decorated.

The
Scottish Historical Review

VOL. II., No. 8 JULY 1905

The Household of Mary Queen of Scots in 1573

IN 1572 the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew was nearly proving fatal to Mary Queen of Scots. She was more closely watched than ever at Sheffield, but the wave of excitement passed, and in the summer of 1573 she was allowed to receive the Chancellor of her dowry lands in France, and drew up that *Etat*, or list of her pensioners and household, with their pensions and wages, which follows. The list has not previously been published, and the Society of the Inner Temple has kindly allowed me to have a transcript made (by Miss E. M. Thompson) from the MS. in their Library. Mary's *Etat* of 1566 is referred to in the casket letter from Glasgow to Bothwell, usually printed as Number II. 'The King sent for Joachim yesternight, and asked him . . . if I had made my *Estate*' (a passage omitted in the English translation).[1] I observed, in discussing the Casket letters, 'If this yesternight means that Mary was in Glasgow on the day before she began writing, the dates cannot be made to harmonise with facts,' for on that scheme her first night of writing would be January 22, her second January 23; Bothwell therefore cannot receive the letter till January 24, on which day he went to Liddesdale; and Paris, the bearer, declares that he gave the letter to Bothwell the day *before* he rode to Liddesdale. But, I pointed out, Joachim, the *valet de chambre* to whom Darnley spoke 'yesternight' probably went to Glasgow a day before Mary, to prepare her rooms.[2] This guess was right. In the *Etat* which Mary drew

[1] *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, pp. 316-317, 1904.

[2] *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, pp. 248-249.

up on February 13, 1566-67, we read, '*à Joachim Paris, qui servira de fourrier*, viii.xx. *livres tournois*.'[1] The *fourrier* is the servant who goes in front to make ready the rooms, and Mary's man was Joachim! Thus the dates of the letter fit the facts, and *that* part of the fatal letter Mary wrote.

Opposite the *Etat* of July 31, 1573, I print the corresponding entries of the *Etat* of Feb. 13, 1566-67, signed by Mary three days after Darnley's murder. It will be observed that a surprizingly large number of Mary's attendants in Scotland in 1566-67 remain on her Household list in her captivity in 1573. But opposite the names of many occurs the entry *néant* £0. 0. 0.). They were out of her service, and were not in receipt of pensions. Perhaps in some pages an old list was employed, and brought into harmony with the actual expenses of 1572-73. In other cases, though the name of a person appears on the list, with the entry of his wages, there is reason to believe that the money is paid merely as a pension, in the absence of the recipient. Examples will follow.

Mary was the most generous and most grateful of mistresses: the letters of her long years of captivity are full of proofs that she forgot no loyal retainer, and never wearied in securing their welfare. On their part they never wished, or very seldom wished, to leave her. Of her *valets de chambre* at the time of Darnley's murder, Joseph Riccio thought it best to go abroad at once; of Joachim we lose sight. Paris was executed, but Bastien Pages, at whose wedding Mary danced on the night of the murder, was faithful to the end. Servais de Condé, her steward, whose accounts are published in Joseph Robertson's *Inventaires de la Reyne d'Escosse*, went abroad, but, ten years later, Mary writes again and again to Archbishop Beaton in the interests of the faithful servant whose name had, somehow, been omitted from her *Etat*.

Mary entered England, after her flight from Langside, with sixteen persons in her company. In September of the same year, 1568, Cecil ruefully reckons 'almost 140 people' in her train. Among these were George Douglas and 'Little Douglas,' the heroes of her escape from Loch Leven; Bastien Pages and his wife; 'Gilbert Curle, Secretary'; 'Nawe, a Secretary'; Mary Seton; and Lords Livingstone, Fleming, and Herries.[2]

[1] Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii. 273 (1862).

[2] Bains' *Calendar*, ii. p. 154.

On February 5, 1569, Shrewsbury, at Tutbury, counts her attendants at sixty. Mary was content that they should be reduced to thirty, exclusive of women and grooms of the stable. The *valets de chambre* are Bastien Pages, Balthasar Hully, Gilbert Curle, Ange Marie, Will Douglas, Florens Gwarde. Mackinson is groom of the wardrobe, Raulet is secretary.[1]

In May, 1571, Lord and Lady Livingstone are still with Mary, among the thirty attendants allowed to her, *plus* nine others, 'permitted of my Lord's' (Shrewsbury's) 'benevolence.' But Ninian Winzet, the ex-schoolmaster of Linlithgow, the unanswered challenger of Knox to disputation, and finally, by Mary's influence, the Abbot of Ratisbon, is ruthlessly turned out, Shrewsbury having discovered that he is a priest. 'Ange Marie, perfumer,' is also dismissed, he found a place in the French Embassy in London.[2]

When the Duke of Norfolk was imprisoned in September, 1571, on account of the scheme for his marriage to Mary, her household was again reduced. In a touching letter of September 18, 1571, she bids her exiles farewell, 'You, William Douglas, believe that the life which you risked to save mine will never be left destitute while I have one friend alive.'[3] They are all to go to her ambassador in Paris, Archbishop Beaton, and to be supported out of her dowry. Bastien was allowed to remain with her.[4] Now we find the names of these faithful servants in the *Etat* of 1573, and it may probably be understood that, though they receive their *gages*, they are absent from their mistress.

On the news of the Bartholomew massacre of August, 1572, Elizabeth avenged the Protestant cause by ordering Mary's Household to be reduced to sixteen persons, and attempted to induce the Regent Mar to receive her in Scotland, and cut off her head 'at sight.' Mar died on October 28, and the scheme fell through. In May, 1573, her last fortress in Scotland, the Castle of Edinburgh, fell: Kirkcaldy was hanged, Lethington died, her party was powerless and headless, and Elizabeth could afford to be good natured. The chancellor of Mary's French estates, Du Verger, was allowed to visit her on June 9, and

[1] Bain, ii. 617.

[2] Leader, *Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity*, p. 186, note 2.

[3] Labanoff, iii. 381. [4] Labanoff, iii. 373.

remained at Sheffield till July 31, when the *Etat* of 1572-73 was finished and signed.

The whole amount paid in pensions and wages is rather over 15,000 *livres tournois*, as against 34,000 in 1566-67. Most of the expenditure attests the Queen's unprincely gratitude and more than Royal generosity, for the majority of the recipients of 'wages' are merely pensioners. She still pays the pension of 1566-67, to her grandmother, the Dowager Duchess of Guise, and to Madame de Betoncourt, wife or widow of her own mother's Master of the Household. She raises Mary Seton's fee from 200 to 400 *livres*, and pays Mary Beaton (*Lady Boyne*) 100 *livres* in absence.

Most of the other ladies on the roll, though paid, were far away. In many cases the pension is reduced from the old rate of wages, but the servants are not forgotten.

For example, her confessor of 1566-67 (who believed her innocent of Darnley's death) receives 200 in place of 500 *livres*, and Ninian Winzet is provided for. Possibly Ange Marie had returned to service, with Gilbert Curle, but Willie Douglas, in absence apparently, receives his full rate of wages. The most interesting personage among the Valets is the famous French painter, Jehan de Court. In 1566-67 he received 240 *livres*, exactly what the great Clouet got, as Court painter to Henri II. In 1573 de Court is on an ordinary Valet's fee, as pension. On the death of Clouet, in August, 1572, de Court succeeded to his place as Court painter of Charles IX. with a salary of 400 *livres*.[1]

I am not absolutely certain that de Court was in Scotland with Mary in 1566-67, though it seems improbable that even she would then pay him the full salary of a Court painter if he was not with her. Even in her captivity, when she needed every *sou* for the support of her militant party in Scotland, she did not forget the distinguished artist.

Under *Gens de Mestier* there is a blank, but in 1578 she certainly had an embroiderer: probably the Pierre Odry of 1566 returned to service, for in 1578 P. Oudry signs the portrait of the Queen, 'the Sheffield portrait,' inherited by the Duke of Devonshire from the Countess of Shrewsbury, the wife of Mary's gaoler. We omit, as of little interest, a list of ten pensioners, French, and unknown to fame. The *Etat* is a permanent

[1] Dimier, *French Painting in the XVI. Century*, pp. 238-241.

witness to the Queen's gratitude and generosity, at a time when her dowry money was irregularly and possibly not honestly paid.

Estat 1566-67.
Edinburgh, Feb. 13, 1566-67.

PREMIEREMENT DAMES.

Madame la Duchesse Douairiere de Guise. VIII. C. L. T.

Mademoiselle de Curel. IIII. C. L.

Mademoiselle de Pinguillon. IIII. C. L.

Madame de Betoncourt. III. C. L.

Madame de Briante. III. C. L.

Mademoiselle de Seton. II. C. L.

Madame de Bouyn. [Boyne. Mary Beaton.] II. C. L.

Absent in 1573. Lady Atholl. Mary Fleming (Lethington). Mademoiselle Semple. Mademoiselle Erskine.

La Souche. III. C. L.

Lucresse de Beton. II. C. L.

Rallay. II. C. L.

FEMMES DE CHAMBRE.

Courcelles. LX. L.

Marie Gobelin. LX. L.

Anne L'Enfant. LX. L.

Estat de la Reyne Marie d'Escosse d'Angleterre et de France par elle dressé a Cheefeld le dernier Jour du Mois de Juillet mil cinq cens soixante treize po^{r} le Règlement de sa Maison. 1573. Inner Temple MS. 7226, No. 90.

PREMIER LES DAMES.

Madame la Duchesse Douairière de Guise a gaige de huit cens livres tournois par an.

Madamoiselle de Curel a quatre cens livres tournois de gaiges par an.

Madame de Reguillon (?) a quattre cens livres tournoys de gaiges par an.

Madame de Betoncourt la Sõme de trois cens livres de gaiges par an.

Madame de Brianté a mesme gaiges de trois cens livres tournois par an.

Madamoiselle de Seton a gaiges de quattre cens livres tournois par an.

Madame de Boyn a gaiges de cent livres tournois par an.

Madamoiselle de Verger a gaiges de deux cent livres tournois par an.

FILLES DAMOISELLES.

Madamoiselle la Souché Gouvernante des filles quitta ses gages au moyen de l'assignation qui luy fut baille po^{r} le don a elle faict.

Damoiselle lutresse de Beton a gaiges de . . . (Blank in MS.)

Madamoiselle de Rallay a gaiges de trois cens livres tournois par an.

Madamoiselle de Couselles a deux cens livres de gages par an.

FEMMES DE CHAMBRE.

Marie Gobelin a gaiges de quinze livres tournois par an.

Anne l'enfant aux gages de an—quinze livres tournoit par an.

Pochomnères (*sic*). LX. L.

Madamoiselle la Rochonnière aux gaiges de soixante livres tournois par an.

Madamoiselle Jehanne de Kiene aux mesmes gaiges de lx lb. tournois par an.

Hélène Boc. XL. L.

Damoiselle Eleen Bog et Damoiselle Christine Hog aux mesmes gaiges de lx lb. &c. par an.

Jacqueline, Gouvernante de la Jardinière. XL. L.

A Jacqueline Gouvernante de la Jardinière aux gaiges de xl lb. tournoys par an.

A Marie Pages a cent souls tournois de gaiges par an.

A Marie Hanet aux mesmes gaiges de cent souls tournois par an.

Marie Carré. Lavandière. VI. XX. L.

Marie Carré lauandier aux mesmes gaiges.

FEMMES DE CHAMBRES DES FILLES.

Catherine Bingneton. XL. L.

Catherine Bigneton aux gaiges de Christofflette.

Jumeau aux gaiges de dix livres tournois par an.

AMBASSADEUR.

M. de Glasgo. III. M. LX. L.

AMBASSADEUR.

Monsieur de Glasgo aux gaiges de trois mil soixante livres tourñ par an.

MRES D'HOSTELS.

Sieur de Pinguillon. VI. C. L.

Monsieur de Reguillon (*sic*) premier aux gaiges de six cens livres tournois par an.

Sieur d'Esquilly. VI. C. L.

Monsieur desquilly aussy aux mesmes gaiges de six cens livres tournoys par an.

ESCUYERS TRANCHANS.

Bethon. III. C. L.

Monsieur de Beton aux gaiges de quattres cens livres tournois par an.

Monsieur de Cartely aux mesmes gaiges de quatre cens livres touñ par an.

PANNETTIERS.

Fils du Sieur du Crocq. III. C. L.

Le Fils du S^r. de Crocq sans gaige.

La Montaigne. III. C. L.

La Montaigne sans gaige.

Rollart. III. C. L.

Raullart. Neant.

Four others.

ESCHANÇONS.

ESCHOINCONS.

Sieur du Crocq. III. C. L.

Le S^r. du Crocq aux gaiges de septante cincq livres tournois par an.

Melgon. II. C. L.

La S^r. de Melgom aux gaiges de deux cent livre tournois par an.

Boucyn. II. C. L.

Le S^r. de Boyn. Neant.

ESCUYER D'ESCURIE.

Leviston. III. C. L.

Le S^r. Thomas le Vingston a deux cent livres tournois par an.

ESCUYERS TRANCHANS.

Le S^r. Jean Hammilton aux gaiges de deux cent livres tournois de gaiges par an.

Bethon. III. C. L.

Le S^r. Estienne Beton aux gages de deux cent livres tournois.

Dessalles. c. l.

Le S^r. des Salles a cent livres tour de gaiges par an.

Escuyers d'escurie.

Bourtiq. ii. c. l.
Rochefort. iii. c. l.
Devaux, qui aura la charge de la garde-robbe d'Escurie. ii. c. l.

Le S^r. Borthieck. Neant.
Le S^r. de Rochefort. Neant.
Le S^r. de Vaulx qui at la charge de la Garderobe a l. livres touf par an.

Le S^r. de grafurd a trois cent livres tournois de gaiges par an.

Chancelier.

Monsieur du Verger a six cens lb. tournois d'entretenement au gages par an.

Gens du Conseil.

Little alteration. They acted in the French dowry lands.

Gens du Conseil.

Messire Francois de Beauquaire aux gaiges de cent souls tournois.

Monsieur Chemynon Mfe des comptes a cent livres tournois de gaiges par an.

Monsieur de la Riche Juge Criminel a Poictiers a cent livres tournois de gaiges par an.

Monsieur Mangs Advocat a Paris a dix livres tournoys de gaiges par an.

Le Nepheu de Mons^r. Boucherat a vingt livres de gaiges par an a luy ordonné.

Mfe Francois Channelin Solliciteur a cent livres tournois de gaiges annuels.

Mfe Pierre Baron Procureur du Parlement a cent livres tour de gaiges par an.

Mfe . . . Rohe a Chaumont a cinq^te livres tournois de gaiges.

Mfe Julien demorennes Procureur des comptes a vingt livres tourñ de gaiges.

Mfe . . . de Ihon Advocat du Roy de Parlement a vingt livres tournois de gaiges.

Gerard de Hault dict Gobelet a dix livres tournois de gages.

A Mfe Pierre Hotman Mre des Comptes a trois cens livres tourñ par an de gaiges.

Mfe . . . Choppin Advocat a dix livres tournois de gaiges.

Mfe . . . Monthelon a dix lb. &c. de gaiges.

Mfe . . . Versores aux mesmes gaiges de x lb. &c.

Mfe Gallope aussi a dix livres tournois de gages.

Mfe Edmond du bois procureur aux gages de x lb. &c.

Confesseur.	Confesseur.
Roch Mammerot. v. c. l.	Mſe Rochmammerot Docteur en Theologie aux gaiges de deux cent livres tournois.
	Chappellain.
	Mſe vbimande Vinhet a six vingt livres tournois de gaiges (Ninian Winzet).
	Clerc de Chappelle.
	Mſe Robert Anthelet aux gaiges de . . .
Secretaires.	Secretaires.
Parcheminier. ii. c. l.	Mſe Claude les Parcheminier.
	S^r. de landouze premier au gaiges de deux cens livres tournois.
Raulet. ii. c. l.	Mſe Pierre Raulet aux mesmes gaiges de
[Joseph Riccio. ii. c. l.]	deux cens livres tourñ.
Lenfant. c. l.	Mſe Michel l'enfant aux gages de cent livres tournois.
	Eleahard du Bonél dict chasteaudun aux gaiges de trente livres tournois.
	Ryer aux gaiges de deux cent lb. tournois
	. . . Danelourt aux mesmes gages de deux cens livres tournois par an.
	Mſe Gassinois aux gages de cent livres tournois par an.
	Mſe . . . du Moulin aux gaiges de cents sols tournois par an.
	Symon de la Roche aux mesmes gaiges de cent sols tournois.
	Contrerolleur et Clerc d'Office.
Guy Fournier. viii. xx. l.	Guy Fourmier clerc d'office aux gaiges de huict vingt livres tourñ de gaiges.
	Medecins Chirurgien et Appoticaire.
De Lugerie. iii. c. l.	Le S^r. de lugerie p^r. aux gaiges de trois cens livres tournois.
Marguerin du Castel. v. c. l.	Mſe Marguarin du Castel aux gaiges de cincq cens lb. tournois.
Arnault de Colommiers. v. c. l.	Mſe Arnoult de coloninère aux gaiges et g^d.
As Valet de Chambre.	Mr̃e de la Garderobbe.
Baltazart Hully. viii. xx. l.	Balthazard Hully aux gaiges de deux cens livres tournois.

	VALLETTES DE GARDEROBBE.
	Jacques de Senlis a cent lb. &c. de gaiges.
	Robert Makison aux mesmes gages de cent lb. tournois.
	Jan Bertin aussi a cent lb. &c. de gaiges.
	Charles Bailly aussi a cent lb. tournois de gages.
	Jacques Bourdault aux susdz gages de c. lb. &c.
	Rene Hully aux gages de vingt lb. tournois.
	VALLETS DE CHAMBRE.
Bastien Pages. VIII. XX. L.	Bastiaen Pages a huict vingt lb. tournois de gages.
Angel Maryé. VIII. XX. L.	Ange Marie aussi a huict vingt lb. tournois de gages.
Gillebert. VIII. XX. L.	Gilbert Curel aux susdz gages de huict vingt lb. tourñ.
	Guille d'ouglas aussi aux mesmes gages. (William Douglas.)
	Florent Guerraud au mesmes gages.
	George Robeson aux mesmes gages.
	Florent Brossier aux susdz gages.
Jehan de Court, Paintre. II. C. XL. L.	Jehan de Coart aux mesmes gages.
Michel de Mura. VIII. XX. L.	Michel de meura. Neant.
René Gondeau. VIII. XX. L.	René Godeau. Neant.
Toussainctz Cursolle. VIII. XX. L.	Toussains Cour. Neant.
Joachim Paris, qui servira de fourrier. VIII. XX. L.	Joachim Paris. Neant. Guille Halley. Neant.
TAILLEUR.	TAILLEUR.
Jehan Poulliet. IIII. C. L.	Jean poulliet dit de Coinyngne a deux cens livres tournois.
	HUISSIERS DE CHAMBRE.
	Archibald Beton aux gages de huict vingt lb. tourñ.
	Jacques my my aux gaiges de quarante lb. tournois.
Lois de Forestz. VIII. XX. L.	Louys Foresse. Neant.
	Thomas Archibali a huict vingt lb. tournois de gaiges.
HUISSIERS DE SALLE.	HUISSIERS DE SALLE.
René de Bourneuf. VI. XX. L.	René de Bourmœuf. Neant.
Isaac Collet. VI. XX. L.	Isaac Collet. Neant.
VALETS DE FOURRIÈRE.	VALLETS DE FOURRERIE.
Nicolas Guillebault. IIII. XX. L.	Nicolas Guillebault. Neant.
Pierre Donville. IIII. XX. L.	Pierre Somille porte table a vingt lb. tournois de gaiges.

Sommeillers de Panneterie.

Cault. c. l.
Laffineur. c. l.
Mounot. c. l.

Aydes.

de la Salle. } lx. l.
Chou. }
Dumoncel. }

Sommeilliers d'Eschançonnerie.

Baille. ii. c. l.
Vienne. c. l.
Vincent. c. l.

Aydes.

Didier Chifflard. lx. l.
Bertrand. lx. l.
Jehan du Fan (*Sommier*). lx.

Maitre Queux.

Noel Froissard. c. l.

Potager.

Pierre Medard. lx. l.

Hasteux.

Hubert Parfors. lx. l.

Enfant de Cuisine.

Guillaume Moreau. xxx. l.

Gallopins.

The same two. x. l.

Porteurs.

Dedisson. } xx. l.
Lefort. } xl. l.

Huissier.

Jumeau. xl.

Sõmelliers de Pannaterie.

Guille le Seig^r aux gaiges de cent lb. tournois.
Nicolas de Coult. Neant.
Jacques l'affineur. Neant.
Marc Mounet. Neant.
Alexandre Schot a cent lb. tourñ de gaiges.

Aydes.

A Guyon l'oiselet a lx lb. tourñ de gaiges.
Jehan de la Salle. Neant.
Nicolas Chou. Neant.
Jehan Moncel. Neant.

Somelliers d'eschanconnerie.

A Leonard Baille. Neant.
Guille de Vienne. Neant.
Louys de Vinarn. Neant.
Didier Chifflart a cent lb. tournois de gaiges.

Aydes.

Jean Bertrand. Neant.
Gielie le Roide de lx lb. tournois aux gaiges.
Jehan du Fan Sommier des bouches a xv lb. tournois de gaiges.

Mẽr queux.

Noel Froissart. Neant.
Martin Huet lx lb. &c. de gages.

Potager.

Pierre Medart cent lb. &c. de gages.

Hasteux.

Hubert parfours. Neant.

Enfans de Cuisine.

Guille morreau. Neant.

Galloppins.

Andre Liste. Neant.
Guille Dunkyron. Neant.

Porteurs.

Jehan de Disson. Neant.
Guille le Fort. Neant.

Huissiers.

Jehan Jumeau. Neant.

	Officiers de Cuisine.
	Commun Escuyer.
Maistres Queux.	Mre Queux.
Lavance. c. l.	Nicolas lauener. neant.
	A Estienne Hauet la Somme de huict vingts livres tournois por vne annee commencant le pr Jour de Janvier et finessant le dernr Jour de Decembre mil cincq cens soixante treize.
Pasticier.	Paticier.
Jehan Dubois. c. l.	Jehan du bois aux gaiges de cent livres tournois.
Garde Vaisselle.	Garde de Vasseille.
Adrian Sauvaige. viii. xx. l.	Adrian Sauuaige aux gages de . . .
Fruictiers.	Fruitiers.
Vavasseur. lx. l.	Jehan Vavasseur aux gaiges de . . .
Boq. lx.	Jehan Bog escossois aux gaiges de . . .
	Huissier et Marischal des Dames.
Sert d'Eau.	Sert d'eaux.
André Maguichon. lxx. l.	André Makyson aux gages de lx lb. tournois.
	Huissier du bureau.
Valets des Filles.	Vallets des Filles.
Jehan du couldray. xl. l.	Jehan de Couldraye. Neant.
	Palferniers.
	Gilbert Bonar a l. lb, &c. de gages.
Gens de Mestier.	Gens de mestiers pensionnaires.
Garroust. *Passementier.* c. l.	
Pierre Odry. *Brodeur.* c. l.	
Richevilain. *Orfèvre.* c. l.	
Alizart. *Cordonnier.* xl. l.	[Blank.]
	Aultres pensionnaires.
	Of eighteen in 1567, ten are still paid. Raulet, pensioned in 1566-67, is in the Queen's service in 1573.

A. Lang.

Side Lights from the Dunvegan Charter Chest

AN enormous number of documents are preserved at Dunvegan, the ancient seat of MacLeod of MacLeod in Skye. I have, however, no intention of giving any detailed account of these papers in the present article. Interesting though they may be to members of the family concerned, such things as charters, instruments of seisin, grants of non-entries, and the like are apt to be somewhat dull reading. I propose rather to lay before the reader such selections from these papers as seem likely to be interesting from the quaintness of their phraseology, from their reference to historical events or from the light they throw upon the conditions of life which prevailed in the Highlands and Islands during the 16th and 17th centuries. A perusal of such papers impresses on one's mind the utter lawlessness which prevailed during this period in this part of Scotland. Thus in 1527 letters of apprising were issued in the King's name against Alexander MacLeod of Dunvegan, and the Sheriffs were told to summon the King's lieges to assist them, 'because ye said Alexander duellis in ye Hieland where nane of ye officeris of ye law dar pas for fear of yair lyvis.' Skye, like Galway at a later period, was assuredly 'west of the law.' Again, on the death of William MacLeod of Dunvegan in 1553, the family estates passed, legally speaking, to his daughter Mary, who was thus one of the greatest heiresses in Scotland. The nobles of Scotland were vying with each other for the privileges attached to the guardianship of so wealthy an heiress. The Earl of Huntly, Lord Kintail, and the Earl of Argyle each in turn obtained her wardship, and she was married by the last-named peer to a relation of his own, Campbell of Castle Swinney. But though Mary was the undoubted owner of the estates in the eye of the law, her uncle, the male heir, took possession of them and held them in spite of her legal rights, and at length, about 1570, she recognised the

futility of persisting in her claims, and resigned all right to the property, receiving a dowry of £1000. Her descendants were constantly endeavouring to substantiate their claims, alleging some flaw in her resignation, but they never succeeded in doing so.

As a matter of fact, however, a very large part of the Highlands was *de facto* in the hands of owners who *de jure* had no claim whatever. Sometimes the Kings of Scotland created jealousies and strife between the great chiefs by granting the lands of one powerful laird to another, and even making simultaneous grants of the same estates to different people. In 1498 James the Fourth granted the Bailliary of Trotternish to both MacLeod of Dunvegan and to MacLeod of the Lewes, leaving them to fight it out between them. In 1542 James the Fifth granted the estates which had been for centuries the property of the MacDonalds of Sleat to MacLeod of Dunvegan, a grant which was the cause of endless disputes between these powerful clans.

The Kings of Scotland were directly responsible for the turbulence and unrest which prevailed in the Highlands at this period. As long as they were united under the strong rule of the Lord of the Isles, the Highlanders lived at peace among themselves, but were an unceasing cause of anxiety to their rulers at Edinburgh. Long after the final forfeiture of the Island Lords their representatives were constantly endeavouring to regain their lost power. As late as 1545 seventeen of the chiefs entered into negotiations with Henry VIII. with a view to transferring their allegiance to the English monarch. This shows the reality of the peril the Scottish Kings had to face, and it may well be that they considered any policy justifiable which would sow dissensions among the members of a confederacy which had been for two hundred years an unceasing source of danger to the kingdom.

I take almost at random some other instances showing the lawlessness which prevailed during the period under consideration. In 1674 proceedings were taken to obtain payment from M'Neil of Barra of some money due from him to a merchant in Glasgow for 'certaine merchand wear' bought by him, and an unfortunate messenger named Munro was sent to serve legal letters on M'Neil. The results were disastrous, for 'Rorie M'Neil in hye and proud contempt of His Majesties authoritie did deforce molest trouble and persew the said messenger and notar, and did most cruellie and inhumanlie dischairge foure scoir shott of hagbutts muskets gunns and pistols at them, and threw great stones frome the house whereby they were in hazard of being

brained and so durst not for thair lyvis approach nearer to have left copies at the principall door thereof, as use is, so they left them on the ground, on being informed of which Rorie M'Neil and others to the number of twentie all armed with hagbutts guns pistols and other invasive and forbidden weapons, being thieves robbers sorners and broken men did persew and follow after the said messenger and notar to the yle of Fuday and ther did take and apprehend ther persones, and did detaine them captives and prisoners ther the space of two dayes, still threatening and menacing them and did most proudlie and insolentlie robb the wreits they had then in their compayne from them and in high contempt of his Majesties authorite did rend and ryve the samen.'

Rorie M'Neil, however, did not get off scathless. He was tried at Edinburgh in 1679, and fined £1000, and to be imprisoned till the fine was paid, while one of his dependants named Donald Gair was also condemned; 'his haill moveable guids and gear were escheat,' and he was imprisoned during the King's pleasure.

In 1587 Rorie M'Leod of Dunvegan seems to have been guilty of an act of piracy on the high seas, in that 'he reft spulzied and took certaine wairs guids and geir out of a bark at ye mouthe of Loch Long.' In this case, though justice was very slow, the delinquent had to pay the value of the goods taken, £500. The discharge is dated December, 1604, and sets forth all the circumstances.

In 1618 we have a very curious account, relating how a 'certaine Kenneth M'Alayne of Glenelg did wrang in his wrangous violent and masterful spoliation away takyng recepting and withhoulding by himself his servants complices and utheris in his name, of his caussing sending out command reset and assistance and ratifakatione fra Alexander Duff Johnsone Burgess of Inverness furth of his merchand builth in Inverness upon the twentie first day of November, off the particular quantitie of guids geir and merchandeice particularlie under wrettin of the pryce particularlie under specifeit.'

Then follows a long list of the articles stolen. This includes 'gryt blew bonnates' worth £12 Scots a dussein, 'less bonnatis' worth £10 the dussen, kourdes (which, I suppose, is cord), 'beutting clathes' which cost thirty shillings, groceries, and other miscellaneous goods. Besides all these, a quantity of money was stolen, including an item of 'forty fyve aucht schyllinge pieces,

pryce of the every one of them nyne schyllinges.' There is no evidence to show whether the unlucky complainer ever got back his property or the value of it.

It would be easy to multiply instances showing the lawless condition of the Highlands during the 17th century, and, as will be seen further on, letters written at the period are full of references to tumults, robberies, and crimes of all kinds. Perhaps one great cause of this was the appalling ignorance which prevailed in all ranks or life. The clergy were more or less educated, and in 1559 the Earl of Argyle signed his name to a bond of manrent, which is among the Dunvegan papers, but his writing is phenomenally bad, and a few years earlier not one of the seventeen chiefs, who signed the commission referred to above authorizing their envoy to treat with Henry VIII., could write their names.

The usual form of signature was 'with my hand led at the pene by ye notar becaus I can writ nocht, by my command.' Even Marie MacLeod, who, as is proved from the Lord Treasurer's accounts, was, about 1560, attached to the Household of Queen Mary, could not write. Her uncle, Tormod, is said to have been educated at Glasgow, but, if this be true, writing cannot have been included in the curriculum, for he signed in the usual form.

His son Rorie Mor was the first chief who could write, and he always used the Erse character; his wife, a daughter of the house of Glengarry, was, however, illiterate.

In 1609 Bishop Knox succeeded in getting the Western chiefs to accept the Statutes of Iona, the sixth of which provided that the eldest sons of the upper classes should be educated in the lowlands; and we find from that time forward among the bills and discharges preserved at Dunvegan a large number for tuition, board, and lodging at Glasgow and Edinburgh. Towards the end of the century, Mr. Martin, the historian, was governor to the young lairds at Dunvegan, and the chiefs' daughters were educated at Edinburgh, learning music, dancing, and painting in much the same way as to-day.

In the eighteenth century, but not earlier, we begin to find among the estate accounts items relating to the salaries of school masters maintained for the instruction of the masses. One is somewhat surprised to find from the places at which documents were executed how much travelling was done in the seventeenth century. The Chanonrie of Ross, now called

Fortrose, seems to have been a great place for transacting business, many deeds being dated there. Rorie Mor died there in 1626, having probably gone there on business, and is buried in the Cathedral, and the same chief frequently visited Glasgow, and once went to London, as is proved by a letter from King James to the Council in Scotland, dated 1613.

There were, of course, no roads in the West Highlands, but there was an excellent breed of ponies, as is mentioned in the notes attached to a curious map of Skye made about 1650, and even in the south at that period wheeled conveyances were not much used. But no doubt most of the travelling was done by sea. In a charter, dated 1498, MacLeod is required to keep ready for the King's service one galley of 36 oars and two of 16 oars. The young Captain of Clanranald married Moir MacLeod in 1613, and she received as tocher, in addition to 'nine scoir of gude and sufficient quick ky (*i.e.* 180 living cattle), ane gailley of twentie foure airis with her sailling and rowing geir gude and sufficient.'

The fact that almost all the instruments of seisin were dated in May and none of them in winter, probably points to the difficulty of winter travelling, and no doubt locomotion was slow and uncertain. One letter, towards the end of the seventeenth century, says what a wonderfully quick journey the writer had, having actually come from Edinburgh to Dunvegan in a week.

After the restoration, Rory MacLeod went to London. His 'Taylor's bill,' in 1661, amounted to something like £3000 Scots, about a fourth of his rental, and this was probably an outfit to go to Court. The clan had suffered very severely at Worcester, and I dare say he thought the King would confer on him some signal mark of Royal favour. But Charles never even referred to the sacrifices the clan had made in his cause, and MacLeod returned north much mortified. He is said to have declared that never again should clansmen of his draw sword for the ungrateful Stewarts. They certainly never did. There are letters extant from James II. and Dundee, in 1690, imploring their assistance, and no effort was spared to attach them to the Stewart cause in 1715 and 1745, but they took no part in any of these risings.

There seems to have been no regular post at all. The letters contain very frequent references to the opportunities which some chance traveller gives of sending a letter, and to the expense of sending a special messenger. Frequently a letter is an answer to one dated several months before. Probably the lack of postal

arrangements accounts for the small number of letters dated before the beginning of the eighteenth century. The earliest is a missive anent Glenelg, addressed by a certain Ronald M'Alayne to Rory MacLeod of Dunvegan in April, 1596. A dispute as to the ownership of one third part of Glenelg had been going on ever since the early years of the sixteenth century between Lord Lovat and MacLeod. From this letter it appears that MacLeod's instrument was 'tint,' and that great efforts had been made by both parties to find it, the one party intending to 'keep it weel t'other to ryve and burne it.' The phraseology is deliciously quaint, but the letter is too long to give in full.

A letter, dated November 24th, 1666, from a tailor in Edinburgh, regrets that he can get no holland 'worthie your Honours wear, the merchants being afrayd to take in mair by reason of the great trubble yat is happening heir.' This refers to the Pentland rising and the Battle of Rullion Green. Another letter from Edinburgh, in October, 1667, says: 'There is account of internal trubbles in the next countrie. Tweddale has gone to Court. The Douglass Regiment is recalled to France. The French King has adopted our King's mediation between him and Spain in the affairs of Flanders, and hath been asked by the Holland ambassador to mediate lykwayes; however he is strengthen with 150,000 men against the next seasan.'

A letter from D. M'Kinnon in 1677 is very curiously worded. 'These are shewing that I had a continual motion since leaving your honours house, but I hope it will with Gods grace rest in ye proper center if yair cum not greater opposition, but it also empties ye bottom of my purse. It is uncertaine qhat will befall the Duke of Lauderdale, but we expect he will cum frie off.'

The timber merchant who, in 1672, agrees to sell 600 'dealls' at £42 per 100, but begs MacLeod to tell everyone he paid £48, is somewhat naive. His ending is rather amusing. 'Right Honourable your Honour's everlasting servant to command while I am.'

A certain Alexander MacLeod, referring to an invitation his daughter has received to stay with a friend, is most anxious that she should go, because he is 'fully persuaded of her opportunitie to attain to some more breiding by the society of your virtuouse bed felloe.'

The same writer in another letter asks for 'ane gallon of ye best liqour which is for the use of some tender persones.' Rory MacLeod, on August 23, 1690, writes to his father, saying 'all

the professors at the Edinburgh University are to be deprived next Wednesday. No man can lay his mind to his book in this town by reason of the tumults and confusion.' Thomas Fraser, writing from Beaufort in 1691, is afraid his letter 'cannot come safely in your hands the way being so dangerous by robbery.' He also refers to a fire at Whitehall, which has done damage to the extent of £100,000. The fire which destroyed Whitehall took place in 1698, but this was the earlier fire of April, 1691, when it was partly burnt.

References are made to the Battle of Steinkirk, and to a projected French descent on Scotland in 1692. The tax of 14s. for every hearth is also referred to in a letter about the same date. In 1692 an account is given of a great earthquake in Flanders and France, 'when the erth was visibly seen moving like the waves of the sea.'

There are many other points on which an old charter chest has much light to throw, such as the tenure and value of land, and the prices of commodities, both home-grown and imported, but the space at my disposal forbids my entering on these matters in the present article.

R. C. MacLeod.

The Queen's Maries

WHEN the mass of literature which has accumulated around the name of Mary Queen of Scots is considered, it is astonishing that the careers of her four playmates and companions —Mary Fleming, Mary Seton, Mary Beaton, and Mary Livingstone—should have received so inadequate a measure of attention. Although eclipsed by the charm of their mistress, contemporary references render it evident that their own powers of fascination were sufficiently formidable. Yet obscurity has been their portion, and the very names of two of the numbers of this historic sisterhood have been excluded from those of the group to which they rightfully belong.

A stanza in the well-known ballad of 'The Queen's Marie'—

> 'Yestreen the Queen had four Maries,
> The night she'll hae but three,
> There was Mary Seton and Mary Beaton,
> And Mary Carmichael and me'—

is originally responsible for a misapprehension in regard to the composition of the quartette. These misleading lines first appeared in Sir Walter Scott's earliest edition of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, with the result that the date of the production became a subject of controversy which has lasted down till the present day. From this stanza it was conjectured that Mary Hamilton was the heroine of the ballad; that she was one of the Queen's Maries; and that she was hanged for murdering a child of which Darnley was the father. As there is no evidence whatever for the existence of a Mary Hamilton, and very little for that of a Mary Carmichael, the glaring discrepancy induced even authorities, such as Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Professor Child, and Mr. Courthope, to conclude that the ballad dated no further back than the middle of the eighteenth century. Mr. Andrew Lang, however, in an article

contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1895, and now included in his *Valet's Tragedy*, maintains 1563 as the almost authoritative date. Whilst the cogency of many of the arguments employed are indisputable, their absolute validity may still be regarded as open. That a ballad-monger during the reign of Queen Mary should confuse the names of the four most renowned Court beauties is in itself a sufficiently suspicious circumstance, but that is a mere trifle to his combined ignorance and love of distortion, as he proceeds to transmogrify a Don Juan of a French apothecary into Darnley —who at the time of his supposed lapse from conjugal virtue was not even in Scotland—and a French waiting-woman of the palace into a nebulous Mary Hamilton. This luckless couple had involved themselves in a *liaison* which terminated disastrously in the destruction of its fruits, and, in consequence, they were sentenced to be hanged in one of the public streets of Edinburgh. 'The punishment,' observes Knox in his *History of the Reformation*, 'was suitable because the crime was heinous.'

As regards the contention of Mr. Lang that the iron discipline of the Kirk had wholly extinguished the poetic imagination and ballad-producing spirit of the people, this does not exclude the possibility of a flickering individual resuscitation. A belated glimmer of romance might credibly enough arise even amid the prosaic repressions so unsparingly delineated in the pages of Buckle, Lecky, and Mr. Grey Graham. Professor Child, it is understood, latterly modified his acceptance of the theory of an eighteenth century origin, and the whole question is one which requires to be approached with great diffidence.

The reinstatement, however, of Mary Fleming and Mary Livingstone seems in any case no more than common justice, as the pathetic lilt of the ballad has effectually banished their names from the memories of all but those tolerably well versed in the Marian period. Even Mr. Whyte-Melville stumbles into this pitfall in his pleasing if unhistorical romance of *The Queen's Maries*, and what is more surprising, so does that most distinguished of Mariolaters, Mr. Swinburne, in his two poems of 'Bothwell' and 'Chastelard.'

That there were contemporary ballads upon the subject of the Queen's Maries we know from Knox, but as he refers to them in a strain of approval, they must have belonged to the order of lampoons rather than of romantic celebrations.

When the guardians of the little Scottish Queen—with the

dread of the ambition of Henry VIII. before their eyes—had her conveyed from Stirling Castle to the island priory of Inchmahone, situated in the Lake of Menteith, Mary of Guise selected as the companions of Mary's solitude four little maidens carefully chosen from among the noblest and most loyal families in Scotland. Whether from accident or design, the houses out of which the Maries were picked stood contrasted in religion—the Flemings and Livingstones having embraced the Reformed doctrines, whilst the Setons and Beatons clung to the old faith.

Dr. John Brown in his *Horae Subsecivae* has drawn under the title of 'A Child's Garden' an idyllic picture 'of the little, lovely royal child' when safeguarded in her island retreat 'with her four Maries, her play-fellows, her child maids of honour, with their little hands and feet, and their innocent and happy eyes, pattering about that garden all that time ago, laughing, and running, and gardening as only children do and can.'

It was from this tranquillity that the joyous little group was transported to the French Court, and thence destined to return to the lurid convulsion of the Scottish Reformation.

Of the life which the Maries led in France we know but little. The following reference to their education, however, is extracted from *Comptes de la maison des enfants de France pour l'année* 1551:

'Ces quatre jeunes filles ne resterent pas longtemps auprès d'elle (*i.e.* Queen Mary). Le roi les éloigna pour lui faire oublier l'Ecosse, et chargea Française de Vieuxpont, prieure des dominicaines de Poissy, de les élever et de leur apprendre d'lyre, escripre et faire ouvrages.' Henry II., however, must ultimately have been induced to revoke this edict of separation, as Brantome in his *Annals* flatteringly accords them a place on the roll of beauties at the Court of that monarch and his queen, Catherine de Medicis.

The French poets, however, who celebrated in rapturous strains the graces of the Queen have deemed her attendants unworthy of a passing tribute. Even Ronsard has not deigned to sing of them.

That the personalities of the Maries were in a large measure the product of their French upbringing is palpable enough. It was entirely to the acquirement of a Parisian levity that the misconstruction which awaited them on their return to the Puritanised Scotland is attributable. Yet, living as they did encompassed by a vigilant hostility of observation, their

reputations emerge unsullied from an ordeal through which it was difficult for the light-hearted to escape unscathed!

Any pre-eminence that existed among the Maries seems to have been accorded to Mary Fleming. After the Chastelard episode, she shared the royal sleeping apartment, and when it fell to her lot to assume the rôle of Queen of the Bean, Mary personally decked her out for the occasion in regal attire. Randolph, the English Ambassador—although himself the professed adorer of Mary Beaton—describes the mimic sovereign 'as contending with Venus in beauty, with Minerva in wit, and with Juno in wealth'—the last simile referring to the magnificence of her costume. As the mother of Mary Fleming had been a natural daughter of James IV., this relationship—in days when the bar sinister was but lightly regarded—entitled her to rank as a near kinswoman of the Queen's. She has been described as the flower of all the Maries, and her betrothal to Maitland of Lethington, eighteen years her senior and a widower to boot, appears to have been a source of endless entertainment to the wits of the day. 'My old friend Lethington's wife is dead,' comments that grim warrior, Kirkcaldy of Grange, 'and he is a suitor for Mary Fleming, who is as meet for him as I am to be a page.' Writing to Sir Henry Sidney, with whom the 'flower of all the Maries' had previously conducted a vigorous flirtation, Randolph banteringly assures his predecessor 'that he need not pride himself upon having any such mistress at this Court. She hath found another whom she doth love better. Lethington now serveth her alone, and is like for her sake to run beside himself.'

It was anticipated that 'for the sake of the love he bears to Mary Fleming,' 'that the Scottish "Chameleon" would be induced to throw in his lot with the Lennox faction, but unfortunately for himself he declined to do so, and became irretrievably entangled in that most sinister of conspiracies, the Darnley murder. His courtship was protracted, for though he appeared in the apparently incongruous rôle of lover so early as 1563, the nuptials were not celebrated until 1567. Miss Strickland has levelled charges of treachery against Mary Maitland, which she nowhere endeavours to specify or substantiate. No evidence whatever is known of any lack of either discretion or fidelity shown by the bride of the Scottish Machiavelli, difficult as her position was in many respects. During the incarceration of the Queen in Loch Leven, 'Madame

de Liddington' receives mention in a dispatch of the French Ambassador as having had a ring conveyed to her, bearing a motto of hope and deliverance. Whilst the Commissioners on the Casket Letters were conducting their investigations at York, it was through his wife that Lethington—by this time arrived at the parting of the ways with the Lords of the Congregation—renewed his communications with the exiled mistress whom he had served in so ambiguous a fashion. That the attachment between the Queen and her favourite Mary remained unbroken to the end is demonstrated by the existence of a letter written by the Queen from Sheffield Prison so late as the year 1581, entreating that passports may be granted to Lord Seton and Lady Lethington, as 'in their society she might find some alleviation of her solitude.'

After the death of Maitland, his widow—who had remained at his side during the prolonged beleaguerment of Edinburgh Castle—is found presenting a petition to the Lords of the Congregation praying 'that his body should not be dishonoured by mal-treatment.' She had two children. The elder, James, became a Roman Catholic, and latterly resided almost entirely on the Continent. Inheriting a portion of the literary talent of the Lethington family, he is known as the author of two works, the first of which, *A Narrative of the Principal Acts of the Regency during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots*, earned the commendation of Sir Walter Scott, and was re-published in 1842. Its companion, *A Vindication of the Political Conduct of his Father against the Charges of Camden*, has recently been issued under the auspices of the Scottish History Society and edited by Mr. Andrew Lang. Margaret, the sister of James Maitland, became the first Countess of Roxburghe.

The biographical material which we possess in regard to Mary Seton is voluminous when compared with that of any of her compeers. Besides a short memoir contributed to a magazine by Miss Strickland, a more recent sketch is embraced in Mrs. Fenwick Miller's little volume entitled *In Ladies' Company*, and in his admirable *History of the Family of Seton*, Mr. George Seton has traced exhaustively her career.

Almost alone among the attendants of the ill-starred Queen, Mary Seton was content to share her captivity. Into her mouth and not Mary Beaton's Mr. Swinburne should have put the concluding line of his 'Bothwell':

'But I will never leave you till I die.'

The biographer of her family maintains that if Mary Fleming was the flower of all the Maries, Mary Seton was the gem, and it would be difficult to dispute the essential justice of the distinction. History yields few finer instances of feminine fidelity. From the day of Carberry Hill, Mary Seton was almost until the close ever at her side. She and Mary Livingstone figure in the narrative of the Captain of Inchkeith as her attendants upon that most heartrending of evenings, when, amid the execrations of the Edinburgh mob, the loveliest woman in Europe was dragged to her ignoble lodging in the High Street, 'pressing very close behind her came her ladies, Mistress Semple (Mary Livingstone) and Mademoiselle Seton.'

In a curious tinted sketch still preserved at the Record Office, Mary Seton is depicted—seated on a pony and wearing a white veil—following the Queen into the camp of the Confederate Lords. Upon the stone also, which still crowns the crest of Carberry Hill, side by side the doomed ladies looked down on the royal troops melting into nothingness.

Accompanying her mistress to Loch Leven, the gem of the Maries pluckily changed clothes with and filled the royal captive's place when the well-known attempt to escape in the guise of a laundress was made. Immediately after the Queen's flight to England, she is again discovered in close attendance upon her fate-stricken sovereign. Writing from Bolton not long afterwards, Sir Francis Knollys describes Mary Seton as the finest 'busker' (that is to say dresser of a woman's hair) in any country. 'Every day,' he adds, 'she hath for the Queen a new device of head dressing without any cost, and yet one which setteth forth a woman gaily well.'

If Scott had Mary Seton in his eye when he introduces the madcap Catherine into the *Abbot*, he undoubtedly travesties a character whose most conspicuous trait was a dignified sedateness. Yet she was none the less involved in two love affairs of a sufficiently tragic description. When at Wingfield manor-house, she was wooed by Christopher Norten, a younger son of Sir Richard Norten of Norten Towers, and the chief emissary of the Earl of Northumberland in his plot to carry off and liberate the Queen. The reward of both, like that of so many other adherents of Mary Stuart, was the scaffold. The subsequent insurrection, and the share played in it by the Norton family, has been immortalised in the ballad of the 'Rising of the North,'

and by Wordsworth in his well-known poem of the 'White Doe of Rylstone.'

A more pertinacious aspirant to the hand of this somewhat unapproachable maid of honour was Andrew Beaton, the master of the exiled Queen's household. By the Earl of Shrewsbury he was described as the 'chiefest practiser ever about his mistress.' After much persuasion, Mary Seton was ultimately induced to relax the austerity of her attitude, but as she alleged an obstacle to betrothal in a somewhat dubious vow of celibacy, Beaton journeyed to Paris to procure a dispensation. After some incomprehensible procrastinations, he died in returning, and the object of his unrequited devotion was left to enjoy the freedom she apparently coveted.

Under the rigour of successive confinements, the health of Mary Seton became seriously affected, and a few years before the culminating episode of Fotheringay she found a resting-place in a convent at Rheims, presided over by Renée of Lorraine, a sister of Mary of Guise and aunt of the Scottish Queen. In an appeal made upon her behalf at a subsequent date to the benevolence and filial piety of the Scottish Solomon by James Maitland, she is described as 'decrepit and poverty stricken,' but the latter statement is not confirmed by her testament, which is given at full length by Mr. George Seton in his history of her family, as it includes a number of charitable bequests of considerable value. In any case, no response to Maitland's application was received from the frugal James VI.

The place which the most devoted of the Maries occupied in her royal mistress's affections is clearly denoted by the gifts lavished upon her. Of only four of these do specific records exist. The first, a *memento mori* watch in the form of a death's head, was conferred upon Mary Seton immediately after the death of Francis I.; the last—another curiously designed horologe, bearing upon it the inscription, *Simple et justi*—was given to her so late as 1574. This souvenir was procured in Paris by Archbishop Beaton at the special request of the Queen, and is now in the possession of Mr. J. J. Foster, whose two recent sumptuous volumes, *The Stuarts*, constitute a superb memorial to that most tragic of dynasties.

The handwriting of Mary Seton is described as so closely resembling that of her mistress as to be almost indistinguishable from it.

The beauty of Mary Beaton seems to have been regarded as

second only to that of the Queen, and if any inference can be drawn from the division of the royal library, made by the Queen in a will of 1566, between Mary Beaton and the University of St. Andrews, she was also the most learned. The Latin and Greek books were bequeathed by this document to the University, the residue to Mary Beaton. As the will, which is still in existence, never came into operation, the interest that attaches to it is only one of intention.

In his *Valentiniana*, George Buchanan in eight Latin epigrams has gracefully extolled alike the charms of Mary Beaton and Mary Fleming. They are couched, however, too much in the language of hyperbole to be personally illuminating.

In 1566 Mary Beaton married Alexander Ogilvie of Boyne, discarded lover of that Lady Jane Gordon whom a retributive destiny afterwards converted into the divorced spouse of Bothwell. At Balfour House, Fifeshire, a picture of her taken in full Court dress is said to be still in existence. Ogilvie of Boyne was captured at Langside, which presumably indicates that the allegiance of his Consort to her dethroned mistress had remained unshaken. Jebb, however, upon no discoverable ground, has attempted to palm off upon her the authorship of the Casket Letters. As the mothers of both Mary Seton and Mary Beaton were French, this may have established an additional sympathy between them and the Queen.

Mary Livingstone's reputation has been besmirched by Knox in his *History of the Reformation*, where he refers derisively to the union of 'John Sempill the dancer with Mary Livingstone the lusty,' and proceeds to aver that 'shame hastened the marriage.' In his rôle of Hebrew prophet, the great Reformer was over-credulous of evil in high places, and Dr. Robertson has fully demonstrated the baselessness of this calumny. Mary Livingstone's 'Englishman,' as the Queen was wont laughingly to describe Sempill, on account of his having been born across the Border, was the second son of the Lord of that name. The match was not regarded as brilliant, and subsequently we find Mary Seton alleging as a reason for dallying with the suit of Andrew Beaton, 'that he was a younger son, and that Mary Livingstone had suffered in estimation by making an alliance of this character.' As a wedding present the Queen bestowed upon the couple the lands of Auchtermuchty, which ultimately proved a somewhat Grecian gift, as it involved Sempill in a trumped-up

charge by the Earl of Morton, to whom these acres constituted a species of Naboth's vineyard.

Upon the night of Rizzio's murder, Sempill rendered substantial service to the Queen by abstracting from the chamber which had been placed in the custody of his father by the Confederate Lords the black box containing her secret foreign correspondence, and the keys of her foreign ciphers. He was also concerned in some of the earlier attempts made to rescue Mary from Loch Leven. The eldest son of Mary Livingstone, Sir James Sempill of Beltree, was Ambassador at the English Court during the reign of James VI., and as the champion of Andrew Melville figures to a small extent in the annals of the Scottish Reformation.

The houses of Seton, Livingstone, and Fleming remained to the end conspicuous for their loyalty. The last representatives of the two former were attainted after the rising of 1715, whilst that of the third only escaped a like fate by the notoriety of his Jacobitism, which caused him to be incontinently arrested at the commencement of the insurrection.

The atmosphere in which the Maries moved remains one of dimness and twilight. Investigation fails to resuscitate their personalities with any marked degree of definiteness. Whilst much of the material that we possess regarding them is full of suggestiveness, the inscrutable quality which distinguishes Mary herself attaches in a measure to her satellites. Yet as graceful and poetic figures gliding in the train of the greatest of all Queens of romance, they demand an interest which has assuredly not been their portion. If the parts which the Maries have played in Scottish history is not one of primary importance, picturesqueness at least is theirs, and the neglect that has been meted out to them demands at all events some measure of reparation.

THOMAS DUNCAN.

The Scots at Solway Moss

THE affair of Solway Moss, which occurred just before the death of James V. in 1542, is a discreditable episode in Scottish history. Both Mr. Tytler and Mr. Hill Burton appear to find the subject too painful to dwell upon; Mr. Froude, on the other hand, has adorned his narrative with all the grace and eloquence for which he is so far-famed. His description of the discomfiture of the Scots is a brilliant piece of writing, but whether it can be said to be historically accurate is another matter. It seems unfair that the full share of blame for the disaster should rest upon the nominal leader of the defeated army, Oliver Sinclair. His name has generally been received with execration, and yet no proof exists that he courted the thankless task of attempting to govern a mutinous mob. In the rout ten thousand troops, according to Mr. Froude, fled before three or four hundred English horse under Sir Thomas Wharton, Lord Dacres and Lord Musgrave, which in the darkness were believed to be the advance guard of a larger force led by the dreaded Duke of Norfolk. James, it will be remembered, ordered the invading army to advance without leadership as far as the River Esk. His instructions to Sinclair were that he should take the command as soon as the border had been crossed. He had no choice but to obey, although he may well have disliked the undertaking. The king was in no compliant mood, for, as Mr. Tytler points out, he had been roused to the highest pitch of indignation by the refusal of the majority of the peers to fall in with his plans.

The attack was delivered just at the moment when the general lifted upon the spears of the soldiers was proclaimed throughout the host and before he had had time to issue any orders to the army which was then in a hopeless state of confusion. No man has ever been placed in a more awkward predicament, and it seems impossible that we should withhold our sympathy from

Oliver. Such an emergency would have taxed to the uttermost the skill and ingenuity of the most capable commander, trusted and respected by his men. But Sinclair, unfortunately, had not as yet gained that confidence, although, if an opportunity had arisen, he might have proved himself worthy of it. In 1685, Argyle's plan of operations against James VII. was thwarted by the jealousy and insubordination of his followers, for which due allowance has been made by Macaulay and other historians, and it is not unlikely that the defeated general at Solway Moss found himself in a similar situation. It is alleged that in spite of the efforts of Lord Maxwell to pacify certain of the disloyal peers, who thought themselves affronted, they refused to serve under a commander of inferior rank to themselves. It is somewhat difficult to understand James's choice and his determination to defer the announcement of it until English soil had been reached. By the majority it has been regarded as a pure act of favouritism, but, as Mr. T. F. Henderson suggests in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, it is probable that he had a high opinion of Sinclair's abilities, and may have thought that his selection was the least likely, under the circumstances, to cause discontent. Moreover, Sinclair was a member of his household, and acted as his military counsellor, whilst he could not count on the loyalty of one half of the Scottish nobility, who had only undertaken the expedition under remonstrance and threat, and wished to improve the occasion by wringing concessions from him. His natural shrewdness negatives the supposition that, from the mere wish to gratify a favourite, he gave the command to an utterly incompetent person, for Mr. Tytler pays a high tribute to the King's knowledge of the art of war, comparing him in this respect to his illustrious ancestor, the first James.

The reader of Mr. Froude's account of Solway Moss would naturally suppose that James promoted his principal scullion to be leader of his army. 'Who was Sinclair? men asked,' he writes in his dramatic way. 'Every knight and gentleman, every common clan follower, felt himself and his kindred insulted.' It is evident that the historian has not been at pains to answer the very question which he puts into the mouths of the rebellious army, but is content to dismiss the unlucky Oliver from his mind as 'one of those worthless minions with which the Scottish Court, to its misfortune, was so often burdened.'[1] It is a

[1] *History of England*, IV. 191 (Edit. 1873).

remarkable fact that Mr. Froude borrows the term 'minion,' or low dependant, in this passage direct from Knox, who in discussing the preparations for the expedition in his *History*, says, 'Oliver the grit Minioun should be grit Lieutenant.'[2] Murmurings there may have been, but it is probable that they arose—and on this point Mr. Lang has recently cast some doubt—on the score of Sinclair's youth and inexperience rather than on that of his ignoble origin and base connections, as Mr. Froude seems to imply. He belonged to the influential House of Roslin, which produced many distinguished statesmen and warriors—among them William, Bishop of Dunkeld, known for his exploit at Donibristle, as the 'King's Bishop,'[3] and Sir William, Younger of Roslin, slain with Douglas in Spain,[4] both the friends of Robert Bruce—and of which Sir Bernard Burke has written in his '*Vicissitudes of Families*' (I. 117):—'No family in Europe beneath the rank of royalty boasts a higher antiquity, a nobler illustration or a more romantic interest.' His grandfather was Sir William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, his father was Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin, his uncles were Sir David Sinclair of Swinburgh, and John, Bishop-nominate of Caithness, and his brothers Henry and John, afterwards became the Bishops of Ross and Brechin respectively, and were the staunch supporters of Mary Queen of Scots.[5] It is absurd to imagine that the Scottish army was ignorant of his social status, and supposed that he was a mere upstart adventurer[6] of the type of Cochrane or Rogers foisted upon them at

[2] Knox, Lib. I. p. 28 (Edit. 1732).

[3] See *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. I. p. 317, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[4] See *The Heart of the Bruce*, by W. E. Aytoun, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[5] John Sinclair succeeded his brother Henry as Lord President of the Court of Session. When Dean of Restalrig he was chosen by Queen Mary to celebrate her marriage with Darnley. The brief account of the ceremony given in the *Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 80) is as follows: 'Vpoun the xxviiij day of July 1565 the said Henrie king and Marie quene of Scottis wes marijt in the chapell of Halyrudhous at sex houris in the mornyng be Mr. John Sinclare deane of Restalrig with greit magnificence accumpanyit with the haill nobilitie of this realme.'

[6] Fidelity to fact, strict accuracy in matters of detail may not be incumbent upon the writer of romantic fiction, who is merely concerned in creating an historical atmosphere. Such imaginative utterances might have been pardoned in the gifted author of *The Queen's Quair*, had he regarded Solway Moss as the ominous prelude to the tragedy of Mary's life, and commenced his masterpiece at the date of her birth; but they ill befit the professed historian. Mr. Froude in the exuberance of his eloquence has trespassed on the domains of the novelist.

the last moment. These particulars may appear of minor importance to the general reader, and yet Mr. Froude would have done well to remember the words of his master, Carlyle, that it is essential for the historian to look into side sources and enquire in every direction, since it must be obvious to the least observant that the question of Oliver's antecedents and upbringing has a material bearing on the wisdom or folly of James's choice.

Nor is there any evidence that Sinclair played the coward. Musgrave, the English commander, himself says that while the troops gave way, the Scottish gentry held their ground. It is true that Mr. Froude quotes with approval Knox's sarcastic statement, 'Stout Oliver was taken without stroke flying full manfully,' a graphic touch, which has appealed to the latter-day historian's sense of the picturesque, but the Reformer's word is unreliable in this instance. He was the bitter enemy of Oliver's brothers[7]—the Bishop of Ross appeared to him as 'ane conjured Enemy to Christ Jesus' whom God would 'efter straik according to his deservings,'[8] and the Bishop of Brechin as 'ane perfyte Hypocrite' who 'maintained Papistry to the uttermost prick'[9] —and he would no doubt have been ready to believe any evil or malicious rumour concerning the family. He does, in fact, elsewhere in his *History*, confess his personal hatred of Oliver, and writes of James's opposition to the Reformation thus:—'To preiss and pusche him fordward in all that his furie, he wantit not Flattereris anew; for mony of his Minions wer Pensioners to Preistis; among quhom, Olipher Sinclare, yit remaining Enemie to God, wes the Principall.'[10] And again, commenting on the disaster of Solway Moss, he rejoices that his short-lived glory, 'stinking and foolische proudnes we should call it,'[11] was so suddenly turned to confusion and shame.

The reason of the Reformer's delight in the defeat of his own fellow-countrymen is not far to seek. He affirms, and Mr. Froude follows him, that the expedition was arranged by the

[7] When Knox was summoned before the Council for illegally convocating the lieges in 1563 the Bishop of Ross voted for his acquittal. The Queen, according to Knox, upbraided the bishop for his conduct. The Reformer himself records verbatim Sinclair's dignified reply to Mary, and yet he has not one charitable word for his generous adversary, but he heaps him with abuse (Knox, IV. p. 343).

[8] Knox, IV. p. 337.

[9] *Ibid*, I. p. 97.

[10] *Ibid*, I. 23.

[11] *Ibid*, I. 30.

bishops and abbots who lent the king their support, and that only Catholic nobles took part in it. But, as Glencairn and Cassilis, and other peers, captured by the English were Protestant, Mr. Lang has no difficulty in exploding this myth. He relies on the official despatches as affording the best narrative of Solway Moss. 'Nothing is said in the English reports,' he writes, 'of the dismay caused by the appointment of Oliver Sinclair as commander just when the fray began. The raid was not a secret of the Scottish clergy and of the Orthodox. All that is Knox's gossip . . . His moral is that Providence is Protestant, and so 400 casual men marvellously defeat an army of bishop's levies.[12] He also corrects Mr. Froude in the matter of figures, and proves that the English were not unprepared for an attack. The English commanders themselves, Wharton and Musgrave, put their numbers much higher than 300. The former rates them at 2000 and the latter at 3000. Finally the position, in which the Scots were placed when attacked, has much to do with the panic that ensued. It has been described as a straight pass, with a river in front and an impassable morass on the left.

In December, Sinclair and the other nobles captured at Solway Moss arrived in London, and were lodged in the Tower. The news of the death of James V. reached Henry VIII. shortly afterwards, and he determined to send the prisoners home to work in his service. He entertained them royally on Christmas Day, and gave to each gold chains, money and horses. The majority of them returned to England in the spring, as promised, and at Darnton, Cassilis, Glencairn, Maxwell, Oliver Sinclair, Craigie, and certain others signed a secret article whereby, in the event of Mary's death, Henry should be king. But this did not please him. He wished to know whether the Scottish lords were willing to capture Cardinal Beaton, the Regent Arran, and Mary herself, and to garrison the principal castles in Scotland for him. They promised to do their best for Henry, if they received material support from him, but, as Sinclair did not sign the reply, his name cannot be associated with this shameful act of treason. And these are the very peers who, in Mr. Froude's opinion, were disgraced in their general at Solway Moss! Sinclair, in fact, proved but a broken reed to the English king, and he appears to have been a match for Sir Ralph Sadleir, who complained in one of his letters that he 'was neither well dedicate to the king's majesty nor to any of his highness's godly purposes.' In

[12] *History of Scotland*, I. 455.

November, 1543, the English ambassador was compelled to take refuge in Tantallon Castle, and, as an excuse for his inaction, he pleaded that Sinclair was then stationed at a little house within two miles of the castle ready, with three score horsemen, to catch him up if ever he or any of his servants ventured too far from the walls. In the following year, Sinclair was ordered to render himself a prisoner to Henry, but he naturally refused. The last we hear of him is from his inveterate foe, Knox, who, when compiling his *History*, wrote that he still remained 'enemy to God.'

GEORGE A. SINCLAIR.

Note.—Since the above was written I have seen Mr. Lang's paper on 'Knox as Historian' in this Review for January, 1905. The allusions to Oliver Sinclair all occur in Book I. of the *History*, and as Mr. Lang is of opinion that Knox's errors in this book are in part due to his neglect of the evidence of eye-witnesses, it is not unreasonable to infer that his account of Solway Moss is an erroneous one. Mr. Lang remarks that Knox's *History* has coloured all other histories from that of Buchanan to the present day, and this confirms the view that Mr. Froude has accepted the Reformer's narrative without criticism. G. A. S.

Nynia[1] in Northern Pictland

WHEN the Roman Empire was fast loosening its hold on Britain, Nynia appeared on the shores of the Solway as a General of that new Army of the Cross which was destined to enter territories barred to the legions of Cæsar. Ancient traces of St. Ninian, as he is generally called, exist throughout the length of Scotland, and extend even into the northern islands; but historians have failed to explain many of these, and have been content to limit the presence and work of the Saint to Northern England and to that part of Scotland south of the Grampians.

The occurrence of traditions and names in Northern Alba which persistently point back to Nynia's actual presence has provoked observers frequently to extract the underlying story.

Encouragement is afforded from the western coast of Scotland. From Celtic literature we know that many place-names and place-memories in the West reflect accurately persons and events of long ago. I-Colum-Kil, the name of Hy, meaning the island of Colum of the Church, is a little history in itself, and would tell Iona's distinction, although no literature had survived. *Cairn-cul-ri-Erin*,[2] on the height of Colonsay, is another name speaking history, although it has been preserved through hundreds of years by people who did not know that it faithfully recalled that incident in the journey of Columba when he made a final effort to get away from the sight of his native land. *Cuchullin*, the name given to the principal hills of Skye, was for long meaningless to many, and appeared to be only an accidental collocation of syllables, resembling the name of the romantic Irish hero; but the revival of Celtic literature brought to light *The Wooing of Eimer*, with its substratum of history, which tells of Cuchullin's

[1] The Latinized form of the Celtic name. The final "n" in the spelling *Ninian* marks the usual Celtic diminutive of honour super-imposed on the Latinized name.

[2] The place of turning the back on Ireland.

journey to Skye and his sojourn at the house of the instructress, Scathach.[3]

Why should ancient place-names and place-memories have less accurate significance, or a less true story, on the east coast than on the west? We know from writings concerning St. Columba and other Irish churchmen which survive, that if the records had all perished and we were left with only local tradition, place-names, sculptured stones, ruins of cells, and philological features of speech, we could reconstruct a most faithful picture of their labours, learning, skill, habits, and peculiarities. The reconstructed picture would be in many cases truer than the picture of these men which we see in the surviving records. It would be scientific, and free from the clumsy elaborations of chroniclers who neither appreciated nor understood the Celtic Church. Indeed, every careful historian of the early northern Church is compelled, in the interests of truth, to use local knowledge to correct the extravagances of interested redactors of ancient Celtic manuscripts.

Bede and Ailred are the chief authorities in the older literature on Nynia. The former wrote two and a half centuries, and the latter seven centuries after Nynia's death. Although Ailred's highly-coloured work cannot rank in authority with Bede's, it ought not to be forgotten that he had not only Bede's work before him while he wrote, but a certain old life[4] of Nynia which has not survived. Probably this old work, which offended Ailred's literary sense, provided him with the few evident facts that exist in his book.

Professor Zimmer makes a severely critical estimate of what we may regard as 'reliable' concerning Nynia. 'Bede tells us,'[5] he says, 'that about the year 400 a Briton named Nynia founded a monastery on the peninsula of Wigton, which extends into the Irish Sea between the Firths of Solway and Clyde. Because of its stone church, it bore the name of *Ad Candidam Casam*. Nynia had received his theological training in Rome, and he greatly revered Martin of Tours, perhaps through having come into personal contact with him. From his newly-founded monastery Nynia spread Christianity among the *Picts* living *south* of the Grampians.'[6]

The words which Professor Zimmer has italicised are worthy

[3] Maclean's *Literature of the Celts*, p. 158.

[4] 'Liber barbario scriptus.'

[5] *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 4.

[6] From A. Meyer's translation of Zimmer's article.

of attention, though not for his reasons. He follows other modern historians in restricting Nynia's work to *southern* Pictland. But it is while narrating Columba's labours among the *Northern* Picts that Bede tells how, long before, the *Southern* Picts 'abandoned idolatry and embraced the Christian faith through the preaching of the Word by Bishop Ninian.'[7] Bede is simply balancing the work of the two great men rhetorically. It is well authenticated that Nynia laboured in Ireland;[8] but it would be as unfair to use Bede's reference to the work among the southern Picts to discredit this, as to use it to infer that Nynia never passed into northern Pictish territories.

We now turn to Ailred. Unlike Bede, he gives details of Nynia's work. In one of the most trustworthy passages in the biography, which looks as if it had been incorporated from the older life, he tells how Nynia moved about in company with many holy brethren; and that, as the effect of his preaching, the Gospel was received, the meeting-places of the heathen were thrown down, and churches erected. Nynia ordained Presbyters, consecrated Bishops, conferred ecclesiastical honours, and divided the whole land into parishes.[9]

This account bears credibility on its face. Its terms belong to Ailred's time, but its meaning carries us back to the period of Nynia and to ecclesiastical habits with which Ailred was unfamiliar. It was not easy to make intelligible to his highly-organised Church the picture of a Bishop wandering about in the fashion of Pictish Churchmen as a religious clan-leader with a *muinntir*, single-handed consecrating Bishops without dioceses and appointed to wander like himself, leaving missionary representatives of the faith in one place and another; but Ailred did his best in the words referred to.

By writing of Presbyters, and especially of parishes, in connection with Nynia, Ailred has staggered the modern writers, who forget that Ailred's avowed purpose in superseding the ancient life[10] of Nynia was to represent the saint 'in the clear light of Latin speech'—in other words, to give the founder of the Caledonian Church and his organisation a twelfth century aspect and nomenclature. Fortunately the truth has survived the adaptation of its garments to the fashion. In Ailred's time men knew well who deserved credit for the well-defined parishes

[7] Dr. Campbell in Prin. Story's *Ch. of Scotland. Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 4.

[8] Ussher quoting the Irish life, since lost. [9] *Life of Ninian*, chap. vi.

[10] 'Liber barbario scriptus.'—Ailred.

of the highly-organised Roman Church, because the creation of parishes had been going on before their eyes. What the historian wishes to credit to Nynia is the placing of missionaries in certain definite districts throughout the length of Scotland.[11]

Archæological inquiries fully vindicate the historian. The student of Pictish antiquities might justly amplify Ailred's testimony. Names, memories, and church sites connected with Nynia are found in northern Scotland and in the islands, associated with the hut circles, and duns, which mark the Pictish villages. The places between Ross and the Grampians, where Nynia was anciently commemorated,[12] though now mostly destitute of Pictish remains, are known to have been important centres of Pictish life.

The following list, though not complete, gives an idea of how Nynia spaced the seed-plots of the faith throughout the East and North-East of Scotland, to which he apparently confined himself after turning the Grampians:

St. Ninian's Isle, Dunrossness, Shetland.—On this island, and on an assured Pictish site, a chapel existed until recent times bearing Nynia's name.[13] In the burial ground attached to this ancient church an important stone[14] was found with Ogam lettering. The Ogams have been transliterated by Professor Rhys and Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, whose genius for Pictish inscriptions is phenomenal. Mr. Nicholson's transliteration is *lesmeqqnanammovvest (= Les Meqq Nan am Movvest)*; and his translation—*Enclosure of Mac Nan in Mobhaist.* Mobhaist = My Baptizer, and he considers that this ecclesiastical title had come to designate the property; just as people say, 'The minister's,' when they may refer either to the manse or to the glebe.[15] This is ingenious, but it is too forced a meaning for a compound word, and especially such a word as Mobhaist.

It appears to me that the Ogam legend is manifestly *Les Meqq Nanam Movvest.* The habitation of the Sons of Nynia the

[11] 'Per certas parrochias.'—Ailred.

[12] St. Vigeans and Dyke have yielded sculptured stones which show that the Church in these districts was well-planted among a Pictish population. See E. W. B. Nicholson on the stones of Ancient Alban.

[13] See Sibbald's Description, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotl.*, xii. 24. Dr. Joseph Anderson, E. W. B. Nicholson.

[14] Presented by Mr. Goudie to the Museum of National Antiquities.

[15] See vernacular inscriptions of Ancient Alban, by E. W. B. Nicholson, M.A., Oxford.

Baptizer; or, if the *les* was the gift of a convert—the habitation of the sons of Nynia, my Baptizer.

Meqq may be singular; in any sense, it is to be taken in the scriptural sense,[16] or as used by Columba.[17] *Nan* is the pure name; the last syllable is the usual diminutive of affection; and the final *n* is changed to *m* before the first letter of the following word. *Mo* is the usual prefix of saintly honour. When added to Bhaiste it makes the word a title. The Celts have always had a fondness for alternative names. 'The Baptizer' would be a natural and appropriate name for such a pioneer of the faith as Nynia.

Nynia is the Latin form of a Celtic name meaning 'the little,' and *Mobhaist* would seem more complimentary to his converts than the real name, which would not be uncommon. In Ireland Nynia was called Monenn.

Ninian's Isle, North Orkneys.—Believed to be a similar station to the above. This island has had its Pictish remains more obliterated by the Norsemen than the former. Its name was corrupted by the Norsemen into Rinansey, and in later times into Ronaldsey; now known as North Ronaldshay.[18]

St. Ninian's Church (ruins), Stove, South Ronaldshay.—The remains of this Church were associated with traces of a Pictish settlement.

Church and Burial-ground of Ninian, Sybster, Wick Bay, Caithness. This Church was in the midst of Pictish remains.

Ninian's Church (ruins) and Churchyard, Navidale, Sutherland.—The burial-ground is still used, and is picturesquely situated on a cliff overlooking the North Sea. Close at hand are the ruins of a Pictish village.

Formerly ruins of Churches of Ninian existed at *Roskeen*, and at *Balcony, Kiltearn.*

The Church in Easter Ross from which Fearn Abbey was founded.—It is impossible on the strength of available information to say whether this church should be located at Edderton or somewhere in the Tarbat peninsula. Ferquhard's Abbey was first founded at Edderton, but owing to 'tribal hostility,' the Abbey-seat was removed to Fearn.

The remarkable feature in the history of Fearn Abbey is that

[16] 1 *Timothy*, i. 2.

[17] Diormit called Columba 'father,' and Columba spoke of the members of his muinntir as children.

[18] See J. M. Mackinlay.

it originated from one of Nynia's Pictish Churches. The Abbey kept its reverence for Nynia, and continued its connection with Whithorn into the Roman Catholic period.[19]

The tradition about Fearn Abbey, deprived of impossibilities and embellishment, is that the King came North to quell some disturbances. He called for the assistance of Ferquhard, which was given; and Ferquhard vowed that, if successful in the campaign, he would build a house to the holy man whose representatives he might first meet afterwards. Ferquhard was successful, and the first religious people he met were from a house of Nynia.[20]

This tradition has for long pointed to the existence of an ancient house of Nynia in Easter Ross. The historians were so perplexed by it that some of them made Ferquhard's adventures take place in Southern Scotland, conveniently near Whithorn, as if *Candida Casa* had been the only house of Nynia in the kingdom.

Through the kindness of Dr. J. M. Joass, the learned minister of Golspie, I have seen a complete verification of the tradition concerning the existence of a strong Pictish religious centre in the Tarbat peninsula. This is a lettered stone taken from Tarbat Manse garden wall. It is evidently the fragment of a cross, and the lettering is the Celtic semi-uncials, which palaeographists ascribe to about the eighth century. The lettering is much worn, but Dr. Joass has deciphered as follows:

IN NOMINE IHU CHRI
CRUX CHRI
IN COMMEMORATIONE
RHEODATII
QIESCAT IN CHRO.

In the *Book of the Four Masters*[21] there is the following entry, which speaks for itself:

'The Age of Christ 758.

. . . . . .

Rheoddaidhe, Abbot of Fearna died.'

Ninian's Church at Dyke, Morayshire.—One of the unread

[19] See list of Fearn Abbots in the Roman Catholic period.

[20] See the various writings about the Earls of Ross.

[21] The connection of Nynia and afterwards *Candida Casa* with Ireland and Irish pupils is well known.

Ogam stones, with distinctively Pictish symbols,[22] was dug up while preparing the foundation of the present Church of Dyke.

Churches of Nynia formerly existed at:

Enzie (Rathven).
Bellie (Fochabers).
Andat of Methlick.
Stonehaven.
St. Vigeans.
Arbroath.[23]

At *St. Vigeans* is to be seen a stone, taken from the Churchyard, with undoubted Pictish symbols, and lettered in Ogam and Latin half-uncials. This stone makes several things certain. The original Church of St. Vigeans was Pictish. When the stone was erected the Church had landed property, and was so firmly established that it could look after it. The clergy were tonsured in Celtic fashion.[24] The ecclesiastic in charge when the stone was erected was Drost. His neighbours were the children of 'the Judge.' The original owner of the land was one 'Fergus.'

Those who credit the Christianising of Eastern and Northern Pictland wholly to the Dalriad missionaries should note that no Ogam-marked stone has yet been discovered in the old Dalriad territory; that the Ogam-marked march-stones are singularly associated with a Pictish Church; and that the district of the Ogam stones is also the district containing the Churches planted by Nynia.

A glance at a map of Scotland will show that, in planting his stations, Nynia arranged to join the northern mainland and islands to the province of the South Pictish Church mainly along the coast-line. He appears always to have chosen places naturally accessible to the interior, but never far away from the seashore. One can understand that he wished his people to be in touch with the sea, which offered a ready way of escape or an easy means of keeping the line of communications open during tribal disturbances.

The foregoing list of ancient foundations bearing Nynia's

[22] See Nicholson, p. 57, and the two statistical accounts.

[23] See Forbes, *Kalendars.*

[24] Nicholson, p. 12. Nynia's name has also lingered in the traditions associated with the Old Celtic Church at Turriff. His portrait in fresco was found in the walls of the ancient Church of St. Congan.

name means more than a like list of later foundations. Until the end of the seventh century churches were named after their living founders, not after dead ecclesiastics of eminence,[25] consequently they support the Orkney and Caithness traditions, and point to Nynia's actual presence and work. The district where Nynia's Sutherland Church was established furnishes a good illustration of the universality of this practice two centuries after Nynia's time. For thirteen hundred years the ruins of Celtic churches in the dales of Sutherland and Caithness have preserved for us in their names the names of the leading members of St. Donnan's *muinntir*, and their testimony has been recently corroborated from an ancient Irish book.[26]

A place-word may cover a world of history. For example, close by Nynia's churches are other churches known to have been founded later by missionaries from Ireland. These are all designated by the name of the founder, with the prefix *Kil*; while Nynia's churches lack the prefix. This absence of the prefix not only indicates very decidedly the greater antiquity of Nynia's foundations, but points to the missionary efforts of an organisation which did not make the anchorite's cell the nucleus of a congregation, like the missionaries of purely Irish origin and training. Nynia, as Ailred, or the old biography which he used, conveys, appears to have entered a district for a short time only, to have preached, made converts, suggested a church, and to have left the new flock in proper charge.

The reality and success of Nynia's northern mission helps us to understand how, until the Norse invasions, a highly-organised church of Celtic type could have existed in the Orkney and Shetland islands, and even in Iceland. The Bressay Stone,[27] with its Ogam legend, not only shows the sculptured thought of the imaginative Celt, but portrays ecclesiastics with the official *bachuil* in their hands, evidently enjoying settled comfort and authority. Such a bell as that recovered at Saverough in Orkney was not rung until it was as much the custom to go to worship as it is to-day. It would take at least two centuries of popular and acceptable ministry to bring the Christians of the isles to the bachuil and bell stage of organisation.

[25] Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 155. There is one possible exception—Whithorn itself. Nynia, out of respect to Martin, established Whithorn on the lines of Martin's house at Tours, and Bede speaks of it as a dedication.

[26] *The Martyrology of Tallagh.*

[27] See plate in Dr. Anderson's *Introduction to Orkneyinga Saga*, xiv-xvii.

Some historians have credited the Church of the northern isles to Columba. But the ministry of Columba or his disciples would neither have been acceptable nor popular in the islands. Archæologists and the *Historia Britonum* put it beyond doubt that the early islanders were Picts.[28] Columba[29] and the Dalriad missionaries did not know the Pictish tongue. Columba never went to the Orkneys, and so well aware was he of Orcadian hostility to his missionaries, that we find him appealing to Brude MacMeilcon to protect Cormac and others who had gone from Iona to the northern islands. Besides, Columba's Dalriad friends were the enemies of the Orcadian Picts. Aedan MacGabran wasted the Orkneys in 580, and apparently added them to the Dalriad kingdom. Brude MacBile recovered the islands for the Picts, and drove out the Dalriad Scots in 682. If the Columban Church had any early influence in the Orkneys, it would only be during the short and insecure period of the Dalriad occupation. It is plain that the Columban Church does not account for that evidently popular, well-developed, and well-organised insular church which is pointed to by Ari Frodi,[30] Dicuil,[31] and by the inscriptions, ornamentation, and symbols on the ancient stones.

It has been stated that there were *dedications*[32]—ancient dedications are meant—to St. Columba in Orkney. As has been pointed out, St. Columba was never in the Orkneys; and it was not the custom of the Celts to name their churches after those who were not their actual founders. A little inquiry would have shown that the old churches in Orkney and Eilan Colm do not commemorate Columcille, but Colum,[33] a bishop who laboured on the northern mainland and the northern islands.

Nynia's work explains the origin of the Church of the northern islands. Where are we to look for the base on which that Church depended for its continuation? Nynia's *Candida Casa* is the only place, seeing that Iona is out of the question.

It would be expected that Nynia would provide for his work in the North. As long as *Candida Casa* endured and venerated the work of Nynia, his foundations in the North would appeal to its care. Bede says Nynia was a Briton; but his house was in the territory of the Niduari Picts, and was very accessible to the Irish

[28] See Dr. Anderson, *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. x.

[29] Two Picts interpreted for him at the Court of Brude.

[30] *Iselandingabók.* [31] *De Mensura Orbis Terrarum.*

[32] Note on p. xiv., Dr. Anderson's *Introduction to the Orkneyinga Saga.*

[33] Colmus, *Camerarius*, 113.

Picts. The ministry from such a centre would be both intelligible and acceptable to the Picts of the north and the islands. When we remember that Nynia was an evangelist to the Irish, and instructed Irish pupils at Whitherne, it is uncertain whether we should follow the historians and call the survivals of his work 'Irish' in type, or simply *Pictish*, to distinguish them from what is Columban. 'Celtic' is not a word that helps here, because Pictish and Scotic remains are alike Celtic.

Owing to the Norsemen, who destroyed so much, the names of scores[34] of pre-Norse churches have perished. Nevertheless, evidence remains that neither Nynia nor his establishment at Whitherne forgot the work in the North. One of the most eminent men sent back from *Candida Casa* to the north was an Irishman—judging from the name an Irish Pict.[35] About the end of the fifth century Whitherne had as a pupil Finbarr, better known by the name of endearment, Finnian. He ultimately became a Bishop and Abbot of the famous religious College at Moyville, in Down. He had the honour of teaching Columba and of making him a deacon.

Finbarr is as greatly venerated in the tradition of the dales of Caithness as in Down. Though the memory of his work remains to this day, the fact that he is commemorated by the unmodified name suggests, as we know, that he laboured in the north while he was young, and did not remain long enough for the people to know him intimately. The halving of a name and the transformation of the retained part into a diminutive invariably followed the prolonged residence of an old teacher among the Celts.[36]

One of Finbarr's Churches was at Dornoch, Sutherland. This Church looks as if it had been planted to fill up a long gap left by Nynia in his line of communications. It looked across the Dornoch Firth to Nynia's foundation on the Tarbat peninsula. Either it or a continuation survived until the beginning of the thirteenth century. So well did Finbarr impress the forms of the Picto-Irish Church on this foundation, that Dornoch, along with Turriff has the honour of maintaining Celtic ecclesiastical ways into the Roman Catholic period for many years.

The natives of Sutherland, influenced by Finbarr's successors,

[34] See Brand and Sibbald.

[35] Finnian of Clonard was a Pict.

[36] *Zeitschrift für verleichende Sprachforschung*, 32, pp. 175-190.; and Heinrich Zimmer's article in the *Realencyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie*.

refused to recognise the first three Roman Catholic bishops of Caithness, and they were compelled to find a precarious existence in the Scandinavian section of the diocese. After the burning of Bishop Adam, the Roman Catholics consecrated a Celt, Gilbert of Moray, and he was the first bishop to popularise his Church at Dornoch. The memory of the older Church continued to survive in the celebration of Finbarr's festival and in the preservation of the burial-ground called by his name.[37]

The Roman Catholics, who, in Dornoch as elsewhere, showed little appreciation of the ancient Celtic Church, dedicated their Cathedral to St. Mary. After Gilbert's death, he was canonised, and the Cathedral was dedicated anew to St. Mary and St. Gilbert.

Gilbert was beyond question a brilliant worker for his Church; but not even yet has he succeeded in displacing from the popular affection the more famous Irish Pict who gave Dornoch its first Church, who in the straths of Sutherland and Caithness continued the great work of Nynia, and who had the honour of teaching and first ordaining the renowned Columba of Hy.

ARCHIBALD BLACK SCOTT.

[37] Sutherland Charters.

Dunnottar and its Barons

IN the course of examining some old family papers,[1] the writer recently came upon certain accounts and inventories relating to a line of great noblemen of Scotland, the Keiths, Earls Marischal of Scotland. From these papers an interesting picture may be drawn of the domestic amenities and the equipment of their Castle of Dunnottar, situated on a rock nearly four acres in extent on the coast of The Mearns, one mile south of Stonehaven.

The direct line came to an end in the two greatest companions—or perhaps they ought to be called acquaintances, for they, at all events, were the soul of honour—of 'Pickle the Spy,' namely, George Keith, the last Earl, the friend of Frederick the Great and correspondent of Voltaire, and James Keith, his brother, the celebrated Field Marshal of Prussia.

There were Keiths of lineage in the country in the time of Malcolm and Margaret, but the story of their having come as a tribe called Catti from the Rhenish provinces of Germany and settled in Caithness and subsequently forming the Clan Chattan, may be discarded along with the fable of their coat-of-arms having originated in the Scottish king dipping his three fingers in the blood of the Danish Camus at Barry about 1010 A.D. and drawing three strokes on the shield of a valiant Keith of that time. It is certain that at an early date they became Marischals of Scotland, and obtained the lands of Ackergill in Caithness. But their first substantial settlement seems to have been at Keith-Hundeby of old, now called Humbie, near Dalkeith. One of the estates in this parish is Keith-Marischal, although the later barony of Keith-Marischal was in Kincardineshire. Numerous chartularies and charters bear evidence

[1] The papers referred to are Keith Papers, in the possession of the Ochtertyre family. They were courteously lent to the writer by the late proprietor.

of their presence in the Lothians. They mingled in the stirring events of the War of Independence, leading the horse at Bannockburn, and fighting at Rosslyn and Harlaw; and by the time of Robert the Bruce certainly—if not long before, as some contend—the dignity of Marischal (which at that time was more of a court than a military office) had become fixed in the family.

The Mounth, which divided Strathmore from Mar and Buchan, had for hundreds of years in the Pictish-Scotic period been of very great strategic importance, and many of the most stirring events of that remote time were enacted a few miles from Dunnottar Castle. Kincardine Castle, in the parish of Fordoun, commanded the principal—indeed, the only practicable—road to the north over The Mounth. Cowie Castle, near Stonehaven, commanded the littoral pass, subsequently named The Causeway—and identical with Dugald Dalgetty's forlorn hereditament of Drumthwacket—to Aberdeen. The province was long in the hands of chiefs, who had their duns or forts among the hills, as at Fotherdoun (now called Green Castle). The Crown appropriated the territory when the government had become more settled—notably Kincardine or the Fotherdoun of the Chronicles, which became a royal palace.

When Robert the Bruce succeeded, he took care to reward his supporters; and to the Keith he granted Hall Forest, which remained in the family till the forfeiture of 1715.

Sir William Keith, who had by marriage acquired the Forest of Cowie, including Dunnottar, proceeded to build a Tower upon the Rock of Dunnottar, and in this way exposed himself to the wrath of the clergy, who excommunicated him in consequence. The church or cell of St. Ninian had occupied the rock of Dunnottar up to that time either by itself or along with the original fortress. The Pope afterwards removed the ban on condition of a new church being erected, and this was done at a spot near the present church of Dunnottar. At what time the rock itself had been consecrated to this sacred use is not quite clear, but probably it was about 1270. Dunnottar thus became the chief castle of the Keith family. The family continued to increase in power, and the Keith of 1455 was first made Lord Keith, and then the first Earl Marischal. There was a line of ten Earls between 1455 and 1715, and there is hardly a Scotch noble family who have not the blood of the Keiths in their veins.

The documents above referred to cover the period of the fifteenth and two following centuries. The Keiths kept up a state almost royal, and from the beginning of the sixteenth century at latest the hospitality of Dunnottar was frequently extended to king and nobles. The earlier kings were often at Dunnottar. On 15th October, 1503, James IV. was entertained at Dunnottar, as the book of his treasurer records 'that samyn nycht in Dunnottar, to the cheld playit on the monocordes, be the king's command, xviijs.' were disbursed. When Queen Mary visited the North during the contentions between the Gordons and the Earl of Murray in the year 1562, she was entertained at Dunnottar, for Pitscottie relates that 'upon the feird day of November, the Queen came out of Aberdeine to Dunnottar.' James VI. also honoured Dunnottar, 'for the kyngis grace come to Dunnottar the xviij. day of June, the yeir of God 1580 years; and the fyrst tyme that I, Walter Cullen, Reder of Aberden, sehit his graice, was the xx. day of the said moneth of June, 1580 yeirs; and that, at the wod of Fetteresso, he beand at the huntis with sertane of his lordis; and thaireftir I paist to Dunnottar, quhair I beheld his grace at his supar, quhill he paist to his chalmer; and thaireftir his grace paist furtht of Dunnottar, the xxiij day of June, 1580 years to Ezaill.' He visited it again, 1617, and in March 1641 the Earl of Winton, with his son, Lord Seton, who had Mr. Andrew Cant in their company, 'war weill intertynneit, the Lady Marshall being the Erll of Wintoun's dochter.' Here also, on 8th July, 1650, Charles II., when he came to Scotland to be crowned, accompanied by the Dukes of Buckingham and Hamilton, and other English and Scottish cavaliers, was sumptuously entertained. He also visited it on the 24th of February, 1651. These are samples of the guests. Now let us see what the Castle contained.

The earliest account we have of the furnishings of Dunnottar is in an inventory of 1612. George, the fifth Earl, succeeded in 1594, and possessed until 1623, dying at Dunnottar at the age of 70 years. The Inventory is thus described:

'This is the iust Inventar quhilk ane noble and potent lord George Erll Merschall, Lord Keythe, &c., and Dame Margret Ogilvie (daughter of James, Lord Ogilvie), his spous, giwes up wpoun thair credit and honnour to William Maister Merschall, Lord Keythe, sone to the said noble lord, conforme to the contract past betuixt thame, quhilk Inventar the said William Maister of Merschall, Lord Keythe, &c., acceptis, grantis, and acknawledges to be just, trew, and ane perfyt Inventar, particularlie as is affoir writtin, except

ye timber wark, buikis, and armour quhairof ye Inventar salbe particularlie takin wp and set doun heirefter betuixt ye said noble lord and the said William Keythe his sone. In witness quhairof yis present is subscryuit be the saidis noble lordis and the said noble lady At Dunotter ye sewintein day off December in ye zeir of God ane thousand sex hundrethe and twelff yeiris Beffoir witnesses Johnne Erll of Mar, Lord Erskine, John Levingstoun of Dunnipace, John Keyth in Couton.'

This is indorsed: 'Inventar of the plenisheing, bedding, artailzearie (artillery), &c. In Dunnottar.' The inventory of 1660 is headed: 'Ane trew Inventarie of what goodis wer belonging to the Earle Marischall and wer in the Castle of Dunnottour in the custodie of Captaine Umphra Measone, which the said Captaine Measone delyvered by order of Major Generall Morgan to Robert Keith of Whytriggs, Depute-shireff of the Countie of Kincardine, & George Ogilvy of Barrass, 10 September 1660.' This date is ten years before William, the seventh Earl, died.

Many of the articles detailed had doubtless been in use for years before 1612, but it is probable that in the latter half of the previous century numerous additions had been made to the list. This is evident from incidents in the careers of the Earls from the fourth to the seventh. William, the fourth Earl, who was at Pinkie, 1547, attended Queen Mary to France, and afterwards, although a great reformer, was a favourite of the Queen Regent. The estates suffered greatly at the hands of the anti-Covenanters, and the celebrated Cant was in Dunnottar when the Marischal's neighbouring houses and barns were burned, and consoled the unhappy nobleman with the assurance, which harmonized well with Cant's name, that it would be a sweet-smelling incense to the Lord. The fourth Earl—he died 1594—had seen splendid plenishing in the palaces of the French kings and in the châteaux of their nobility. His son George, the fifth Earl, a pupil of Beza at Geneva, was sent by James VI. to bring Queen Ann from Denmark, for which service he obtained the Abbacy of Deir, and was made Lieutenant of the North, 1593, and founded the Marischal College in Aberdeen. He was a much travelled and learned man, and died at Dunnottar in 1623. These two Earls undoubtedly added to the furnishings of Dunnottar, for George is said to have modelled more fine houses than anyone had done before. It is suggested that in his time the quadrangle of Dunnottar subsequently referred to was built for the better accommodation of illustrious guests. William, the sixth Earl, died in 1635, and his third son was

DUNNOTTAR CASTLE

Facing page 392

made Earl of Kintore when his uncle William, the seventh Earl—who espoused the cause of Charles II.—was in possession of the Castle. The Regalia were sent to Dunnottar because of its strength, and the Castle stood an historic siege by Cromwell's troops.

The inventory of 1660 applies to the troubled times of Cromwell, and it is not nearly so full as the inventory of 1612. It merely summarises the substantial articles of furniture. There were 58 bed-steads and 58 girners—whatever they might be; hardly girnals, although girnals is sometimes spelt in this way. There were 44 tables of one kind or another distributed amongst the various rooms, and a 'lidd' of a table, or a folding table, in addition. Of chests—possibly oak—there were 44, and of chairs 49, including, no doubt, the chairs purchased half a century ago by Sir William Fraser in the Old Town of Stonehaven—one of them selling in Edinburgh four or five years ago for nearly £800. There are still two or three fairly authenticated chairs in Stonehaven and neighbourhood. There were 22 'stoolis,' more sumptuous probably than three-legged ones; and nine cupboards and 11 pressis—of the nature of wardrobes, doubtless. Of forms, which would accommodate more than a stool or a chair, and might some of them be settles, ranged along the dining, drawing, and dancing rooms, there were 20.

Unfortunately, we have no means of distinguishing what articles garnished the room which was dedicated to the king and called 'the King's Room,' and what were in the Earl's and guests' rooms, except that we find that of eight pair and five pieces of 'courtaines and vallownes' there were a 'suite of reid embroidered with silk fringes' in the king's room; while in the greine chalmer there was 'ane suite of greine with deep silk fringes and silk lace and a counterpaine.' Moreover, there were 67 feather beds, 54 coverliddis, 66 bolsters, 84 plaidis (used as blankets), and 'ane halff of blankettis'—five of them; 20 shelves, and 11 coddis—probably pillows. The inference from what follows is that the beds and bedrooms were made imposing by rich hangings, that the beds were formidable four-posters, to which the occupant ascended by the brouderit stool or chair, and that the tapestry depicted the history of Samson and probably other Scriptural characters. Who the makers of the tapestry were, we have no means of knowing; but in an inventory of writs dated January 1617 detailing writs found in a particular 'lettron' this entry occurs: 'Item William

Beatton, broundister, his obligatioun upon ye receipt of sex piece of tapestrie whilk is yet undelyverit, 1593.' Doubtless, the best of it came from France.

The inventory of 1612 is much more graphic than that of 1660, and it is worth while to give it in full. It is called in a sub-heading: 'The Inventour off the Copboirdis silwer wark, tapestrie silk bedis, plinishit brouderit bedis, plinishit timber wark, monitioun, artelzerie wark, buikis, and armour,' and then follows this curious list:

'Item off gilt tapestrie ane stand contenyng aught peices.

'Item off erras wark off the historie off Sampsoun contening sevin peices.

'Item ane wther stand off tapestrie off erras wark contening sex peices.

'Item of erras wark tapestrie sewin [seven] stand ewerie stand contening fywe pieces quhilk is in ye haill threttie—fywe peices.

'Item of grein steining tapestrie brouderit with quhytbridge satein contening fywe peices.

'Item ane stand of grein steining tapestrie freinzit [fringed] with quhyt and reid worset freinzies contenyng sex peices.

'Item ane wther stand off grein steining tapestrie brouderit with sewing contening aught pices.

'Item ane stand of blak dames [damask] courtingis contening baksyd foirsyd [inside and outside] heid and feit, with ane ruiff [drawn frill] with sex pices panes [foot-pans] four stoupis with ane compter claithe [counterpaine] of blak velwot all thir pasmentit with gold [gold gimp] with ane blak silk mat all pertening to the said bedis with ane blak velwot chyre and ane fuitgang [chair and footstool] yairto.

'Item ane stand of fleshe collourit spaines [Spanish] taffetie courtings with foirsyd baksyd and feit thrie peice of panes yairto brouderit heid and ruiff [ruff] according to the same with four brouderit stoupis [posts] with ane counter claith off reid veluot freinzeit with silk with ane mat thairto off silk.

'Item ane stand of grein Spaines taffetie courtingis with foirsyd baksyd heid and ruiff with thrie peices of pandis all brouderit with ane compter claithe off grein velwot pasmentit with open pasmentis off gold and silwer, freinzeit, with ane chyre and fuitgang to the said bedis.

'Item ane cannabie [canopy] off grein damess [damask] freinzit.

'Item ane sewit bed with silk and gold contening thretein pices with ane cannabie off grein taiffetie.

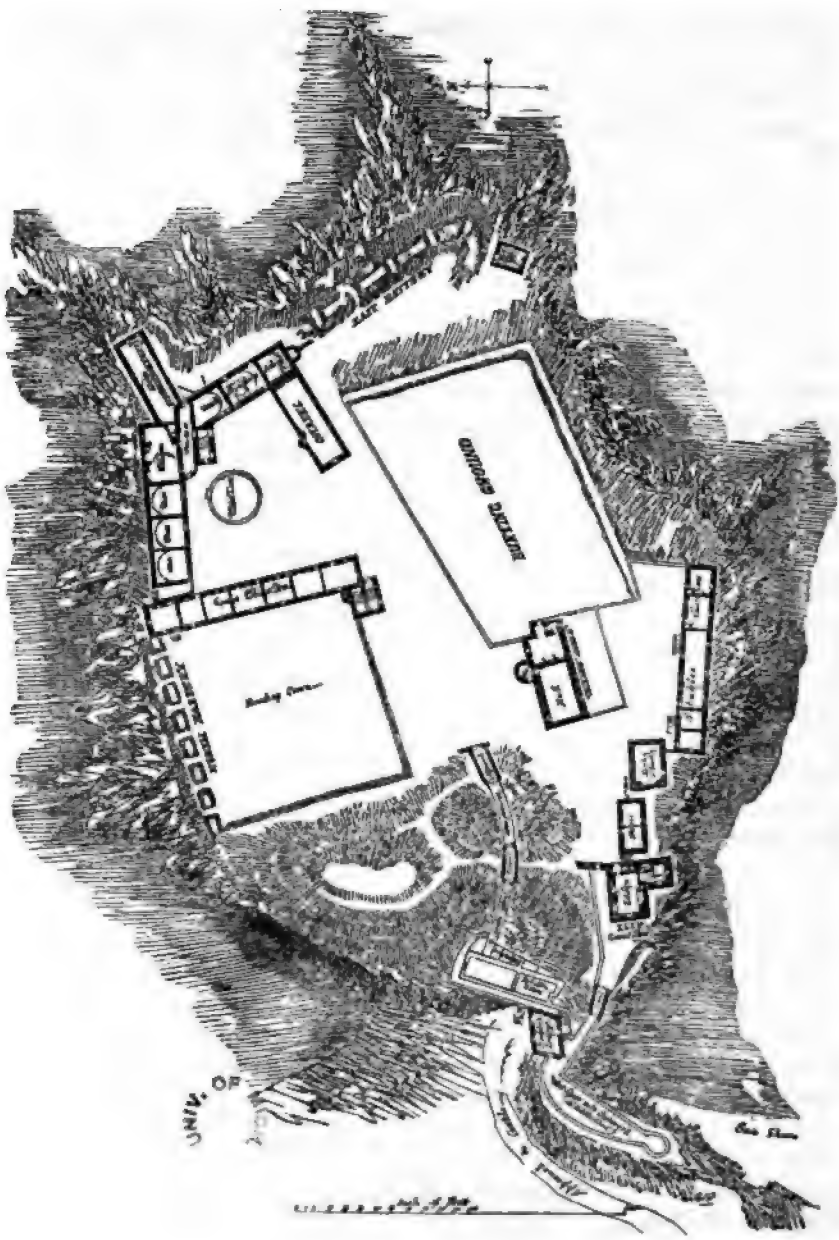
'Item ane stand off grein steining courtingis with baksyd foirdys heid and feit with twa peices off pandis with great knapis [tassels] hingand at the pandis with ane chyre brouderit to the said bedis.

'Item ane stand of changing growgrame [silk] courtingis brouderit with foirsyd baksyd heid and feit with twa peices of pandis.

'Item ane stand of browne serge courtingis brouderit with foirsyd baksyd heid and feit with twa pices off pandis thairto.

'Item ane stand of reid skarlet courtingis brouderit, with foirsyd baksyd heid and feit thrie pices pandes and ye ruiff and ane chyre brouderit to the said bedis.

'Item ane stand of counterfuit [imitation] dames courtingis contenyng foirsyd and feit with ane pice of pand pasmentit with counterfuit pasmentis off silwer and gold.



Dunnottar Castle. General Plan.

'Item ane stand off grein growgrame courtingis with foirsyd baksyd heid and feit with thrie pices of pandis pasmentit with counterfuit pasmentis off silwer.

'Item of fethir bedis fywe scoir, yairof Flanderis tykis [ticks] twentie sewin.

'Item of bousteris fywe scoir, yairof of Flanderis tykis twentie sewin and yairof tua fustian bousteris.

'Item twa fustiane stickit mattis.

'Item four pair of futtiane blankettis.

'Item off codis [pillows] fywe scoir and ten.' Etc.

It would almost seem as if the plenishing of William of the Tower, who attended Mary to France, and of his son the founder of Marischal College, had to some extent been dispersed by 1660. There is no saying what depredations the soldiers of Cromwell may have committed. It is apparent from the inventories however that every event in the family life had been provided for: witness the black damask suite of curtains, under which, probably, the dead Earls lay before they were carried by the tenants to the Marischal's Aisle in St. Bridget's in state, as we shall see. The earlier inventory contains no mention of carpets or cushions, and Meason returned only four rugges, three carpettis, three pieces of hangings and 'two rowmes hanged,'—which probably accounts for some of the shortages in tapestry. This inventory is more vivid too with regard to other matters. Mention has been made of the Church of St. Ninian. According to the inventory, all the furniture in the church consisted, in 1660, of eight seats and a pulpit. In all probability the church had at one time been richly adorned and furnished, but the covenanting Earl and his band of destroyers had been at work,—as their successors seem to be still, striving to realize the theological fiction called spiritual independence,—long before that year, and left it a venerable but empty barn. Some of the silver mentioned in the inventory of 1612 may have stood on the altar of St. Ninian's. The silver work of 1612 is extremely interesting to read about, but not an ounce of it now exists. What would we not give even to see those basins, tasses, cups and goblets! Here they are:

'Item—twa silwer baissines with thair lawaris [plate or stand?] with yair coweris double ourgilt.

'Item—twa heiche [tall] goblattis of silwer double ourgilt of raisit wark wanting ye coweris.

'Item—ane greit silwer tass with ye cower and ring double ourgilt.

'Item—ane less silwer tass with ye cower and ring double ourgilt.

'Item—ane wther silwer coup dowble ourgilt wantand ye cower.

'Item—twa silwer goblattis double ourgilt and engrawein wantand the coweris.

'Item—ane plaine silwer goblet wantand ye cower.
'Item—ane flat silwer tass.
'Item—ane greit silwer salt fat [vat] contening thrie pices ourgilt.
'Item—ane plaine silwer salt fat.
'Item—two little silwer salt fattis persuall [parcel] overgilt.
'Item—of silwer truncheours twentie-thrie.
'Item—of silwer spoynes four dossone.
'Item—ane silwer fuit for ane cope [cup] double ourgilt and engrawein.
'Item—aine plaine silwer fuit for a cope.
'Item—ane maisseris and lipis stalk and fuit yairof off silwer.'

Not one of these is mentioned in the inventory of 1660. It is difficult to believe that a refuge had been found for them elsewhere than in Dunnottar, since the Regalia of Scotland were considered safe within its Tower. Possibly the silver may have been taken out of the Castle. This supposition receives confirmation in a note of plenishing (indorsed '*Some* of the Earl's furnishing and goods'), delivered by the Lady of Cromartie 'unto Master Patrick Falkoner for my lord Marshall's use, Januarie the 8th 1658, at Tillibo'; and it affords some further gleams of the interior of the Castle before that date. For instance, there is mentioned an English carpet, and it is said that it is used for a chamber table. Then, there are stands of blue and red, black and green, and orange and white curtains, some of them 'figurata,' some silk, and some velvet. Here, also, we obtain a trace of the household linen and some of the silver, as follows: '3 paire of new walked blankets; 2 pairs of hauding plaids at an eale & half quarter broad every breed (width); 2 pairs of whilling (homespun) plaids of the same bredth; 4 paire of small eale broad linning (linen) sheets; 2 damask table cloaths, with a dozen of damask servets & a damask towel; 2 dornick (?) table cloaths, 2 dornick towels, & 2 dozen of dornick servets; 5 small linning table cloaths, 4 towels, 2 dozen of servits, all linning; an green table cloath for a hall table; an sprainged table cloath of all colours for a hall table; an doun bed of Flanders tyking with four down cods of Flanders tyking, with four small lining (linen) waires; an bowle salt fat with four trencher saltfats all silver, a silver cup, an dozen of silver spoons, all weighing four pound wanting an ounce; an covered cup doble oregilt weighing 9 once; 4 church cushens, 2 of velvet & 2 of damask.'

The details must, however, yield in interest to the personal adornment of the noblemen themselves. Here is an inventory of the 'Robis and Others delyuered be James Thomsoune in

Entrance to Dunnottar Castle.

name of Dame Marie Erskine, Countas Marischaell, to Androw Hantoune in name of Wam. Erle Mairschaell, hir sone. At Dunotter the 8 day of December 1638 befoir thir witness John Hantoune in Dunoter, and John Bisset in Chapiltoune' (a tenant on the estate). It details the Earl's robes for Coronation, Parliament and burials. For the coronation there is one robe—'of rid cramassie veluit lyned wt quheit mertrix and quheit taffetie with jupye huid and crowne conforme, with gold lace.' The Parliament robe is the same except in colour, which is scarlet; and there is mentioned along with it 'the Mairschaell baton with the cover thairof of rid weluit'; and he is also furnished with 'ane fuit mantle for the Parliament, of black welvit with gold laice and freinzie conforme lynd with buckassie' —that is, a black velvet mantle fringed with gold lace and stiffened, and 'ane brydill & bit strip lethers curpell & tie covered with veluit all with gold lace' conform to the foot mantle, and also 'ane embroudered lous (loose) covering of ane saidill (saddle).' Burials seem to have been conducted with more ceremonial than any other function. There were 'thrie crowns for burials, quhairof tua hes rid ueluit capis with ane spuinge conform.' This was for the Earl, and for his four lacqueys 'four coatis of black weluit with arms broudred with gold & siluer, ye back & breist lynd with rid taffietie.' Then there are 'tua cotis of black taffietie for the buriall,' and for the family burials 'the paill (pall) of black weluit with the pands (pans) yairof lynd with taffietie with ane upper and nether freingzie.' 'The mortclaith' was 'of black weluit with ane freingzie round about (stiffened) with buckassie.' There was further 'ane black weluit mortcot with ane freingzie of black & whyte silk and ribans conforme.' And if one of the family or a friend were buried, the Earl wore 'ane murning rob with the jupye craig (throat) peice & huid (hood) conforme,' or 'ane wther murning rob (without jupye craig peice or huid).' Moreover the lacqueys (allacayis) had provided for them on state occasions 'four wther cotis with bars of blew and yallow welvit,' and there were 'ten scheildis with arms for the mortclaith and paill,' while five 'peissis of culors of rid & yellow taffeitie with freingzies conforme,' decked out the cavalcade of which the Earl or his corpse was the head and centre in state or funeral processions.

Descending to more trivial matters, the foresaid inventory of 1660 is exact in its miscellaneous specifications. The Earl's

bailies had returned to them by the dispossessed besiegers 'a hanger for towellis, a pair of pothookes, a desk, a brass basine, tenne boxes, an old cloak and bell, a field bedcaise (probably the property of a soldier and not the Earl's at all), two firlots and ane peck, a closet, two close stooles, two brass candlesticks, a paire of smith's bellowes, pieces of gilt hangings, a fence about the garden with a little rowme & table in it, a pistoll (pestle), and mortar, two cusheones, a reid coutch, a cloak (clock) with a case, a map, a pewter flagon, a fyre range,' etc. It is also particular in mentioning 'three paire of iron tonges and four chamber-pots.' The latter are the only pieces of crockery we hear of, if they were earthenware, which is doubtful; of pewter dishes there are eight, and of trensher plaites eight. China and glass and forks and knives are not mentioned. And in the inventory it is suspected that many inferior articles had been substituted for the furnishings handed over when Ogilvy surrendered the Castle to Cromwell's troops. The kitchen and wine cellar furnishings bulk largely, as they ought to where English troopers, even Puritans, are concerned; and, accordingly, mention is made of 'cooleris sexteine greate and small, a tun-well, a quilefat (quailvat), a bakeing boord, a naskfatt broken, a racke to hang meat upon, three cowpes for fowles, two pair of irone raxes, two cheise rackes, a worte spute (worts spout for the brewer), a hand mill, a new maskine fatt, a copper (which fatt and copper does not belong to the Earle Marischal bot is sold by the said Captaine to the said Earle for the sowme of fourteine pundis sex shillingis sex pence sterling), a cole rack, a purring iron, a bucket, twenty-one barrellis & tubbis, sex gantries, two pantries, thrie rackes, & mangeris.' The greater part of these were concerned with the brewing, and they are followed by 'nine hundred sleattis and a wooden horse.' The latter contrast strangely, indeed, with the 'Bell to the Chappell, the League and Covenant, a prospective glass and globe, and a broade with theses.' The League and Covenant would probably be the family copy; there is such a copy among the Keith papers now. The 'prospective glass' was used by the look-out on the watch-tower, sitting at the height of more than 200 feet above the sea.

These particulars convey some notion of the kind of establishment the Earls kept throughout the seventeenth century. The castle was more like a village than the dwelling of one family. Retainers and guests were constantly going to and

fro, and the great storehouse of the family, burned by Montrose, was the Tolbooth at the old pier of Stonehaven, to which the fishers brought wine from France, and from which the Earl's stores were shipped in boats to the Castle about a mile away. No surprise need be felt at the elaborate kitchen arrangements when an army of guests and menials had to be provided for; and they were provided for by what the Earl could draw as rent—speaking of 1700 A.D.—from Dunnottar, Fetteresso, and Garvock, in addition to the money rent, namely, '491 firlots bear, 816 bolls meal, 33 bolls corn and fodder, nearly 1000 hens, 4—2/3rd mairts, 10 stones of butter, 261 capons, 1200 eggs & nine swine.' To provide fire for his kitchen, he could make his tenants draw large leits of peat from the great moss of Cowie or coals from 'Stanehive,' and there were in the Castle twenty fire ranges of enormous width, and two of them had gallowses—that is, sways or gibbets in wide fireplaces, on which, no doubt, many more than the eight or nine pots and pans mentioned in the inventory of 1660 hung and cooked the victuals.

Then sanitary arrangements had to be made. The latrines were at the verge of the cliff, and there are traces of jakes in several places. The water supply was a most interesting piece of engineering. When visitors used long ago to be conducted over the Castle, the keeper, known as Jamie Smith, originally a Stonehaven fisherman, of enormous proportions and good hardy features, used hypocritically to say in describing the Covenanters suffering in the dungeon, that the 'puir craters didna get a drap o' water till the gweed Gode birsed it thro' the rock.' Jamie said this with his tongue in his cheek. The water came through interstices in the rock from the vast well in the quadrangle, about 30 feet in diameter and as deep. It is really a small reservoir shaped like the half of an egg. The water reached it in this way. St. Ninian's Well is in the little ravine leading from the highway between Bervie and Stonehaven down to the Castle. A pipe, probably wooden, was laid from the well to a barrel well on the top of the cliff opposite the entrance of the Castle, just where the road begins to dip towards the shore before ascending again to the Castle gate. From this barrel well, pipes, wooden or leaden, were led, either by way of the Castle gate or in some other way, to the reservoir, which is at a lower level, and in this way the Castle had always an abundant supply of water. A curious confirmation of this exists

in the following extract from the Register of the Privy Council, dated Edinburgh, 8th January 1607, which shows the Earl of that date, learned and distinguished though he was, in a not too favourable light:

'Complaint to the Council by David Andirsoun, plumber, burgess of Abirdene, against George, Earl of Merchell, as follows: "The said parties entered into a contract whereby Andirsoun was bound to lay a pipe of lead from the meadow beneath the stables to the great well be-east the 'galrie' within the Castle of Dunnotter to serve 'ane fontane.' Accordingly, he bought 160 stone weight of lead, and carried the same to the burgh of Abirdene, and thence to the said Castle, at great expense. He and his workmen at great trouble cast one day five pipes, each 14 ells in length, and were most willing to finish the work. But the said Earl, on 25th April 1603, after the completing of the first day's work, apprehended the complainer, and detained him in ward in the said Castle for four days 'bosting and minassing me to discharge and annull the said contract. And, efter that I obtenit libertie and fredome, I repairit hame to the burgh of Abirdene to attend and await upoun my lauchfull trade, and haveing tane jornay fra the said burgh to the burgh of Edinburgh be sey [by sea] and being bestorme of wedder and contrarious windis dryvene bak and forcit for saulftie of my lyff to land at the Stanehavin, quhair I resolvit to repair be land to the said burgh of Edinburgh, upoun the sevint of May thairefter, I being gangand in peciable and quiet manner upoun my fute to the said toun of Stanehavin, lippyning for na harme nor oppressioun to have been offerrit to me, it is of treuth that the said Erll in proper persone, accompanyt with Keith of Duffus, and James Stirling, then his servand, followit me on horsebak out of the said toun, and at the end thairof they tuke and apprehendit me, and tuk me perforce with thame to the said Castell, keipit and detenit me thairintill as presoner, and on na wyse wald put me to libertie quhill I wes constranit to deliver to him ane grite quantitie of leid.' This, worth £700, with the other lead and pipes, worth £300, the said Earl disponed at his pleasure. The Earl also compelled the complainer to deliver to him a discharge of the said lead and contract. The Earl has thus not only committed 'ane manifest ryot and oppressioun upon me,' 'but thairwithall usurpit upoun him his Majesties princelie power and authoritie in taking and detening of me as prisoner, I being his Heynes fre subject, answerable and obedient to the lawis, haveing commitit na cryme nor offence, nor he haveing na power nor commissoun to tak me; and thairfore he aucht to be persewit and punist in his persone and guidis with all rigour to the terrour of utheris.' The pursuer therefore humbly beseeches that the defender be charged to compear and produce the discharge above written in order to its being declared null as having been unlawfully given."'

The complaint is indorsed 'Fiat ut petitur,' the decree being subscribed by the Bishop of Dunkeld, but what ensued afterwards does not appear.

This brings one to the last point of interest for the present. The Castle was not merely his dwelling place; it was a fortress; and dominated a large tract of country. Speaking of The

Mearns only, even in 1700 the best part of Dunnottar, Garvock and Fetteresso was still in the possession of the Earl. Dunnottar was a fortress throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The first keep had in the course of time given place to others of an even stronger description; and, as habits became more refined and the exigencies of life demanded, the keep was gradually surrounded by more luxurious structures. The rock is peninsulated, unscaleable from the sea and also from the small portion abutting upon

Keep of Dunnottar Castle from the South East.

the land. Access on foot or horseback but not by vehicle was got by ascending a steep slope in the neighbouring cliffs by a winding pathway, which at the foot of the rock is causewayed, and thence by a causewayed ascent to the entrance through an arched gateway flanked by guard-rooms. One of these guard houses is fifty feet high, and commands the entrance by innumerable embrasures for the use of arms in the thick walls. Eight feet from the gate was the portcullis, the groove of which remains; and further on a guard house faced the gateway with four circular holes for arms in the wall. Near this is the magazine, and following the outer and inner sally ports scooped out of the rock and the latter of which

was roofed and surmounted by ordnance, the plateau is reached. A shorter way to the right led up to the central keep, the south wall of which rests on a precipice 150 feet high. Abutting on the keep or tower are the remains of the ancient offices, such as the blacksmith's forge and the armourer's shop. These last mentioned buildings doubtless formed the ancient Castle. The other structures, excepting the church—which remained after the appropriation of the surface by Sir William Keith as before mentioned,—had been added later. The later buildings, forming a sort of quadrangle reaching the seaward cliff, comprised apartments which tradition names the ballroom, dining-room, drawing-room, dressing-rooms, and bedrooms, and an elaborate suite of what might be called kitchen accommodation, including pantries, brew-house, bake-house, cellars, and the like. Looking out upon the sea were the private rooms of the Earl and Countess, not far from the celebrated Whigs' Vault and the dungeon below it, where Covenanters and anti-Covenanters, the Earl's prisoners, and malefactors from Aberdeen in turn were immured. A bowling green is indicated by an area of sward which is smoother than the rest. Detached towers, like Benholm's Tower and Waterton's Lodging were occupied by cadets of the family. The ancient church was surrounded by a churchyard, and the earliest recorded burial is that of Thomas Roslyne, a knight in the service of Edward I.

But how was Dunnottar defended? We have the following list of cannon in the inventory of 1612; it is doubtful if there were so many in any single fortress in Scotland except Edinburgh and Stirling. They are called 'Artalzerie':

'Item—in the first at the zet (gate) lyand within ye wall twa heid stickis of irne with yair chalmeris.

'Item—mair at the northe pairt of the place bezond the gabriones ane great kalice irne peice.

'Item—ane long braisson pice kairtit (mounted) and stokit.

'Item—ane half falkone of brass.

'Item—ane wther litle peice of brass kairtit.

'Item—ane irne peice.

'Item—ane wther peice of irne.

'Item—in the long wolt (vault) of litle braissen peices four. (This long vault faced the portcullis or gate inside.)

'Item—at the colt chalmer ane greit irne peice kairtit.

'Item—ane haill falkone and ane half falknoe of brass.

'Item—on the mount heid abowe the pend (sally-port) twa irne peices.

'Item—ane number of yrne bullotis.'

Such were the ordnance, including 'Muckle Meg and her seven sisters,' with which the Castle was defended, and which the Earls occasionally converted into moveable batteries and lugged about with them in their military expeditions. For example, they were moved from the Castle and used with great effect at the Raid of Stanehive, as Spalding records. They were used against Cromwell's troops encamped on the Black hill half a mile to the north. The Castle was taken by them mainly on account of the Regalia having been sent to Dunnottar for safety, and the inventory of 1660 mentions amongst the articles delivered up by order of Morgan to Keith of Whytriggs, 'Imprimis, of cannon and murthering peices mounted and dismounted twenty-four.' Only seventeen are detailed in the list of 1612. The artillery was probably made in Flanders. Certainly, it was mended there. In a letter, dated March 6, 1571, of Lord Darcy to Burghley, printed in the *Calendar of Documents* relating to Scotland, Darcy mentions that there is a Scottish ship at Harwich and she has on board two double bases and two single bases of iron without any chambers, belonging to the Earl Marischal, which have been mended in Flanders. While personal decorations and military munitions are elaborately set forth in this inventory, what we should in these days desire to know more about are dismissed in this summary manner: 'Item, ye haill timber wark within the places and housses of Dunnottar, Fetteresso and Hall Forrest; item, ye *haill buikis and armour* within the said housses.' The docquet above quoted contains an apology that everything had been particularly set forth except 'ye timber wark, buikis & armour,' but it is promised that the inventory of these 'salbe particularlie takin up & set down heirefter,' but this was never done. Such being the splendour of this family and its appointments, well might the founder of Marischal College, in contempt of depreciating gossip, put above the gateway:

'They haf said: what say they: lat them say.'

J. Crabb Watt.

[The Editor has to thank Mr. John Fleming for permission to reproduce the illustration facing page 392, and Mr. Thomas Ross for the loan of the other illustrations from *MacGibbon & Ross' The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland.*]

Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union

IV

The Wool-Card Manufactory at Leith (established in 1663)*

ONE of the industries established as a result of the legislation of 1661 was a wool-card manufactory at Leith. Up to this time the instruments used in carding wool had been imported; and following the example of England, it was decided to protect the persons who would start the production of wool cards in Scotland. As early as 1565 patents had been granted in England which formed the basis of the important company known as the 'Society of Mineral and Battery Works.' From the date of its foundation up to 1662 several proclamations had been issued making it illegal to import foreign wool-cards or to sell 'translated' or trimmed-up old wool-cards. Owing to the trend of events in Scotland it was not till 1663 that a similar organisation was established in North Britain. The Scottish Act of 1661, while granting large privileges to infant industries, was quite silent as to the protecting of them from foreign competition. In this case the keen desire to rival the English wool trade led to all possible encouragement being given to a Scottish wool-card manufactory, not only, under the prevailing mercantilist ideas, to prevent the exportation of bullion, but also to improve the carding of wool by insuring the use of new wool-cards only—it having been customary for the people to buy cards which had been discarded elsewhere and re-made.[1] Accordingly, on June 3rd, 1663, a Patent under the Great Seal was granted to James Currie, Provost

* See *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. i. p. 407, and vol. ii. pp. 53 and 287.

[1] Parliamentary Papers, 1690 (General Register House, Edinburgh)—'Act anent the Manufacture of Cairds.'

of Edinburgh, and James Auchterlony, their assigns and partners (sociis), conferring the monopoly of producing wool-cards for nineteen years.[2] This privilege was confirmed to the same persons and two others by an Act of Parliament dated September 29th of the same year. The importation of re-furbished cards is forbidden under the usual penalties. Prohibitive duties were exacted from persons importing foreign cards, namely, £6 Scots per doz. 'stock-cards,' and £3 Scots per doz. of other [new] cards. These duties were to continue for seven years from the starting of the manufactory. For the next ten years the tax was to be reduced by one-half, and subsequently imports would be free, unless the Lords of the Exchequer saw reason to continue the imposts. These privileges were subject to the following conditions: The Company must produce a sufficient quantity of cards to supply the whole country, the price charged for the first seven years must not be more than ten per cent. in excess of that of those imported before the payment of import duty, and after seven years the ten per cent. allowance was to cease.[3]

During the early years of the history of this co-partnership the importation of 're-furbished cards' continued; and, for further encouragement of the undertaking, the original duties were maintained and the conditions imposed on the company interpreted generously. On June 11th, 1675, the Lords of the Exchequer endeavoured to prevent the importation of new and re-furbished cards by the connivance of the farmers of the customs, and it was ordered that all foreign cards should be seized and destroyed.[4] This course, as well as the endeavour of the managers to enforce their monopoly by the prevention of the sale of cards except those made by them, led to considerable dissatisfaction. In 1680 there were complaints from Dundee brought before the Convention of Royal Burghs,[5] and it is not improbable that in view of the determination of the monopoly in 1682 the patentees were inclined to moderate their demands for the time.

The financial results of the venture had so far been disastrous. The capital raised had been thrice lost—according to the tale of the company—solely owing to the continued importation of re-furbished cards. On these grounds a renewal of the monopoly

[2] *Reg. Magni Sigillii*, Lib. x. (1676-84), f. 142.

[3] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. p. 488.

[4] Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information of the heirs of John Hay . . . and Managers of the Caird Manufactory at Leith.'

[5] *The Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, 1677-1711, p. 21.

as well as more stringent prohibition of imported cards was applied for.[6] On February 8th, 1681, an extension of the monopoly was granted for a further period of nineteen years,[7] and on July 15th the Lords of the Exchequer repeated their previous order to the tacksmen of the customs to enforce the law against imported wool-cards.[8] By an Act of the Privy Council of December 6th, 1689, the same prohibition, especially as affecting re-furbished cards, was again repeated.[9]

These privileges resulted in several real or alleged grievances. Like the Newmills Woollen Company, the Leith Card Manufactory had the right of compelling suspected persons to testify on oath, and in 1685 the managers compelled traders to make the necessary declaration before the supreme judicatory. This was felt to be a hardship, and a petition was presented to Parliament praying that the oath might be taken in the burgh where the person making it resided.[10] As a result of a seizure arising out of the act of the Privy Council of 1689 the Company and the Royal Burghs came into conflict. John Spruel had imported cards, and when these were destroyed, he determined 'to raise the Royal Burghs to break the manufacture.'[11] A Draft Act was prepared which, after reciting the terms of the two patents, set forth that none or very few of the conditions of the first patent had been performed of set purpose so that the monopoly might be extended; for this reason it was proposed to be enacted that the patent should be null and void, and that wool cards might be imported as formerly.[12] The supporters of Spruel alleged that the cards made at Leith were neither good nor cheap.[13] These charges educed a considerable amount of evidence from the manufacturers. It was stated a stock valued at £1000 sterling of cards was held at Leith, and that none could deny their cheapness 'except such as buy them as a cloak under which they sell great quantities of old re-furbished cards every year which, when search is made for the old ones, are always produced and kept unsold for that effect.' The re-made cards are declared to

[6] Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information,' etc., *ut supra.*

[7] *Reg. Magn. Sig.*, x. f. 142.

[8] Parliamentary Papers, 1690, *ut supra.* [9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Reports of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, 1677-1711, p. 59.

[11] Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information,' etc., *ut supra.*

[12] Parliamentary Papers, 1690—[Draft] 'Act anent the Manufacture of Cairds.'

[13] Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information,' etc., *ut supra.*

be 'a perfect cheat and have beene the ruin of the manufacture.'[14] The fraud consisted in the fact that the re-furbished cards could be bought in England at 8s. a doz., and were sold in Scotland at the same price as new ones. The latter fetched from 18s. to 20s. a doz. in London, and the Leith undertaking offered cards made there for 20s. a doz., with six months' credit, thus conforming to the provisions of the Act of 1663. The quality of the Leith cards was guaranteed by the fact that they were in use at the Newmills and other manufactories, and the masters of these works had testified that these cards were as good as any they could obtain from England or abroad.[15] In so far as this statement relates to the Newmills Woollen Manufactory some qualification is required, for in this case the cards required for the best work were imported, for instance, on June 2, 1686, 4 doz. Spanish wool-cards were ordered from Holland.[16] The Leith Company also claimed that it could undersell any cards either made in Scotland or imported from abroad, and that exports could be made at a profit.[17] Complaints were made that the tacksmen of the customs never exacted half the duties on new cards and that they admitted re-furbished ones, that large outlays of capital had been made 'on the public faith of the laws,' so that any interruption of the monopoly would be a great hardship before this outlay had been recovered. It required £500 sterling to provide calf-skins, and £200 sterling to pay the wrights who prepared timber for making the cards, besides many other expenses. In all sixty families had been maintained, and these were in danger of being reduced to beggary if the importation of cards were permitted. On these grounds the company asked that the privilege of a manufactory should be granted it for a further period of nineteen years, and that all foreign cards should be prohibited for all time coming.[18] The upshot of the opposing petitions was that the Draft Act against the Company was referred to the Commissioners of Fines and Forfeitures, and nothing was done.[19]

[14] Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information,' etc., *ut supra*.

[15] Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information for the Partners of the Manufactory at Leith for making Wool and Tow Cards.'

[16] *The Records of a Scottish Cloth Manufactory*, 1681-1703, p. 123.

[17] Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Petition John Hay and others,' 'Information for Partners,' etc.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Parliamentary Papers, 1690—[Draft] 'Act anent the Manufacture of Cairds.'

Though the Royal Burghs had suffered a check in the agitation against the Company in 1690, they were far from allowing the matter to rest. In 1691 the agent of the Burghs was directed to endeavour to obtain a suspension of the privileges of the manufactory, and in the following year he was ordered to defend any burgess inhabiting a Royal Burgh who was charged at the instance of Ewan MacGrigor, one of the managers of the co-partnery. In 1696 a Committee was appointed to hear complaints against the monopoly, and, on the Committee having reported, the Convention recommended the Commissioners to Parliament 'to discharge the great grievance of the manufacture of wool-cards.'[20] No result followed from these representations. The other side had not been idle, and a decree was obtaining which compelled persons requiring wool-cards to buy those made at the Leith manufactory.[21]

This decree evoked an indignant protest from the Royal Burghs in 1703, which declared that the cards made at Leith were 'insufficient,' and that there was 'one universal complaint against them.'[22] In 1705 a memorial against the Company was transmitted to Parliament. It alleged that there were hundreds of complaints from persons, even from whole parishes, which had been distressed by the masters of the manufactory. To this the Company replied that all prosecutions had been directed against the unlawful importation of 'that rotten stuff of foreign old cards,' which, 'though in a manner cast away abroad and bought up for little or nothing, yet are endeavoured to be imposed on this kingdom at as high a rate as the manufactory's cards.' The whole animus against the undertaking was due to its endeavour to enforce the legislation against illegal importation of re-furbished cards. As against the attacks made 'by whispers and complaints of querulous, envious persons, importers and retailers of old cards for the alleged insufficiency of their work,' the approval of the woollen manufactories is again quoted, and any calumnies are abundantly disproved by the fact that 'the manufactory is so well settled and approven.'[23] What was the upshot of the quarrel is unknown. It is probable that the change in the wool trade after the Union made the monopoly no longer worth defending.

[20] *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, 1677-1711, pp. 141, 155, 210, 229, 303.

[21] *Ibid.* p. 346. [22] *Ibid.* p. 346.

[23] Parliamentary Papers, 1705—'The Representation of John Hay, Ewan MacGrigor and Partners.'

As to its financial results during an existence of over forty years it is not possible to pronounce a decided opinion. The assertion that the stock was thrice lost early in the history of the concern is confirmed by the fact that Provost Currie, one of the original patentees, was in great pecuniary difficulties in 1695.[24] From that date till the Union it would appear that the considerable number of woollen works established would increase the demand for carded wool, and consequently for wool-cards. Therefore, provided the Leith Company could render importation sufficiently unattractive, large profits should have been made. That the undertaking had at least some measure of success is indicated not only by its lengthy existence, but also by the reference in the document quoted above to the envy of its opponents.

W. R. Scott.

[24] Parliamentary Papers, 1695—'Act in favour of James Currie'—*Acts of Par.* ix. p. 489. Appen. p. 124.

The Battle of Glenshiel

A PLAN of the Battle of Glenshiel, by Lieutenant John Henry Bastide, was published by Mr. A. H. Millar in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1882-3, and has been reproduced in the same author's *Rob Roy* (1883), in Mr. W. K. Dickson's *The Jacobite Attempt of* 1719 (1895), and in the present writer's *The Chevalier de St. George* (1901). It is reprinted here for purposes of comparison.

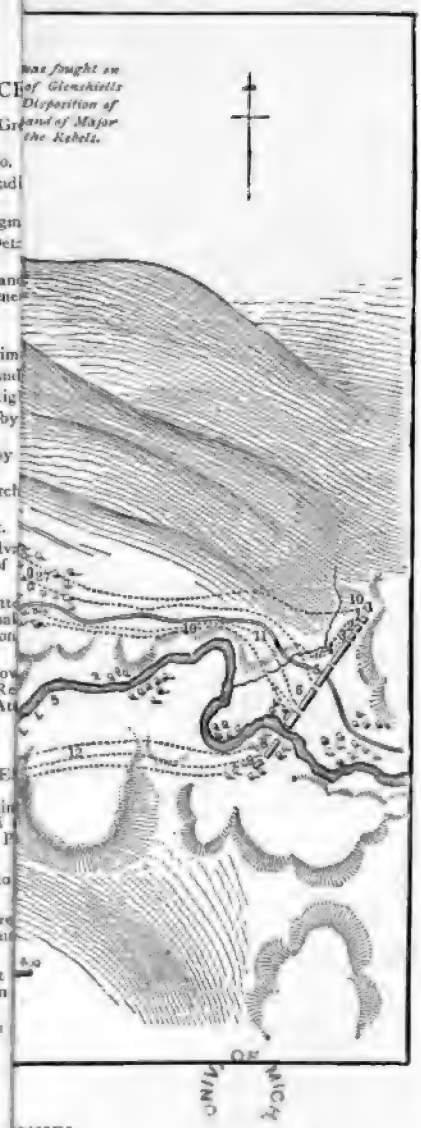
The general accuracy of Bastide's plan, apart from the evidence of contemporary narratives, is confirmed by a plan of the battle by John Ross, of Aberdeen, the original of which is at Brahan Castle, in the possession of Colonel Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth. It was exhibited by him in the Jacobite Exhibition at Inverness in 1903, and through his kindness is here published for the first time.

Ross's plan bears the inscription

> 'A Dispoition of his Maiesties forces comanded by Maj^{r} Gen^{ll} Weghtmain and of y^{e} Rebells at y^{e} Pass of Glenshiels in Kintaill North-Britain where y^{e} battle was fought upon y^{e} 10th of June 1719 drawen by John Ross Aberdeen.'

The plan presents the rough contour of the hills about the Pass of Glenshiel (marked E upon the plan). Towards its leftward margin, a broad streak marks the course of the river Shiel, to the right, that is the north, of which the roadway is shown, converging upon the river where both thread the Pass. Towards the right-hand top corner of the plan (marked O) appears a height described as 'Mount Shururan.' Upon Bastide's plan it is called 'The Mount called Skururan, the highest in Scotland except Benevis.' The mountain indicated is Sgurr Fhuaran, or Scour Ouran, which attains an altitude of 3505 feet.

At the foot of the plan a series of positions (C, B) marks the ground (A) on which Wightman drew up his force before the engagement. The position extends on both sides,



REFERENCE

1. A Sergt. and 12 Gr
diers.
2. An Officer and 24 do.
3. Main Body of Grenadi
120 in Num.
4. Col. Montagu's Regm
5. Col. Harrison's Det
Battalion.
6. Huffel's Regmt. and
Companies of Ame
gen's
7. Dragoons.
8. Col. Clayton's Regim
9. The Monro's Highland
10. The Sutherland's Rig
11. The first march by
Right.
12. Clayton's march by
Left.
13. The Dragoons march
the Plain.
14. The Dragoons Halt.
15. The Dragoons adv
to the middle of
Plain.
16. Clayton's four Plott
and the Monro's ma
y^e First Attack on
Rebels Right.
17. Cohorn Mortars throw
Granades at the Re
where y^e First At
was Ordered.

REFERENCE

A. A Spanish Regi
posted on the Hill
commanded the P
and the Pass.
B. Spaniards march to
Mount and Halt.
C. The Spaniards retire
the Top of the m
tain.
D. The Barricade that
fended the Pass on
River Side.
E. The Breastworks on
Side of the Hill.

was fought on
of Glenshiells
Disposition of
and of Major
the Rebels.

SHIEL

Facing page 412

the north and south, of the river Shiel, as in Bastide's plan. Written in ink by a contemporary hand the various units of Wightman's force are indicated; and upon the extreme wings the same annotator apparently has added two important details to the plan. Upon the extreme left appear the 'Munro Highl^rs' and 'Clayton' (c). Upon their right, the river intervening, appear in order, 'Dragoons,' 'Huffell' and 'Amerong,' 'Harrison,' 'Montague,' 'Granad^rs,' and 'Strath. Higl^rs' (B). In Bastide's plan these units are described from left to right as, 'The Monro's Highlanders,' 'Col. Clayton's Regiment,' 'Dragoons,' 'Huffel's Regmt. and 4 Companies of Amerongen's,' 'Col. Harrison's Detacht Battalion,' 'Col. Montagu's Regmt.,' 'Main Body of Grenadiers, 120 in Num.,' 'An Officer and 24 do.,' 'A Sergt. and 12 Grenadiers,' and on the extreme right wing, 'The Sutherland's Right.' In Ross's plan the same contemporary hand has indicated a position in advance of Wightman's front, beyond a tributary burn, and has marked it 'six Dragoons to Reconoitre.'

The published official account[1] of the engagement entirely confirms Ross and Bastide as to the disposition of Wightman's force: 'On the Right were posted all the Grenadiers under the Command of Major Milburn,[2] being above 150 in Number, who were sustained by Montague's Regiment,[3] commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence,[3] and a Detachment of 50 Men commanded by Colonel Harrison,[4] the rest of his Regiment being in Garrison at Inverlochy; these were supported by Huffel's Dutch Regiment, and four Companies out of Amerongen's; this [right] Wing had 56 of Lord Strathnaver's Men in the Flank, under the Command of Ensign Mac Cey, and the whole Wing was commanded by Colonel Clayton,[5] who

[1] *The London Gazette*, 20-23rd June, 1719.

[2] Major Richard Milburn. His regiment is the present Devonshire Regiment (11th Foot). He had led it at Sheriffmuir (Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. v. p. 237).

[3] Colonel Edward Montague received the command of the 11th Regiment of Foot on 13th July, 1715, and died on 2nd August, 1738, at which time he held the rank of Brigadier-General (Note communicated by Mr. Dalton).

Lt.-Col. Herbert Lawrence received the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 11th Foot on 11th April, 1712 (Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. v. p. 176).

[4] Colonel Henry Harrison received the colonelcy of the 15th Foot on 8th February, 1715 (*Ibid.* vol. v. pt. ii. p. 50).

[5] Colonel Jasper Clayton commanded the regiment now known as the 14th Foot. He was killed at Dettingen (Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. iv. p. 130).

acted as Brigadier upon this Occasion. The Left Wing consisted of Clayton's Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Reading, and had on the Flank above fourscore Men of the Monroes, under the command of Mr. Monroe of Culcairn. The Dragoons, which were 120 in Number, commanded by Major Robertson,[6] and had made their March from Inverness without the Loss of so much as one Horse or the least Inconvenience to them, were order'd to keep the Road,[7] having four Cohorns plac'd in their Front.[8] The Major-General [Wightman] himself was posted in the Centre.' His total strength was 850 foot, 120 dragoons, 136 Highlanders, in all 1106, and four mortars.[9]

Ross's plan is not equally detailed as to the disposition of the Jacobite force. Upon the high ground immediately to the north of the Pass is shown the entrenched position (A) occupied by the luckless Spanish contingent (B) which was involved in the haphazard adventure. On its front, facing east towards Wightman's line of advance, are shown a double line of entrenchments held by Highlanders (C), covered by three breastworks defended by the Spaniards themselves (D). On the other (the south) side of the river, upon an eminence in advance of the Spaniards' position, is marked (F) a 'Detachm^{t} from y^{e} Right command^{d} by L^{d} G. Murray.' Upon the extreme left of the Jacobite position is shown (G) a 'Body of 400 Highland^{rs} comand^{d} by Ld. Seaforth.' In Seaforth's rear appears (at H) a force described as 'The body of Men to Sustain the first.' To the rear of Lord George Murray are shown (L) a body of 'Highland^{rs} goeing to Sustain L^{d} G. Murray,' and close by them (O) another body of 'Highland^{rs} Skulking about the Hills.' On the left (north) of the Spanish entrenchments is marked (I) the position of the 'Woods from whence they [the Highlanders] fired hid behind Rocks.'

[6] Major Patrick Robertson. His regiment was the Royal Regiment of North British Dragoons, now the Royal Scots Greys.

[7] Ross's plan shows the dragoons lying across the road.

[8] The position of the four mortars in the attack is marked N on Ross's plan. A similar position is assigned to them on Bastide's plan.

[9] In Mar's *Distinct Abridgement*, quoted in my *Chevalier de St. George*, p. 491, Wightman's strength is given at about 1500. Wightman, says Mar, 'placed their Horse on the low ground, and a Battalion cross the water near them, with most of their Highlanders on their left; all the rest of their foot were at a distance on a riseing ground to the right of the horse.'

Bastide's plan agrees generally with Ross's regarding the Jacobite position. The Spanish contingent (A) is thereon described as 'posted on the Hill that commanded the Plain and the Pass.' Lord George Murray's position (F) is identically represented, and also that of the force of Highlanders (H) 'to sustain their [Lord George Murray's] Right.' Bastide, however, shows a detail which is not specifically indicated on Ross's plan. At about the position E on Ross's plan he marks 'The Barricade that defended the Pass on the River Side' (D). Wightman may have had such a barrier in his mind when he wrote in his official despatch: 'Their Dispositions for Defence were extraordinary, with the Advantages of Rocks, Mountains, and Intrenchments.'[10] Possibly the rope-like detail immediately above E on Ross's plan is intended to represent the entrenchments across the Pass.

The disposition of the Jacobite force is detailed by Tullibardine, who was present,[11] in a letter to Mar from Glengarry on 16th June, 1719.[12] He writes: 'We had drawn up to the right [*i.e.* south] of our main body on the other side of the [Shiel] water upon a little Hill [F on Ross's plan] about one hundred and fifty men, including the Companys of my Lord Seaforths, besides above four-score more were allotted for that place, who was to come from the top of the Hill [O on the left of Ross's plan], but altho' they sent twice to tell they were coming, yet they only beheld the action at a Distance. This party was commanded by Lord Geo. Murray, the Laird of McDougal, Major Mcintosh,[13] and John of Auch,[14] ane old officer of my Lord Seaforths people.'[15] On the north of the

[10] *Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 283. A letter of 22nd June, 1719, speaks of the Jacobite position at the Pass as 'fortified by strong entrenchments from one side to another, being not above two hundred paces broad' (*Portland MSS.*, vol. v. p. 584).

[11] His commission 'was read that morning [10th June] at the head of the army, as ample as was ever given to any subject's' (*Portland MSS.*, vol. v. p. 584).

[12] The letter is printed in *The Jacobite Attempt of* 1719, p. 269. It may be observed that Mar's *Distinct Abridgement*, printed in Oliphant's *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, quotes it almost literally.

[13] 'Major James Mackintosh, Borlum's brother' (*Portland MSS.*, vol. v. p. 585).

[14] John Mackenzie of Avoch.

[15] The letter of 22nd June (*Portland MSS.*, vol. v. p. 585) describes the right of the Jacobite position thus: 'That on the right on the opposite southern hill consisted of about one hundred and twenty Belkash and Loch-Errin men with

river, forming the left of the Jacobite position, according to Tullibardine, 'were first on the right[16] the Spanish Regiment [B on Ross's plan], which consisted of about two hundred men; about fifty more of them were left behind with the Magazine, several of them being Sick.' Next in the line, on the left of the Spaniards, was 'Locheill with about one hundred and fifty.' On the Camerons' left were 'Mr Lidcoat's and others, being one hundred and fifty, twenty volunteers.'[17] On their left, in order from left to right, were Rob Roy and forty Macgregors, fifty Mackinnons, and two hundred Seaforth Highlanders under Sir John Mackenzie of Coull. On the extreme left of the Jacobite line, 'at a considerable distance on a steep hill,' was Lord Seaforth himself, 'posted with above two hundred of his best men.' The Earl Marischal and Brigadier Campbell of Ormidale were with him. Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum was with the Spaniards. On the centre, at the Pass itself, 'where we imagin'd the main attack would be, it being by far the easiest Ground, besides the only way thro' the Glen,' Tullibardine and Brigadier Colin Campbell of Glendaruel took position.[18]

Before dealing with the battle itself, it may be well to sketch the circumstances which had brought the two forces into opposition. Jacobite effort for the most part leant upon French assistance. Simon Fraser's plot in 1703, the French descent of 1708, the risings of 1715 and 1745 establish the fact. But the haphazard effort of 1719 drew its inspiration from Spain and Cardinal Alberoni's restless and disturbing policy. England, pledged to the Treaty of Utrecht, a signatory to the Treaty of Westminster in 1716, and, with France and Holland, a party to the Triple Alliance of 1717, thwarted Alberoni's schemes. Undaunted he seized Sicily in 1718.

about fifty Camerons, and was commanded by Lord George Murray, Fairbores, John of Avoch, and Major James Mackintosh, Borlum's brother.' 'Fairbores' appears elsewhere (*ibid.* p. 587) as 'Fairburne.'

[16] *i.e.* nearest to the stream and Pass.

[17] Mr. Dickson, *Jacobite Attempt of* 1719, p. l., conjectures that 'Lidcoat' may be a pseudonym for Glengarry. But a letter from one with the Jacobite force states categorically that 'none of Glengarry' was present (*Portland MSS.*, vol. v. p. 587). The same letter seems to refer to 'Lidcoat's' contingent as 'about eighty stragglers.' In Mar's *Distinct Abridgement* this body is referred to as '150 with 20 volunteers, from the neighbouring bounds.'

[18] *The Jacobite Attempt of* 1719, p. 271.

A PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF GLENSHIEL, 1719, BY JOHN ROSS, ABERDEEN

Facing page 416

In August of that year Admiral Byng engaged and routed the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro. To cripple England, or at least to hold her powerless to check the policy to which he was committed, was naturally Alberoni's aim. The Hanoverian dynasty in England was still unsettled and unpopular. To encourage latent Jacobitism in England and Scotland was an obvious measure. In November, 1718, accordingly, the Duke of Ormonde was invited from Paris to Madrid. Early the next year the Chevalier himself set out from Rome to Madrid. Ormonde's English project, however, met the usual fate of foreign fleets engaged in Jacobite adventure. James arrived in Spain to learn that an appeal to English Jacobitism was perforce abandoned. But ignorant of the fate of Ormonde's attempt, the Earl Marischal had already sailed for Scotland. His brother, James Keith, had been despatched to France to stir up the Jacobite refugees.[19] Early in April, 1719, Jacobite Scotland was invited to join in the isolated adventure. But the Spanish contingent alone indicated that the brunt of the effort would not be purely local. Sheriffmuir was too recent a memory to tempt obvious immolation. The Clans were cautious. The measure of their enthusiasm has already been gauged in the roll of those who were present at Glenshiel.

Wightman, with the troops already enumerated, had marched from Inverness, haply to quell the rising, on 5th June. On the 10th he advanced westward from Strath Clunie, and found the Jacobite force covering the Pass of Glenshiel.[20] Ross's plan gives indications of the course of the battle. On the front of the position where Wightman halted upon coming into view of the Pass is shown (H) the 'rock' where his force 'wheeld to y^e^ right at 4 to atack y^e^ Enemy at 6,' confronted by Seaforth and the Highland left (G). To the rear (M) of Wightman's force is shown the 'Guard for y^e^ bagadge & place for y^e^ Hospitall." On the left of Wightman's line a force of 'Dragoons

[19] See *Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 1714-1734. Spalding Club.

[20] *Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 283. Wightman's letter to Roxburghe states: 'Yesterday [10th June] I march'd from Strachlony to the Head of Glenshill, a considerable Pass, which, I was told, the Enemy had resolv'd to defend; but upon my Approach they deserted that Post, and retir'd to cover their Camp, which was at another very strong Pass call'd Strachell.' Mr. Dickson remarks that the 'name [Pass of Strachell] still appears in guide-books, though it is not known in the district' (*Jacobite Attempt of* 1719, p. xlix). The advanced party which Wightman describes as retiring before him was commanded by Lord George Murray.

advanced on horseback' is shown at F. To the rear of that body appears the first position of the mortars, firing across the stream upon Murray's position at F. The second position of the guns (N) shows them bombarding the Spaniards entrenched at A. To the south of the stream, at the foot and on the crest of Lord George Murray's hill (both marked D) is shown 'a Plattoon highl: marching up y^e^ hill to atack Lord G. Murray.' Finally, high up the hill upon the right (north) of the plan is marked (L) the position of 'Our [Wightman's] Army drawn up after the Action.' As to the Jacobite force Ross does no more than indicate the direction of its retreat. Naturally, in view of the presence of cavalry with Wightman's force, the routed Highlanders and their allies kept to the high ground. The Spaniards are shown retreating due north up the hill (M) to its summit (N) 'where they fled after y^e^ Action.' At P (twice marked) are shown the 'Highland^rs^ broke and runing away.'

Bastide's plan confirms Ross's details. Clayton, commanding the right, led the force to 'the Rock where the Attack began' (22. See H on Ross's plan), and pushed his pursuit to the top of the hill (23, 25. See L on Ross's plan). The attack of Clayton's regiment and the Monroes (D on Ross's plan) upon Lord George Murray's position is shown by Bastide at 16 and 24. The first position of the mortars (unlettered on Ross's plan) is shown at 17. Their second position (N on Ross's plan) is shown at 18, and hard by Wightman is represented (29) 'giving his directions during the Action.' The development of the attack upon the centre of the Jacobite position, the Pass itself, is shown by Bastide with some details which make clearer Ross's confusing lettering. At 19 is shown part of Clayton's regiment, after the rout of Murray's force, engaged in attacking 'the Barricade of the Pass,' and on the other (north) side of the stream (at 20) '35 Dragoons on Foot attack the Spaniards Breast Works.' On Ross's plan these positions are indicated on either side of the river at G G. From Bastide's plan it also appears (21) that the dragoons (F on Ross's plan) and part of Clayton's regiment (26) took possession of the eminence on which the Spaniards had been entrenched.

The general features of the engagement are already clear. Wightman, instead of a direct attack upon the centre of the Jacobite position, and probably with the object of sweeping the pursuit along the valley where his cavalry could deal with it, directed his first attack upon the wings. Victorious on both

quarters, he forced the Spaniards on the centre to evacuate their entrenched position, and to join the flight of the Highlanders to the higher slopes of Scour Ouran.[21] Such a general impression of the engagement is confirmed by the contemporary accounts of it. Tullibardine[22] states clearly that the brunt of Wightman's attack had been expected on the centre, 'it being by far the easiest Ground, besides the only way thro' the Glen.' Wightman, however, merely stationed his horse 'on the low Ground,' and placed his foot partly on the south of the stream, and partly 'on a rising ground' on his right. The first attack was upon Lord George Murray and the Jacobite right. The Monroes and Clayton's regiment delivered it. Their first detachment was reinforced by a second and a third, until 'most of those with Lord Geo. ran to the other side of a steep Burn, where he himself and the rest were afterwards obliged to follow, where they continued till all was over, it being uneasy for the enemy to pass the hollow Banks of that Burn.' If Ross's chronology is correct, the attack and rout of Lord George Murray must have taken place after four o'clock, when Wightman's right moved up the higher ground against Seaforth.[23] 'When they found that party on our Right give way,' Tullibardine continues, 'their Right began to move up the Hill from thence, to fall down on our left, but when they saw my Lord Seaforths people, who were behind the steep Rock (marked 1 on Ross's plan), they were oblig'd to attack them least they should have been flank'd in coming to us.' The inference is clear. The screened position at 'the steep Rock,' held, as one may conjecture, by 'Lidcoat,' Rob Roy, and the Mackinnons, enfiladed the direct advance of an attacking force approaching the Spaniards. Clayton, therefore, commanding Wightman's right, found it necessary to convert a frontal attack upon the centre into a flank attack upon the Jacobite extreme left. The change of direction brought him upon Seaforth and his Mackenzies (G on Ross's plan). Clayton's move produced immediate effect. Sir John Mackenzie of Coull, on Seaforth's right, in spite of the fact, as Tullibardine states, that 'most

[21] Mr Dickson (*Jacobite Attempt of* 1719, p. lii) remarks: 'Far up the hill there is a corrie which to this day the shepherds call Bealach-na-Spainnteach, the Spaniards' Pass.'

[22] *Ibid.* p. 271.

[23] Wightman states that he delivered his attack 'about Five in the Afternoon' (*Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 283).

of [his] men began to goe off on the seing the enemy, mov'd up with his Battalion to sustain the rest of the M'kenzies.' Clayton, in consequence, pushed his attack on Seaforth with the greater vigour, 'on which my Lord Seaforth sent down [the hill] for a Reinforcement.' Campbell of Ormidale came up at the moment from his post with the Spaniards, 'telling it was not certain if there [Wightman's] main body would not just then fall upon our Centre.' The news spread consternation among those with whom it would go hardly if Ormidale's fear should be realised at the moment when Seaforth's position seemed precarious. It caused, says Tullibardine, 'Rob Roy with the M'grigors and M'kinnin the longer of drawing off' to Seaforth's assistance. Observing Seaforth 'give way,' however, Rob Roy 'made all the dispatch he could' to reinforce him. 'But before he could get up, so as to be fairly in hands with the Enemy, Lord Seaforths people were mostly gone off, and himself left wounded in the Arm, so that with difficulty he could get out of the place.' Rob Roy thereupon drew off his detachment. 'Lidcoat's' men were sent to reinforce the left, but followed Rob Roy. The Camerons were then ordered to 'march up,' but 'likewise drew off as others had done.' Finally the Spaniards were 'called' to check the rout. But 'none standing to Sustain them, they likewise were oblig'd to draw up the hill on our left, where at last all began to run, tho' half had never once an opportunity to fire on the Enemy.' The whole disorganised force, Tullibardine concludes, 'went off over the mountains, and next morning we had hardly anybody togeither except some of the Spaniards.'

In the *Portland MSS.*[24] two anonymous letters add some details to the story of the battle. The first, dated 22nd June, is clearly written by one who was not present at it. The second, dated 27th June, is the narrative of an eye-witness whose account is both incomplete, inaccurate, and prejudiced by its writer's animus against Tullibardine. Both, however, contain statements which bear the stamp of accuracy, and may be accepted. The first adds a detail to the attack on Lord George Murray and the Jacobite right: 'The last-mentioned wing was attacked by the forces half an hour after four in the afternoon, and though they were vastly inferior in number to those who attacked them in their bodies, yet being equal in

[24] Vol. v. pp. 584-87.

their courage and superior in their situation, they repulsed them thrice with considerable loss, and maintained their ground bravely for two hours, till at last by their small morters (a new machine of General Cochorn's invention), the forces fired the heath and woods about them, and by that means smothered them out of their strongholds; upon which they retired in good order and with great deliberation to the main body.'[25] Of the attack upon the Jacobite left the writer gives the following account: 'My Lord Seaforth was next attacked, and maintained his ground for two hours more with abundance of bravery, till at last his men, weary of so long and close fire, began to give way, upon which he stepped out before his men towards the enemy, brandishing his sword to rally them, at which time he received a shot in the fleshy part of the arm. However, he rallied them at length, and stood it out at one strong ground or other till about a quarter after nine,[26] when being faint by loss of blood, no succours being sent him from the main body (though earnestly and frequently desired), his hardiest men being fatigued by long action, and overpowered by numbers of forces, who by this time had scrambled up the hill, and were advanced breast to breast, he was at last forced to retire, which he did without the least disorder or confusion.' The writer adds: 'I am not to enlarge upon misbehaviour in general or particular, but certainly there was an Achan in the camp. Imprudence, cowardice, and knavery were the principal ingredients in the composition of some there, and that not without the influence of some who were old friends.' No suspicion rested upon Seaforth, who 'discharged his piece six times after he was wounded.' Sir John Mackenzie, also, 'made a notable effort to recover the reputation he had lost at Inverness.' As to Lord George Murray and the Earl Marischal, 'some of the officers . . . . swear they have seen each of them fire fifteen shot.'

The letter of 27th June infers that the Jacobites retreated because 'the whole ammunition was spent." Tullibardine comes in for criticism. 'When we expected all would act as they ought,' says the writer, 'our General refused with his

[25] The statement that Murray retired to the main body does not find confirmation elsewhere. See above.

[26] Wightman states that 'a warm Dispute was maintain'd till past Eight' (*Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 283).

body to engage, alleging he had no orders from the king to fight, and only detached Glenderuell and Rob Roy Macgregor with sixty men to a pass, which they quitted without firing one shot upon the enemy's advancing, and retired to the General.' The writer adds, that while Seaforth was engaged on the left, Tullibardine 'ordered Rob Roy to blow up the whole magazine, which he did, and to carry off his baggage, of which he took more than fell to his and the General's share, and the General marched southward with his whole body, without burning powder except firing the magazine.' Seaforth again is complimented: 'In this action, Seaforth and the few that stood by him acquitted themselves like heroes, and had they ammunition would probably have ruined the enemy . . . . He himself [Seaforth] led them on in his Highland habit, and fought amongst them at the same time without any distinction; he received a wound along the ribs, on the right side, which being slight, he concealed, and when the whole ammunition was spent, he drew his sword, and raising his hand with it, gave orders for all to fall on sword in hand, he was shot in the arm through the flesh, and his people flocking about him, and seeing much blood upon him coming from both wounds put them in some confusion, which with the enemies pressing hard upon them obliged them to retire, and march to the "Cro" of Kintail.' The writer concludes: 'Lochriel, Borlam, Glenruel, Rob Roy and some others were the counsellors about the General; how they will account for their conduct I know not. Macdougal, Fairburne, Avach, and Belmukie behaved extraordinarily well in their several stations with Seaforth.'

Keith's *Memoir* adds nothing to the details of the engagement. The official narratives are equally general in their character. Wightman's dispatch to the Duke of Roxburghe is dated 'Glenshill, June 11, Eight o'Clock in the Morning."[27] He writes: 'Yesterday I march'd from Strachlony to the Head of Glenshill, a considerable Pass, which, I was told, the Enemy had resolv'd to defend; but upon my Approach they[28] deserted that Post, and retir'd to cover their Camp, which was at another very strong Pass call'd Strachell. I gave them no Time, but immediately view'd their Situation, and having made my

[27] *Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 283.

[28] *i.e.* Lord George Murray and his reconnoitring party. See my *Chevalier de St. George*, p. 489.

Disposition, began my Attack about Five in the Afternoon, and a warm Dispute was maintain'd till past Eight, when it pleas'd God to give us an entire Victory over them.' He announced that the Spanish troops had agreed to surrender that afternoon, and that his casualties would not exceed one hundred and fifty, including Captain Downes of Montague's regiment, who was killed in the attack. A later letter from Wightman gives the roll of the Spanish prisoners at two hundred and seventy-four including officers.[29] *The London Gazette*, for 20-23rd June, 1719, announced: 'About Five, the Left Wing was order'd to begin the Attack, and the Rebels, always as they had fir'd their Muskets, skipping off, and never venturing to come to a close Engagement, were driven from Rock to Rock, our Men chasing them before them for above three Hours, 'till we gain'd the Top of the Hill, where they were immediately dispers'd.' Lord George Murray, who had his revenge in the '45, was reported wounded in the leg.

The narratives of the engagement on both sides convey unanimously the impression of a Jacobite defeat. That divided counsels contributed to that result is apparent from the accounts already quoted. Mar's *Distinct Abridgement* and Keith's *Memoir* amply confirm them.[30] Sir Walter Scott, however, has represented the engagement as a Jacobite victory. Mr. Hill Burton holds the issue drawn and doubtful. On the contrary, the engagement on 10th June, 1719, was decisive, and, as Mr. Dickson remarks, 'a sorry celebration of James's birthday.'[31] Nearly a generation passed before some of the actors in it, under more inspiring leadership, challenged the issue of it. And with Culloden militant Highland Stuartism expired.

C. SANFORD TERRY.

[29] *Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 285. For an account of their treatment see *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 23; *The Jacobite Attempt of* 1719, p. 274.

[30] See my *Chevalier de St. George*, pp. 474 *et seq.*

[31] *The Jacobite Attempt of* 1719, p. lii.

Le Château de Brix, en Normandie

LE département de la Manche, à l'extrémité sud duquel se dresse le Mont Saint Michel, s'enorgueillit aussi d'avoir été le berceau de la famille royale des Bruces d'Ecosse et d'Angleterre. Le château de Brix, dont les ruines elles-mêmes ont péri, était situé dans la paroisse de Brix, non loin de Valognes, à vingt cinq lieues environ du Mont Saint Michel.

A moitié démembré dès le treizième siècle, le château de Brix, appelé aussi le château d'Adam, ne formait plus au seizième siècle qu'un amas de débris qui servirent à l'agrandissement de l'église actuelle ; mais, par les fondations qui subsistent encore, on juge facilement de l'importance du château dont l'emplacement était admirablement choisi. A l'est, s'élève un large monticule, hérissé de rocs, tandis qu'au fond du ravin coule une petite rivière. Comme le coté ouest ne présentait pas de protections naturelles, de solides retranchements et de larges fossés suppléaient à ce défaut de protection ; au sud, l'horizon s'élargit et le regard se perd dans une plaine très-vaste.

Quel fut le constructeur du château ? Il est impossible de le dire ; mais il n'est pas téméraire de croire avec un archéologue Normand, M. de Gerville, que les seigneurs de Brix qui possédaient en Normandie et en Angleterre des domaines très-importants, furent obligés, en 1205, quand le roi de France eut recouvré la Normandie, d'opter entre la France et l'Angleterre ; comme ils optèrent pour cette dernière contrée, leur château fut confisqué et démoli.

C'est une pure hypothèse également que d'attribuer la construction de ce château à Adam Bruce qui aurait fait partie, sous Louis IX, de l'expédition des barons anglo-normands, unis aux bretons, contre le château de la Haye-Pesnel, petite localité située à quatre lieues au nord d'Avranches. Aucun document n'établit l'existence d'un Adam de Bruis, à cette époque ; mais, ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il y eut trois Adam,

morts en 1144, 1162, 1185. Le premier des trois est mentionné dans l'histoire de Siméon de Durham, mais à notre connaissance n'est pas cité dans les généalogies anglaises des Bruces. Peut-être, ce fils ainé de Bruce, compagnon de Guillaume le Conquérant, n'aurait-il eu que des propriétés en Normandie? Dans ce cas, ce serait lui qui aurait construit le château d'Adam ou . . . celui qui mourut en 1162.

Quoiqu'il en soit, nous savons que le 12 mai 1194 Richard Cœur de Lion y coucha[1] et que le 24 septembre 1200 Jean sans Terre y passait la nuit.[2] Ainsi, le château des Bruce a donné l'hospitalité à deux rois d'Angleterre.

Reste à savoir si Robert Bruce, compagnon de Guillaume le Conquérant était originaire de Brix? 'De la vérité de cette assertion, dit M. l'abbé Adam, qui a consacré une petite monographie au château d'Adam Bruce, à Brix,[3] dépend la vérité de toutes les propositions, tendant à démontrer que Brix fut le berceau d'une famille qui fournit à Guillaume le Conquérant un de ses principaux capitaines, à l'Angleterre un de ses premiers barons, à l'Ecosse le plus illustre de ses rois.'

Il n'est pas douteux qu'il y avait un Bruce, un Brus ou un Bris, à la bataille d'Hastings. Le prologue en vers français des *Decem Scriptores Angliæ*, rapporté par Brompton, énumère

> George et Spencer
> *Brus* et Botteler.

Wace, dans le Roman de Rou et les ducs de Normandie, dit

> Li Archier du Val de Roil
> A maint Engleiz creverent l'oil . . .
> Cels de *Brius* . . .

D'où venait ce Brus ou ce Brius? Tous les généalogistes lui donnent pour berceau la Normandie: Dugdale, Bank, Collin, Douglas, etc.[4]

[1] In festo sanctorum Nerei et Achillei, apud Portesmuthi navem ascendens in Normanniam appulit et apud *Bruis* nocte illa quievit. (Mathieu de Paris, 1194, p. 123.)

[2] Itinéraire du roi Jean sans Terre, copié des Rolles de la Tour de Londres. Communication de M. de Gerville.—*Archæologia Londinensis*, xxii[e] vol., 1828.

[3] Cf. *Mémoire de la Société Nationale Académique de Cherbourg*, 1897-1898, p. 17.

[4] Voir aussi *Monast. Anglic.*, ii. 18.—The *Cyclopedia Londinensis*, 1807, *verbo* Heraldy.

De quelle partie de la Normandie était-il originaire ? *Incontestablement de Brix*, parce qu'il n'existe en Normandie aucune paroisse autre que celle de Brix, dans l'arrondissement de Valognes, à porter ce nom ou un nom s'en rapprochant. Dans le spicilège de Dom Luc d'Achery, relatif à la chronique de l'Abbaye de Fontenelle,[5] il est fait mention d'un lieu appelé *Brucius* qui est décrit d'une façon si précise qu'il n'est pas douteux qu'il s'agit de Brix ; au onzième siècle Brix est appelé *Brucium*.[6]

Ce nom a été conservé en Angleterre, mais en France, il a subi les transformations de la langue. 'Le latin usité au huitième siècle fut remplacé dans les siècles suivants par la langue romane qui devint, peu à peu, la langue française actuelle. Voilà pourquoi le mot de Bruce fut remplacé au XII^e^ et au XIII^e^ siècles par Brus, Bruis ou Brius, qui, du reste, est encore entièrement identique au mot Bruce et se prononce de même en Anglais. De Brius, Brus, Bruis et Bruys, on fit bientôt Bris, Brye et enfin Brix, nom actuel de la paroisse.'

C'est donc bien de cette commune qu'était originaire le Brus de la Conquête.

Ce Brus de la Conquête, originaire de Brix, est-il l'ascendant de Robert Bruce, roi d'Ecosse?

Nous savons que le roi David concéda à Bruce, guerrier de la Conquête, le territoire d'Estrahanent en Ecosse et que Guillaume lui donne 94 seigneuries dans le Yorkshire. Il laisse deux enfants Adam, seigneur de Skelton, et Robert, seigneur d'Annandale.[7] C'est de ce dernier qu'est descendue la famille royale d'Ecosse.

Robert epousa Agnès, fille de Foulques Paisnel,[8] et, en seconde noces, l'héritière d'Annandale. Guillaume fils de Robert donna naissance à Robert, lequel fut le grand père du fameux compétiteur au trône d'Ecosse.

Il n'entre pas dans le cadre de cette courte étude d'établir

[5] L. d'Achery, iii. 123.

[6] *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, par M.M. de Wailly, Delisle et Jourdain, x., p. 270, Note A.

[7] Cooke's *Yorkshire*, p. 270.

[8] Les Paisnel occupent une place considérable dans l'histoire de l'Avranchin. Foulques Paisnel, *Fuscus Paganellus*, fit en 1198 de très riches donations à l'abbaye du Mont Saint Michel. Voir le Cartulaire du Mont, manuscrit de la Bibl. d'Avranches au folio 111.

la généalogie des Bruces ;[9] nous avons esseulement essayé de démontrer que le Bruce, guerrier de la Conquête, était bien originaire de la paroisse de Brix, aujourd'hui petite commune de l'arrondissement de Valognes, mais il serait téméraire, nous semble-t-il, de suivre plus avant les historiens normands qui, comme M. l'abbé Adam, ont établi une généalogie complète depuis le Bruce de la Conquête jusqu'à Sa Majesté la Reine Victoria.

ETIENNE DUPONT.

[9] Cette généalogie a été l'objet de nombreux travaux. En 1864, M. Borel d'Hauterive a publié, à Paris, une notice généologique assez estimée sur la Maison de Bruce.

[M. Dupont modestly disclaims authority to discuss the pedigree of the Bruces on this side of the Channel, his theme being rather the place than the family. There are difficulties, which are not all yet solved by the genealogists, concerning the personnel as well as the pedigree. Readers of the new *Scots Peerage* (voce Earldom of Carrick) may care to be referred by way of supplement to the present study by M. Dupont, to an examination of the succession of the early Bruces of Yorkshire and Annandale, in a paper by Mr. William Brown, which appeared in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* for 1894, on 'The Brus Cenatoph at Guisborough.'—ED. *S.H.R.*]

Reviews of Books

EARLY SCOTTISH CHARTERS PRIOR TO A.D. 1153. Collected, with Notes and an Index, by Sir Archibald C. Lawrie. Pp. xxix, 515. Demy 8vo. Glasgow: MacLehose, 1905. 10s. nett.

SIR ARCHIBALD LAWRIE served his apprenticeship as a Record scholar long ago. His name is associated with the most considerable task yet undertaken in Scotland in this branch of learning, the Index to the Acts of Parliament. In the present book, returning to the subject of those early labours, he gives us a work of reference, and an essay in criticism. To gather into one handy and sightly volume a corpus of documents hitherto scattered and in some cases not easily accessible, is a conception so excellent that even serious defects in execution would not be harshly judged. And on the whole the execution is fairly good. Corrections of text and notes, as well as additional Charters, could easily be indicated, but this is a task which every fit student of the book ought to perform for himself.

To turn then to the subject matter; the present reviewer is too sensible of his ignorance of Celtic antiquities to attempt to discuss either the scanty notices of the pre-Norman period gleaned from the Book of Deer and the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, or the editor's comments thereon. These, which are to Irish what the rest of the book is to English Record, are 'beyond my last.' Following these, we have here practically all that remains of evidence, native and contemporary, of the social history of the reigns of Malcolm Canmore's sons, during which Scotland was transformed, under Norman auspices, from a Celtic to a Teutonic kingdom. We see an English society developing under the same influences which were working in England; while in the obstinate resistance of the northern clergy to the metropolitical claims of York we recognise the germ of the Scottish national spirit. It was the time when the country was being trained to discipline by the central and subordinate feudal jurisdictions, conformed to the contemporary standard of civility by the Normanized church, and initiated in commercial pursuits by the privileges accorded to the burghs. But it is solely to the second of these agencies that the mass of our evidence relates; and while we learn much of the ways in which the churchmen acquired their possessions, we are told nothing here of their methods of management. Of all the charters that must have been given to the great barons, devouring time has spared only those of Annandale to Robert de Brus; of grants to the lesser gentry, only the charters of Swinton, Riddell and Athelstaneford. Yet, from the incidental evidence of the documents here collected, antiquarian industry

has long ago gathered what can be gathered as to the early history of our institutions, and collected and assorted the authentic record of the first settlement in Scotland of our oldest families. Here we find the surnames (to confine ourselves to those houses which chose to be Scottish when it ceased to be possible to be both Scottish and English, and to those of them which attained to the peerage), of Bruce, Crichton, Grahame, Herries, Lindsay, Maule, Maxwell, Melville, Oliphant, Seton, and Somerville; and the reputed ancestors, not yet bearing the surname, of Stewart, Ruthven, Livingston and Fleming; most of them significantly represented by a single individual, several by a single mention of a single individual. Of officials we have the "pincerna" under Edgar; the chancellor and constable under Alexander; the chamberlain, sheriffs, provosts and justiciaries (not yet a high justiciary) under David. Of the burghs we learn still less; ten royal burghs (if the index can be trusted) are named as such; of two ecclesiastical burghs the foundation is recorded; in one case trading rights are safeguarded; in another reference is made to the duties of watching and warding, and special license is granted to sell burgage property. That the body of customary law known as the Leges Burgorum was in course of formation need not be doubted; but its reduction to writing in its extant form is assuredly long posterior to the age of David I., and the editor has done right in declining to include it.

The notes and index add enormously to the value of the volume; they bring its main results within the reach of even the hasty reader, and in the foregoing remarks I have been largely indebted to them. There is one subject on which the notes aim at novelty, and here some comment is not out of place. The collecting of so much scattered but homogeneous matter could not but suggest the possibility of arriving by comparative criticism at some scientific canons of genuineness; and to that subject Sir Archibald has devoted some space and a good deal of attention. In some cases he simply subscribes to the unanimous verdict of his predecessors; in discussing certain of the Coldingham charters he takes his side in a controversy upon which the last word is not likely to be spoken just yet; in other instances he has started new and interesting questions. Sometimes his views are given rather offhand, and for that reason are not easy to deal with. I have failed to understand what ails him (if he will pardon so homely an expression) at the 'Inquisitio Davidis,' or King David's charters of Swinton. But as to King Alexander's charters to Scone the case is different. There it is quite possible that his views may prevail. The great charter of foundation, which has hitherto been regarded or at least treated as a landmark, is now formally tried on six several counts, and condemned. These I summarize. (1) The charter is not in the earlier of the two extant Registers of Scone. (2) The original had perished at an early date. (3) The style is unlike that of other charters of the period. (4) Adelwald, who is mentioned as Prior of St. Oswald's, did not become so till after King Alexander's death (5) The manner in which the King authenticates the charter is abnormal (6) Most of the consenters and witnesses are unknown.

Now on five of these heads I think the defendant's task is easy. On the silence of the older Register no stress can safely be laid; what that

Register may or may not have contained when complete it is impossible to say, for the section which was devoted to royal charters is a mere fragment. The third allegation is that the charter begins with an invocation; but that form is by no means so rare as Sir Archibald represents it, even in his own collection. The forger, if such he was, did not need to go so far afield as 'a charter belonging to the early Saxon period'; he found models in the archives of the sister Abbeys of Holyrood and Cambuskenneth. If the charter is genuine, it follows the form of King Henry's charter to the parent Priory of Nostell. No. 4, which at first sight looks fatal, breaks down under cross-examination. The lists of the Priors of Nostell, on which the argument depends, is taken from a manuscript not earlier than A.D. 1400. 'Ralph Adlave' there given as the first Prior, does not look like the real name of an early twelfth century ecclesiastic. Looking closer, Adlave is only a variant of Adelof, and Ralph (Radulphus) may well be a mere corruption of Adulphus: which brings us into line with the other account (*Monasticon*, vi. 37), according to which 'Athelwulfus, or Adulphus, confessor to King Henry I.' was the first Prior of Nostell. As to No. 5. is it possible that the editor understands, by the confirmations 'propria manu' of King Alexander and Queen Sibilla, their *signatures* in the modern sense? That would indeed be strange in the twelfth century; even in the fifteenth, when the despised later Register was written, private Deeds were signed by the granters rarely, Royal charters never. Surely the natural meaning is that King and Queen each affixed to their grant the sign of the cross—a practice too familiar to need illustration. As to the consenters and witnesses, if Beth is regarded as a mistake for Heth and Usieth for Ufieth, there are proposed and possible identifications of thirteen out of the sixteen; which, even allowing the probability that some of the identifications may be wrong, gives a large proportion of recognisable magnates, considering how scanty our records of the period are.

But the second count of Sir Archibald's indictment, which I have kept to the last, is a different matter. That the originals of all King Alexander's charters to Scone had perished before 1163 is clearly proved; and thus we are confronted with a twofold problem. (1) Did the transcripts produced to King Malcolm faithfully represent the lost originals? (2) Does the surviving text faithfully represent those transcripts? This difficulty affects not the foundation charter only, but all the four earliest charters of Scone; and it is not entirely absent in any case where (as in the great majority of monastic charters) we are dependent on the sole evidence of the Registers. It is not often that we have the means of testing their accuracy by collation; and where this is possible, the result is not always satisfactory. The Liber Insule Missarun is printed from a Chartulary; many of the original charters are still preserved at Dupplin, and Mr. W. A. Lindsay, who has made the comparison, informs me that he did not find one single charter copied with absolute accuracy. The foundation charter of Balmerino Abbey is in the British Museum, and was printed in the Maitland Club 'Illustrations of Scottish History.' Comparison with the copy in the Chartulary affords food for uncomfortable reflection. In most cases we

must take the Registers for what they are worth; and the transcripts of 1163 would be in that position, if we had them. But the question of the relation of the existing copies to those transcripts is one upon which our editor has very pertinent remarks to make. In some passages the foundation charter, as we have it, varies materially from the confirmations by King Malcolm IV. and Pope Alexander III. The same remark applies to the charter by which the King granted to the Canons the 'Can' of a ship; and in the latter case the Register of Nostell has preserved a grant to Scone to the same effect but in different terms, partly coinciding with the confirmations aforesaid, whereas the charter in the Liber de Scon agrees almost verbally with a charter by William the Lion. Of course, it is not unusual to find two charters by the same granter to the same grantee and to the same effect; nor to find a later charter repeating the language of an earlier one. But here there is reasonable ground for doubt. As regards the other two early Scone charters, I see no cause to question the substantial accuracy of the existing text. But assuredly it is unfortunate that this important group rests on so late a copy; and it must I think be admitted that some clauses of the foundation charter may have been badly copied or even tampered with, and that some of the witnesses' names may be corrupt. If there had been an '*Alexander* nepos regis Alexandri,' it is hard to believe that he would have disappeared from all records but this. So far I am with Sir Archibald; and he is undoubtedly right in pointing out that the foundation of Scone Abbey must have taken place some years later than the chronicles place it. Scone was a colony from Nostell; and the daughter cannot be older than the mother.

I cannot take leave of this book without expressing my strong sense of the obligation under which Sir Archibald Lawrie has laid all Scottish charter students; and my hope that its reception may be such as to encourage him to further cultivation of the same field.

J. Maitland Thomson.

The Growth of the Manor. By Paul Vinogradoff, D.C.L., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford. Pp. vii, 383. Demy 8vo. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1905. 10s. 6d.

English scholars have for years awaited with impatience the appearance of this treatise on the genesis of the manor, long promised by the great Russian historian, who has already done so much for the study of English medieval history, and whose earlier treatise on *Villainage in England*, published some twelve years ago, forms one of the leading authorities on the fully developed manor of the thirteenth century. A special interest attaches to this book, as the first the author has published since exchanging the post of Professor of History at Moscow University for that of Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford. In this interesting volume of nearly 400 pages he grapples strenuously and successfully with that famous group of problems, which centres round

the English manor. It may be sufficient to remind our readers of the two chief theories on this controversial theme. To Kemble and Freeman, the manor was a comparatively late growth—the result of the degradation of a once independent race of Anglo-Saxon peasantry, the 'free-necked ceorls,' who sank lower and lower in the social scale until they became the praedial serfs or villeins of a Norman lord. Mr. Seebohm, in 1882, by his masterly work on the *English Village Community*, boldly challenged all accepted conclusions, and effectively startled the holders of the orthodox theory out of their somewhat shallow complacency. From a mass of unchallengeable facts, collected with untiring industry and marshalled with unrivalled skill, he drew conclusions of a less unquestionable nature, holding that the typical manor was the product of a mixture of Roman and Celtic elements, and that its most perfect manifestation must be sought during the Roman occupation of Britain, in the villas cultivated by slave labour. The whole institution was thus rooted in slavery; and the history of the great mass of the tillers of the soil was thereafter one of gradual amelioration, as the Roman estate, along with its dependants, passed from a Roman to a Saxon master, and finally to a Norman one—the otherwise consistent process of ascent from the status of actual slave to that of praedial villein, suffering only a temporary set-back in the troubled years that followed 1066.

Many writers have, during the last twenty years, consciously or unconsciously, set themselves to answer the arguments of Mr. Seebohm. Dr. Vinogradoff rejects his conclusions, while acknowledging with generous frequency the debt owed to his labours. The English manor, we are now told, grew up slowly during the late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods, and was the resultant of several distinct but convergent tendencies, all contributing to the spread of aristocratic influences and the degradation of the mass of formerly free peasants.

On two important points Dr. Vinogradoff is even more orthodox than Prof. Maitland, who also sets himself to answer Mr. Seebohm's arguments: (1) he insists that all history opens with village communities enjoying joint property in those arable fields which they till: 'there seems to be hardly anything more certain in the domain of archaic law than the theory that the soil was originally owned by groups, and not by individuals, and that its individual appropriation is the result of a slow process of development' (p. 18): (2) he accumulates a mass of evidence to prove that the medieval village at all stages of its growth possessed a somewhat elaborate organization and a wide field of activity. On both points Dr. Vinogradoff seems to the present writer to have proved his case.

Only a bare outline of his main argument need be here attempted. In the opening chapter on Celtic Tribal Arrangements, he scarcely displays the same easy mastery shown in the rest of the book: yet his conclusions are clear enough, namely, that nothing resembling the manor of later days can be traced among Celtic institutions, and that any tendencies which worked in that direction were held in check by

others of an opposite trend. Nor did the manor take its rise in England during the Roman period; for the few scattered *villae* which then existed could never have formed the antecedents of the complete network of manors into which England came to be parcelled out in later centuries. So far Dr. Vinogradoff is mainly negative; England was not full of manors before the English came. The Teutonic invasions effected a change; the conditions of the new settlers soon led to their concentration in villages of considerable size, as the surplus population had fewer facilities for hiving off into new hamlets of their own. The actual period of manorial origins, however, must be sought quite late in the Anglo-Saxon period, at a time when aristocratic influences were successfully asserting themselves. In Book Second these new tendencies are analyzed with a masterly precision: the growth of patronage and the grants of private jurisdictions, the need of the weak for protection, and the rise of a professional class of soldiers, especially necessary during the inroads of the Danes, all these features made for the formation of lordships as superstructures built upon the substratum of the old democratic village communities. Economic changes contributed to the same result. The wealthy capitalist furnished stock and equipment for settlers on his land, who thus became economically dependent on him as their lord. Produce-rents, again, had to be contributed even by free villagers to their King; and the local magnate entrusted with the task of collection found his authority augmented in the same ratio as his duties. The place where such rents were stored formed the central 'mansion' for that district, which became at a later date the 'hall' in which local business was transacted, and this hall became in turn the centre round which the tributary peasants were grouped, loosely at first, but afterwards with more indissoluble ties, until the circumstances of the Norman Conquest perfected the organization of the manor and rivetted its hold on the dependent tenants, restraining them as in a vice.

It was thus the Norman magnates and the Norman lawyers who completed the manorializing process, on the morrow of the Conquest; for, previously, the incipient manors, still comparatively few in number, owned by Saxon and Danish thegns, lacked solidarity, permanence and organization, as compared with the later manors of Norman owners. The Domesday Survey gave effect to the contentions of the new governing class; for its contents, though based on the communal testimony of the people of each district, were yet reduced to their final form by Norman scribes taking their orders from a Norman King. The compilers were impatient of phenomena which did not fit into their own rude but convenient generalizations, and brushed aside all local peculiarities which it was inconvenient to recognize, 'a process threatening wholesale social changes.' Every estate which exhibited any manorial traits was at once entered as a manor. Tenants who held their lands on favoured but peculiar tenures too often found themselves grouped with their less free neighbours, whose lower social and economic condition they were likely soon to share. Especially precarious was the

status of everyone who rendered such services as were usually performed by the unfree. *Domesday Book*, while professing to be merely a record of what already existed, became a powerful instrument for effecting 'a complete rearrangement of society' (p. 297). Dr. Vinogradoff lays stress upon this 'engulfing and organizing tendency of the rising manor.' It may have taken considerable time before the proprietor, to whom an estate, duly labelled by *Domesday Book* as a manor, was handed over, could organize it thoroughly, reduce its irregularities, crush out active or tacit resistance to his reforms, and so make the reality correspond with the name. In the ordinary case, however, the Norman lord would complete his congenial task within a short period after the Domesday Survey. Beneath the new manorial organization thus perfected, however, the older village organization generally persisted—a point on which our author strenuously insists.

This bare outline fails completely to do justice to the varied merits of a book which will be read, not once, but several times, by all interested in the growth of English institutions. Dr. Vinogradoff's main argument is the more convincing because it depends not merely on one or two props (which, once removed, might cause the whole edifice to collapse), but on a whole network of interlacing evidence and tendencies. He compels the manor to fall into line with the entire scheme of Anglo-Saxon social history without a single inconsistency, in a way which no investigator has previously done. He also touches, in passing, upon many subsidiary topics, on most of which he throws a flood of light. Several chapters help towards a better understanding of the mutual relations of the ranks and classes of early English society, a subject of vital importance, but of too technical a nature to be here discussed. An entirely new explanation is suggested of the terms used in *Domesday Book* to describe the various groups of the population. The names *colibertus*, *villanus*, *bordarius*, *cotarius*, etc., are used, it is urged, without any reference whatever to the social or economic status of individuals, but merely to distinguish owners of land according to the relative extents of their holdings. This ingenious theory would undoubtedly assist the interpretation of *Domesday Book* by reconciling many apparent inconsistencies, while it would also cut away the foundations on which many elaborate theories have been built. It is likely to prove a fertile theme for discussion among Domesday scholars.

It only remains to add that the scheme of arrangement of the volume is clear, that the treatment is increasingly lucid as the main argument progresses, and that the method throughout is scientific and impersonal, free alike from rhetorical digressions and unwarranted assumptions. Only in one passage does the great Russian scholar allow us to obtain an interesting glimpse of his own personal opinions. The sympathetic reader will readily follow the author's thoughts back from the land of his adoption to the land of his birth in these words: 'We know, even from our own experience, how easy it is for men to compromise with their conscience when their interest speaks loudly for

the utility of compromise, and how the sanctification of religion may be appealed to in the case of most shocking violence and despotism.' We have rarely met a volume of similar size which contains so many new ideas and fertile suggestions; and we have rarely met, it is necessary to add, a work of such prime importance disfigured by so many printer's errors, of which two or three may sometimes be discovered on one page. These trivial defects will be easily removed from a second edition of a valuable and much-needed work, to be received with gratitude by all serious students of medieval history.

WM. S. MCKECHNIE.

THE RECORDS OF A SCOTTISH CLOTH MANUFACTORY AT NEW MILLS, HADDINGTONSHIRE, 1681-1703. Edited from the Original Manuscripts, with Introduction and Notes, by W. R. Scott, M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D., Lecturer on Political Economy, University of St. Andrews. Pp. xci, 366. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press for the Scottish History Society, 1905.

THE records of the New Mills Company are unique in respect that they are the earliest of the kind known to exist in Britain. Of the Bank of England, the Bank of Scotland, the East India Company, and the two or three other great commercial enterprises of the seventeenth century, the minutes are preserved, and some of these have been published. But the New Mills Company is the only manufacturing undertaking of that time whose records have survived, even in an incomplete form. The Company was founded in June, 1681, and dissolved in 1713. It thus continued for thirty-two years. The records comprise twelve years of that period. They consist of two parts. The first, extending from the formation of the Company to 1691, a space of ten years, is a manuscript folio of 36 pages which came to the Edinburgh University Library in the Laing Collection. The second, beginning 1701, ending 1703, a space of two years, was discovered at the Register House after much of the first was actually in print. Between the two parts there is an interval of ten years for which the record is lost; and the same remark applies to the decade from 1703 to the dissolution of the Company. Dr. Scott gives the first series of minutes in full; the second in summary, omitting nothing that is of any real consequence; and of more value perhaps than the lost minutes would have been are two documents discovered among the papers at the Register House relating to the estate of Sir James Stanfield, the principal promoter of the Company. One of these is a 'memorial' concerning the proposed 'manufactory of cloath'; the other is the original contract of co-partnery; and of the former it is remarked that it is the earliest prototype of the modern prospectus of which we have any knowledge—a circumstance which invests it with peculiar interest. There is much in the minutes and the accompanying documents to engage the thought of students of political economy, and makers of cloth who are curious about the beginnings of their industry will derive from their perusal more than amusement. But the general

reader will be chiefly attracted by the admirable introduction. No one could have been chosen to edit the minutes possessed of greater fitness for it than Dr. Scott, or more competent to bring into review the industrial condition of the country at the time to which they refer. It was no part of his task to collect from the mistakes of our forefathers material for warning and rebuke for men of our own day who with infinitely less excuse would repeat those mistakes. But he could have urged the moral with a force begotten of clear thinking and strong conviction. The reader, however, will be dull indeed who fails to perceive it for himself. In the seventeenth century it was sought to foster commercial and industrial enterprises by almost every device that was to be condemned by scientific economists and rejected after failure. The Trade Guilds exercised the powers they possessed to protect their several crafts in their several districts. In England the King granted charters and monopolies to companies and individuals. In Scotland the same thing was done, but by Privy Council and by Parliament, and with a more apparent intention to safeguard the common weal. The charters in every instance conferred exclusive privileges. At one time our exports were almost entirely of food-stuffs, and the raw materials of manufacture; while our imports were of manufactures and luxuries for the table. The desire to correct this was patriotic and natural. But the methods adopted involved a conflict of interlacing interests and were a source of serious inconvenience and loss to consumers. Foreign manufactures were not only excluded, but the wearing of them was made a punishable misdemeanour. The export of raw materials required by the home manufacturer was disallowed, and for the same reason the import of such materials was completely freed from obstructive duties: manufacturing companies were exempted from taxes and local rates, their premises from having soldiers quartered upon them, and their workmen from military service; inducements in the form of easy naturalisation and immunity from taxation were offered to the ingenious alien to settle in Scotland, to instruct others in his trade; and the companies were given, if not the power of pit and gallows, at anyrate a very large measure of magisterial and police authority over their workers. They could imprison or pillory for certain offences, and it was unlawful for other employers to engage a Company's workman without the Company's consent. Notwithstanding this comprehensive and complicated scheme of protection, preference, and privilege, a scheme which included not only immunities from public burdens but the receipt of subsidies from the State, there was still a cry for more protection, preference, privilege, immunity, and subsidy; for the fostered trades could not or would not supply the public want created by the exclusion of foreign competition. Smuggling had a tempting field presented to it, and the State was under the necessity of giving special licenses to individuals to manufacture and import in order to make good the shortage in the markets. But when relaxation came in the cloth trade it was more in consequence perhaps of the conflict between agricultural and

manufacturing interests than because of the oppression of the general body of the people. Spanish wools and Galloway 'whites' were employed in the production of the finest cloths, which were to be as good as any that our English neighbours could make: so the export of Galloway 'whites' was prohibited on the demand of the manufacturers, Spanish wool was admitted free, and English cloth was not suffered to be brought across the border. This affected the agricultural interest severely; and there was an agitation to recover the right to export wool. A small concession was granted to the extent of a permit to send out sheepskins with the wool on them; but even this was restricted on the remonstrance of manufacturers, and the export was limited to three shipping places—Burrowstounes, Newport-Glasgow, and Dumfries. In 1704 the woolmasters secured an unfettered right to dispose of their fleeces in the best markets, whether at home or abroad. But at the Union of the Parliaments, England, whose manufacturing class was highly organised, required from Scotland a return to the prohibition of the export of wool, and, as compensation to the flockmasters a subsidy was provided for the manufacture of coarse cloth. It was to produce the finer cloth that the Company at New Mills had been formed; and after struggling for some years subsequent to the Union in strenuous competition with the cheaper goods of equal quality which then came in freely from England it was resolved to wind up the business. The property was purchased by Colonel Charteris, and he changed the name from New Mills to Amisfield (after the historic tower belonging to his family in Dumfriesshire). Of the minutes of the Company Dr. Scott presents a serviceable analysis in his introduction. This will enable the reader to skim the body of the book. It is more likely to induce him to carefully peruse it. For the minutes possess a fascinating quaintness, are intensely human documents, affording glimpses of the character of the merchants concerned, and throwing curious sidelights on domestic life, as well as on social, industrial, and political conditions. Among the contracts secured by the Company was one to furnish cloth for the troops. An Act of Privy Council had just been passed for the provision of military uniforms, so, as the Act puts it, 'to distinguish sojers from other skulking and vagrant persons,' and among the regiments supplied with stone-grey stuff was General Dalziell's Dragoons. Government favours were not obtained without influence, and influence exerted by official persons and others necessitated retainers and rewards. These, which we speak of now as bribes, were in the seventeenth century more delicately alluded to as 'gratifications.' Military officers had to be considered in this way by the Company, and even the 'King's Advocat' was not above taking a tip of 'ten dollars for himself.'

T. Watson.

SCOTTISH PEWTER WARE AND PEWTERERS. By L. Ingleby Wood. Pp. xii. 223. With 36 full-page plates. 4to. Edinburgh: G. A. Morton, 1904. 15s. nett.

THIS is an admirable book of its kind, well arranged, and excellently illustrated. The subject has a peculiar interest as a historical description of the rise and progress of an important industry, which, though now obsolete, was once a recognised craft in all the principal towns of Scotland. Its applications in the domestic economy of our forefathers were many and various, and it had also a very considerable vogue in the ecclesiastical furnishings of Scottish churches. In these circumstances it is not surprising to find that the pewterers' art had a development in Scotland which is of distinctively Scottish character and interest. For, as Mr. Wood says, 'There is some truth in the idea that a race shows its character in the design which it imparts to articles of everyday use, and the Scottish pewter ware is, in a measure, characteristic of the people who made it, strong of line, and entirely devoid of any superfluous ornament.' Prior to the sixteenth century, however, the use of pewter ware must have been more or less of a luxury confined to the wealthier classes, the common people contenting themselves with eating and drinking vessels of wood, leather, or horn. Probably the earliest pieces of pewter remaining in Scotland are a chalice and paten of fifteenth-century work buried with an ecclesiastic at Bervie, and now preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh. A pair of candlesticks are noted among the furnishings of the high altar of St. Giles in 1559. In a domestic inventory of somewhat earlier date pewter dishes and salt-cellars, a basin and laver, candlesticks and pint-pots are enumerated, but the oldest domestic pewter now known to exist is at Slains Castle, and is probably of sixteenth-century date. Wear and tear, and the natural desire for the renewal of old furnishings, are of course responsible for the disappearance of much of the earlier domestic pewter; but during the civil wars of the seventeenth century it was freely requisitioned by the forces on both sides for musket and pistol bullets. Montrose's troops ransacked the country houses for their pewter, and in the plunder of the house of Torrie by the other side in 1654, pewter vessels are enumerated to the amount of £230 (Scots), and valued at 18s. (Scots) the pound. The ecclesiastical pewter was also subjected to various vicissitudes in consequence of the frequent changes of ecclesiastical authority and custody. Thus anything earlier than eighteenth century in domestic pewter, or earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century in ecclesiatical pewter, is now rarely to be met with. It is curious that so much of the oldest ecclesiastical pewter still surviving should owe its preservation to the Episcopal churches. Mr. Wood's chapters on church pewter show the prevalence of the use of this material for ecclesiastical purposes, including communion cups of various shapes, flagons and plates; lavers and basins for baptism, collection plates, and occasionally small cups and quaichs for collecting the tokens, and the tokens themselves. An interesting chapter

on tokens is followed by one on beggars' badges, which were sometimes issued by the ecclesiastical authority of the parish, and sometimes by the municipality. The only other piece of pewter that can be called municipal is the Dundee 'pirley-pig,' a money-box for the fines exacted from absentees, dated 1602, and engraved with ornamental scrolls and shields of arms. The list of marks on Scottish pewter, and lists of freemen pewterers with their dates, as well as the lists of pewter pieces now preserved in museums, or belonging to the Episcopal churches, will be of special advantage to collectors. What may be called the historical part of Mr. Wood's book, as distinguished from the technical and descriptive part, is also very well done. Beginning with a general statement of the early relations of the Crafts with the Merchant Guilds and the municipalities, he describes the causes which led to the separate incorporation of the Hammermen's Craft, and gives a short sketch of that incorporation, which included the pewterers, in each of the principal burghs. This section of the work is the result of considerable research among the records of the various bodies, and will be found useful for historical purposes, whether of merely local or of more general interest. A word of commendation must be given to the illustrations, which are by photography, the best medium for this material.

JOSEPH ANDERSON.

OLD HOUSES IN EDINBURGH. Drawn by Bruce J. Home. Part I. Folio, with three plates. Edinburgh: William J. Hay, 1905. 1s. nett per part.

THE first number of what promises to be a charming series of views of picturesque houses still, or till comparatively recent times, suffered to remain and carry on the traditional architecture of old Edinburgh, has been issued, with an introduction by Professor Baldwin Brown. The work is expected to extend to sixteen parts. The three plates now presented are reproductions of pencil drawings of Sir Archibald Acheson's House, Lady Stair's House, and Plainstane Close, and a short narrative accompanies each.

There is a crispness and delicacy about these illustrations which the photographer's art would fail to give, and a fidelity evinced by the reproduction of those inelegant appurtenances of modern sanitation—the outside drain pipes. But for these, one might almost imagine the view of Sir Archibald Acheson's house to have been limned ere the 'reek' of centuries had begrimed its masonry, so little does the drawing suggest the present-day squalor of Bakehouse Close. At a time when the help of every citizen who has a pride in this romantic town is required for the preservation of these remnants of a goodly heritage prodigally squandered, the publication of these drawings is particularly welcome.

A. O. CURLE.

SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS. Pp. xviii, 292. Ry. 8vo. Published by the Sociological Society. London: Macmillan & Co., 1905. 10s. 6d.

THIS volume is a sign of the growing interest in the scientific study of social questions, and marks the inauguration of a society designed to coordinate the results attained in different parts of this wide field of enquiry.

The Sociological Society aims at redeeming the specialist from his captivity to mere aspects of the wide problem of social life, and seeks to restore the sense of the oneness and interdependence of the manifold phases of human thought and acting. And the present volume, by the somewhat miscellaneous and tentative character of the papers it contains, indicates at the same time both the need and the value of the co-ordination of the results attained by different writers who approach social phenomena from widely different standpoints. If we may judge by the differences of opinion and the keenness of the criticisms, this Society is destined to have a very vigorous life.

Mr. Bryce contributes a short but comprehensive address, in which he gives an outline of the work which the Society can be expected to undertake. Mr. Francis supplies some suggestions on what he calls *Eugenics*, or the best way of improving the human stock; and he is followed by Professor Geddes with a paper on *Civics*, or the application of 'Social Survey to Social Service.' Both of these papers are ingenious and stimulating, though neither is definite or convincing.

Dr. Westermarck's paper on the 'Position of Women in Early Civilization' is very interesting, and contains data which will tend to correct the common notion of the inferiority and abject servility of woman. Woman had not only her duties, but the honour and privileges that arise from the performance of them. And the weaker vessel was neither unprotected by society nor without weapons of defence of her own. 'Among the country people of Morocco the wife only needs to cut a little piece of a donkey's ear, and put it into her husband's food. By eating that little piece, the husband will in his relations to his wife become just like a donkey; he will always listen to what she says, and the wife will become the ruler of the house.'

Amongst the most interesting of all the papers in the volume is that of Mr. Harold H. Mann on 'Life in an Agricultural Village in England.' It is the result of the application of the methods of Mr. Rowntree in York to a typical agricultural village; and these results present a 'curious commentary on the cry of back-to-the-land.' 'It is evident that the outcry against the depopulation of the country and the concentration of population in the towns must remain little more than a parrot-cry until something is done to raise the standard of life, and hence the standard of wages, in our purely agricultural districts,—to increase the chances of success in life, to make life more interesting, and to bring about a more attractive old age than at present.'

The rest of the volume is given to a discussion of the Relation of Sociology to the Sociological specialisms, such as history, politics, morality, literature, anthropology, etc. The influence of Comte is very

pronounced in these discussions, and the treatment of fresh principles is somewhat slight. Nevertheless, no one can deny the truth of the contention of Professor Durkheim (p. 279 ff.) as to the interdependence of social facts, the readiness in which this is theoretically admitted, and the difficulty of putting it in effective practice. If the Sociological Society can do something to foster the consciousness of the solidarity of the social sciences, it will deserve well of all lovers of social progress.

HENRY JONES.

THE ORIGINAL CHRONICLE OF ANDREW OF WYNTOUN. Printed on Parallel Pages from the Cottonian and Wemyss MSS. with the Variants of the Other Texts. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by F. J. Amours. Vols. I.-III. Scottish Text Society. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

BOROUGH CUSTOMS. Vol. I. Edited for the Selden Society by Mary Bateson. Pp. lix, 356. London: Quaritch, 1904.

MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND, 1066-1350. By Mary Bateson. Pp. xxvii, 448. Cr. 8vo. London: Fisher Unwin, 1903. 5s.

SCOTLAND IN THE TIME OF QUEEN MARY. By P. Hume Brown, LL.D. Pp. xi, 243. Dy. 8vo. London: Methuen, 1904. 7s. 6d. nett.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE BURGH OF GLASGOW, A.D. 1663-1690. Pp. xliii, 592. Cr. 4to. Glasgow: Printed for the Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1905 [with preface by Sir James D. Marwick, LL.D.].

'SLOWLY the Bible of the race is writ': many are the leaves, many the pens that make the book. The works at the head of this notice illustrate the diversity of material, method, and standpoint which characterise modern study, and concurrently go towards shaping the ultimate inferences of national history. It is a far cry from Wyntoun to these days of the re-birth of the Scottish Burgh Records Society. Wyntoun paid little heed to burghs and only by accident thought of reflecting social life: that institutions were of more account than kings would to him have been surprising doctrine; but this is only to say he was not a modern. Alike in respect of his own vigorous, facile, sometimes graceful and always expressive Scots vernacular, and of his borrowings from the Latin annals and general learning of his time, his chronicle is a faithful and most entertaining record, excellent both as poetical literature and as a mirror of the age when James I. was a captive of English kings. The first standard general Scots history in Scots, of which, as was the manner then, a history of the world at large is prelude, it is a repertory of the lore of the Middle Ages well worthy of the scientific re-editing now in progress so far that a double text of five books is now presented with variant readings. The editorial task could have fallen into no hands more sympathetic or more capable than those of Monsieur Amours, recently decorated by the French Government as an *officier de l'instruction publique*,

and long honoured in our midst here as a philologist, lexicographer, medievalist, and well-proved scholar in Scots.

Already in Wyntoun's lifetime there was criticism of history, and the standpoints were changing, although the democratic day was not yet—when the axis of national movement was perceived to be not so much royal and feudal as popular and civic. The burghs were not reckoned worthy of a paragraph from any of our early chroniclers to describe the occasion or the principle of their foundation, or the origin of their constitution. That has been reserved as a serious task for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the recent Selden Society volume is a most notable advance in scientific analysis of the code of Burgh Laws which, expressly or tacitly, we have been prone to regard as essentially our own, and more or less peculiar to ourselves. Miss Bateson's studies of the Custumals of English and Irish towns, however, following upon similar studies of those of French towns, such as those of Breteuil in Normandy, conclusively place our northern burghal usages upon a different footing, as dialectal variants of a tradition of custom prevalent among the Anglo-Norman communities, elastic and diversified, yet obviously from the same generic roots. Again the border line of Scots and English disappears, and the comparative analysis of the burgh laws of Scotland and the 'consuetudines' of early English towns brings out the far more inspiring and pregnant fact of international unity that scarce a Scots chapter is without close analogue in the registered custom of sundry English boroughs. So far the processes of examination are only analytical and comparative: even as such they are instructive to the first degree: and we must wait, with sure expectancy of many new and valuable conclusions on burghal origin and progress as manifested on the continent and in Britain, the issue of the second volume in which the significance of all the texts laid under contribution will be discussed. From a synthesis of the custumals we may anticipate for the first time the true perspective of the burgh as an institution, national and international, and its tribute to common law. One first-class piece of Scottish exposition in the present volume may be noted. *Kirseth*, the mysterious privilege of our Burgh Laws (cap. 27), turns out to be the Old Norse *kyrrseta*, sitting in peace, a loan-word of technique suggestive of the mixed ancestry of our law.

'We stowpe and stare upon the shepes-skyn,' said Hoccleve, in words which might be the archivists' motto; but Miss Bateson can see beyond the records she so patiently transcribes. Her *Mediaeval England* stands out from the attractive and popular series to which it belongs by virtue of its comprehensive variety, coupled with that particularism of detail which marks the real medievalist. Not a history but a survey, it describes the conditions of old English life (with not a few side lights of Scotland) in a manner at once exact, pictorial, and entertaining. Agriculture, education, architecture, trade, church, castle, chivalry, town, court, dress, food, libraries, art, history, feudal tenure, minstrelsy, law, medicine, the Black Death, all are illustrated

by citations so various as to reflect a degree of authentic medieval lore, probably a unique possession of the versatile author. Her general outlook is sympathetic towards the actual achievement as well as to the promise of the age, outspoken as to its coarser sides, yet more eager to preserve the memory of the things that sweetened and dignified its civilisation. Particular qualities of the book are its attention to the development of the schools and universities, its unique presentment of the facts of the life of woman in the Middle Ages and her place in its culture, and its conspicuous recognition of literature and even romance as elements of history.

Cognate in scheme, although more circumscribed both in theme and time, is Professor Hume Brown's *Scotland in the time of Queen Mary*. These Rhind lectures (reported with some fulness *ante*, *S.H.R.*, i. 221-3) reflect the democratic and social standpoint of modern study: they chiefly concern the external conditions of town and village life, trace the slow development of trade, and discuss the consolidation of national spirit. Crisp and pleasant sketches of the little communities of sixteenth-century Scotland and the ways of the inhabitants, they are in their volume-form eminently welcome, and take a useful place of authority in burghal literature.

'Burghal literature'—it is a phrase which has come to comprehend a good deal, and still it grows. We rejoice that the Scottish Burgh Records Society after a period of quiescence, only apparent, has resumed active publication with a volume of *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, between 1663 and 1690. They were eventful years which began with the restored Charles II., about to disappoint every honest expectation, and which ended with the Revolution. In 1670 the records show the council negotiating 'to buy for the tounes use the portratouris of King Charles the First and Secund.' In 1685 they have taken the test and made oath of allegiance to James VII. and are assuring him of their hopes for his happiness—'as your Majesties great vertue deserves and as our sincere loyaltie showld inspyre us to wish.' In January, 1689, there is framed 'an address to his royall highness the prince of Orrange whilk was allowed be the magistrats and toune counsell and subscrivit be the most pairt.' And in 1690 we leave the council profoundly gratified by, if not grateful for, the charter which, in consideration of the city's firm and constant adhesion to the reformed religion and its notable service to the Revolution cause, William and Mary granted, whereby a long-sought freedom to elect their provost and magistrates was at last conferred upon the community. Glasgow had deserved well of King William, as Sir James Marwick shows in his excellent preface, which is mainly directed to an exposition of the constitutional evolution of the civic status. The original bishop's burgh, circa 1178, made a regality in 1450, and erected into a free royal burgh in 1611, was in the nomination of its magistracy subject to successive bishops and archbishops, and afterwards of the Duke of Lennox as lay proprietor of the archbishopric. It was the Revolution that completed the emancipation

and finally gave to Glasgow what had been the immemorial privilege of other royal burghs.

'The preparation of this volume,' says Sir James, 'which records the enfranchisement of the city from subjection to the archbishop and its establishment with all the rights and privileges of the most favoured royal burghs, has been the work mainly of Mr. Robert Renwick, whose intimate knowledge of Old Glasgow is, I believe, unique. The elaborate Index, without which such a work as this is deprived of much of its value, has also been prepared by him. For such ungrudging, gratuitous labour warm acknowledgment is due.' Such acknowledgment, handsomely rendered, has been faithfully earned. Sir James's editorial headship and direction, and his introductory expositions, have through so many years of fine historical and civic service blended with the unobtrusive burghal learning and palaeographic industry and skill of Mr. Renwick that it is needless, as it would be invidious, to allocate precisely the public gratitude accorded to both, happily sharpened as it is by a lively sense of favours to come in further conjunct labours on Glasgow records.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE WAR OF THE SUCCESSION IN SPAIN (1702-1711), based on original MSS. and contemporary records. By Colonel the Hon. Arthur Parnell, R.E. Pp. xvi, 342. 8vo. London: George Bell, 1905. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a cheaper reprint of a work that first appeared some seventeen years ago. Colonel Parnell describes his volume as 'a purely naval and military chronicle,' and this is at once its merit and its defect. It is quite true that at the date when it was published the events of the War of the Succession in Spain were little known or understood: passed over by the ordinary historian as neither interesting nor important, or misrepresented in reliance on certain volumes of memoirs which more recent researches have proved to be utterly unreliable. Macaulay writes as an undisguised partisan, Stanhope hardly covers the ground. And yet the course of events in Spain was of very great importance. In an uncertain way the Spaniards were discovering that sense of national unity that enabled them to destroy the plans of Napoleon in 1810; and England was learning the art of combining war on land and sea.

Colonel Parnell's account is an accurate and careful summary of events: he has gone very thoroughly into his material, and he presents his results in a clear and businesslike way: the whole is an extremely useful piece of historical material, but not history in any true or valuable sense of the word. Facts, said Macaulay, are the dross of history. Mr. Parnell has not succeeded in extracting the gold from the dross with which he presents us. It is not possible from this dry account of disconnected campaigns to gather any general strategic principles, any understanding of the connexion and interaction of events, any appreciation of the effect of personality. Mr. Parnell makes a hero of Prince George of

Hesse Darmstadt, a competent but distinctly uninspired commander; but he quite fails to justify his enthusiasm by any appeal to imagination, or any proof of definite achievement. Lord Peterborough is one of the most enigmatic and remarkable men of his age: his career one of the fascinating riddles of history. Mr. Parnell dislikes him, and does his best to destroy his rather dubious reputation; but he gives us no idea of the man and no conception of the general. Perhaps to expect this is to expect more than Colonel Parnell claims to give. His discussion of the defences of Gibraltar, Barcelona, and Alicant is excellent, and the volume as a whole contains a quantity of sound and reliable information which any future historian of the period must be only too glad to use. The maps and plans are admirable.

M. ADAMSON.

A HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND. By Herbert Paul. In five volumes. Vol. I., pp. vii, 450; Vol. II., pp. vi, 446; Vol. III., pp. vi, 454. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1904 and 1905. 8s. 6d. nett per vol.

'THE extinction of a free state,' writes Mr. Paul (Vol. I., p. 49), 'is an outrage against humanity.' Yet if a patriotic Scot were disposed to quarrel with him, instead of being grateful to him for a most useful and interesting book, he might charge Mr. Paul with attempting this very iniquity on his title-page. England there stands for the Queen's dominions, and Scotland, if not relegated to the happy fate of a country without a history, is, with Ireland, extinguished under the name of the predominant partner. *A History of Modern England* does indeed go trippingly on the tongue, while a less arbitrary, if more accurate, title might not have had that merit. And Mr. Paul is nothing if not arbitrary.

While *England* is thus extended, *Modern* is, with a better right, restricted in meaning. Modern history for Hallam and the older historians began with the Renaissance. Modern England for Mr. J. R. Green dated from William and Mary. Mr. Paul's Modern England begins a century and a half later still, in an age which, using Mr. Disraeli's words, he describes as 'profoundly imaginative, poetical and religious.' It begins with the repeal of the Corn-Laws, the introduction of steam machinery, town drainage, Trades' Unions and Co-operative Societies; with the substitution of railway for stage-coach travelling, and the consequent improvement in the comforts of life; with the abolition of duelling, and the consequent decline of good manners in Parliament and elsewhere.

Of the forty-five chapters in these volumes eight are chiefly devoted to literature, theology, science, art, and the Church. The remainder contain a terse and judiciously condensed narrative of public events, with which is interwoven a vigorous commentary, and an acute criticism of the actors and their motives. Each volume covers about ten years, and we may presume that the two volumes as yet unpublished will bring the history down to almost the end of the nineteenth century.

The author deals with no obscure period. He has not penetrated into sources of knowledge hitherto undiscovered. He has little occasion to weigh conflicting evidence. The facts are patent and accessible. His book is almost entirely the fruit of trained industry, honest labour, and robust political judgment; not of exceptional information, unique insight, or lifelong meditation. It describes clearly, briefly and entertainingly the vicissitudes of party government, the passing of great measures, the actions of statesmen and diplomatists, the fights over Ireland, the Factory Acts, Education, Reform of the Law Courts, of Elections, of Taxation. It tells freshly and vividly the stirring tales of the Irish Famine, the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and other memorable events of the time, besides giving such account of the Italian struggle for independence, the French revolution of 1848, and other foreign affairs as is necessary to explain Britain's share in them. A chapter entitled 'The Expansion of England' describes the war in India of 1848-49, and the annexation of the Punjaub by Lord Dalhousie; the conflict with the colonies over convict transportation, and the beginning of their independence. On the successful resistance of Cape Colony to the landing of convicts at Cape Town, Mr. Paul remarks: 'The expulsion of the *Neptune* from South African waters was not less momentous, and far more auspicious, than the jettison of the tea in Boston Harbour.'

He tells the story of the 'Oxford Movement,' which he calls 'the ecclesiastical and sacerdotal revival of the nineteenth century.' He describes at length the English ecclesiastical squabbles in the law courts over attitudes and candles and the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed, squabbles to the mere layman as amazing and almost as pitiful as the Scottish ecclesiastical squabbles for property to-day.

These volumes, which exhibit the machinery of politics in motion during thirty years, naturally teem with incidents which illustrate the political discussions of to-day: the shifting policy of successive Governments in their difficulties with foreign states, the needless wars and the inconceivable blunders in carrying them on, the effects of fiscal and financial experiments of all sorts, the arguments used for and against many Acts of domestic legislation, and the results of these Acts when put in force.

The book is largely a history of reform, and of efforts at reform which have not yet succeeded in overcoming prejudice. Forty-nine years ago Lord John Russell proposed in Parliament that local schools should be managed, and masters appointed, by a board elected by the ratepayers. It required a famine before an English Parliament would abolish the Corn-Laws or allow a brewer to use sugar. What catastrophe will be needed before British public education is placed on a level with that of Germany or the United States?

Mr. Paul seldom makes a colourless statement. His own opinion is almost always in evidence. He does not fear to be charged with partisanship, for he says that all historians worth their salt have been accused of it. Yet if he is a partisan in politics his partiality is for principles. He is quite impartial in exposing the shortcomings of both friends and

foes, and seems to share the popular relish for the littlenesses of great men. Two of three quotations from the Duke of Wellington are forcible pieces of profanity, and in the third the Duke says that English soldiers are the scum of the earth, and many of them enlisted for drink. Of Mr. Disraeli he says: 'Literature and the showy side of politics exhausted his interests in this sublunary sphere.' And again, 'Of finance' (while Chancellor of the Exchequer), 'or any other business, he neither knew nor cared to know anything at all.' Mr. Gladstone attacks an opponent's budget 'with acrimony and on the flimsiest grounds,' and is 'guided in ecclesiastical affairs by the passionate prejudices of a mediæval monk.' 'Lord Derby' (the Prime Minister) 'was not even moderately well-informed. He knew the classics, the *Turf Guide*, and very little else. Serious political conviction, except where the Church was concerned, he had none.' Mr. Bright spoke and voted against the Act which limited the hours of labour for women and children in factories to ten hours a day, 'because,' says Mr. Paul, 'he was a manufacturer, and it would injure his own trade.'

It will be interesting to see what Mr. Paul has to say in his future volumes of the motives of the advocates of bi-metallism, and the motives of the members of the Tariff Commission. His opinion of the Upper House of Parliament is frankly shown. 'The Lords,' says Mr. Paul, 'were quite safe in rejecting the Bill (the Jewish Relief Bill), which had nothing to recommend it except reason and justice.' But in another place he says that English bishops are radical reformers compared with English judges.

Some readers will think Mr. Paul more successful in dealing with public events and politicians than with literature. His estimates (to use his own word) of authors are often, though not always, clever morsels of compressed description, of happy epithet and of pointed criticism. They are always delivered with remarkable confidence. A little less would perhaps help them to be received with more. One feels sometimes that his chapters on literature would be better if they were not quite so clever. He is seldom content to give an account, however brief, of the famous men of letters of the times of which he treats. He pronounces a summary verdict, and assigns them rather oracularly to oblivion or to immortality without discussion. It is to be feared that some of his arbitrary judgments on well-known writers may be taken by his readers less as criteria of the merits of their subjects than of the capacity of the critic. In one of the two or three sentences he gives to the historian Grote, he says: 'When he came to deal with Plato, and entered the spiritual region, he moved helplessly about in worlds not realised.' Whether this be true or not regarding Grote,—and it is unsupported by argument or citation,—it furnishes a tempting phrase for application to Mr. Paul's own movements when he enters as a confident appraiser the region inhabited by, for example, Carlyle or Matthew Arnold. After all, one looks in a history, if not always for an attempt to trace the causes of 'the molecular movements of millions of individuals,' at least for facts, scarcely for arbitrary opinions, without reason given.

Mr. Paul's own literary style is best in narrative. His accounts of the chief events of the time, clear, condensed, and yet comprehensive, and enlivened by his always able and often brilliant comments, are just what one desires in a history of the scope of this one, and his portraits of the chief politicians and statesmen are vivid and interesting. But when he passes from history to letters, he scatters his epigrams too promiscuously. His writing then lacks that sequence in thought which he himself prescribes, and which he uses in narration. His sentences are better than his paragraphs. They often have the effect of disconnected jottings from a notebook, which might have been set down just as well in some other order. That is not to say that they are not individually good. But it is to suggest the distinction, which Carlyle applied to history, between the work of the artisan and the work of the artist. The brick which the pedant in Hierocles carried in his pocket as a sample of the house he wished to sell, while absurd as a specimen of a house, might have served very well to represent a heap of bricks. Any sentence from one of these chapters would in many cases be a more favourable specimen of Mr. Paul's writing than the page from which it was taken.

Mr. Paul seems to make a mistake in placing the name of John Richard Green in the list of the original contributors to the *Saturday Review* at its foundation in 1855, as Green was then a lad of seventeen entering Oxford. According to his biographer, his first article for the *Saturday* was written in 1862. Here and there one finds trifling errors besides those noted among the *errata* for each volume. For example, Dickens's *Bob Sawyer* is called *Dick Sawyer*, from which one may judge that Mr. Paul has already forgotten his *Pickwick*. *Beauchamp's Career* is indexed under *Thackeray*. On page 108, Vol. I., Vienna is printed where it seems probable that Venetia was intended.

Each of the two volumes is separately and very fully indexed, the date is printed on every page, and the subject of every paragraph in the text is indicated in the margin. The book is thus admirably convenient of reference. The volumes are of a handy size and light in weight, and the type is large and clear. The Latin quotations are translated.

The possessor of this book cannot but be grateful to its author and publishers every time he has occasion to consult it. It yields its stores for the minimum of trouble. ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE PENTLAND RISING AND RULLION GREEN. By Charles Sanford Terry, M.A., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of. History, University of Aberdeen. Pp. vi, 90. Glasgow: MacLehose, 1905. 2s. 6d. nett.

THE first Parliament of Charles II., held at Edinburgh on 1st January, 1661, passed a series of Acts by which that venal and profligate monarch was constituted the supreme Governor of Scotland in all causes; and the proceedings of every Parliament since 1633 were declared null and void. Thereupon the Privy Council, which, in disregard of constitutional practice, had been nominated by the King as his first official Act, set

themselves to re-establish prelacy as it had been established by James VI. and confirmed by Charles I. Four ministers were then sent to England and there consecrated bishops, and in 1662 the second session of Parliament restored the bishops to their accustomed privileges and jurisdiction. All ministers were also required to receive presentation from the lawful patrons, and collation from their bishops, or to desert their cures—the Privy Council, on 1st October, ordering that such ministers as failed to conform to the law before 1st November should not be recognised as ministers or paid their stipends. Between 200 and 300 ministers, however, failed to comply with this legislation and order, and the period prescribed by the latter was extended till 1st February, 1663.

On 18th June of that year the third and last session of the first Parliament, legislated against separation and disobedience to ecclesiastical authority, and imposed heavy fines on those who absented themselves from worship in parish churches. This Act, known as the 'Bishops' Drag-Net,' formed the foundation of the persecution, which was established during the reign of Charles II. and James II. In the south-west of Scotland especially many ministers refused to conform, were ejected from their parishes, and were replaced by 'King's Curates,' who were generally regarded with contempt and dislike by their parishioners. The high-handed action of the Government exasperated masses of the people, who refused conformity. Troops levied under the authority of the previous session of Parliament were employed to enforce the order of the Privy Council, and on the suggestion, it is said, of Archbishop Sharpe, a Court of High Commission was established to deal with recusants. The result of all this arbitrary action was to lead to open resistance to the law, and the establishment of conventicles, the traditions and memorials of which are still cherished with veneration by masses of the Scottish people. Among the military men who were charged by the Privy Council with the execution of their odious acts was Sir James Turner, who distinguished himself by the vigour with which he carried out his orders. Professor Terry's book describes the Rising in November, 1666, of a body of from 900 to 1100, mostly west country Covenanters, their capture of Turner in Dumfries, their march thence by successive stages to the Pentlands and Rullion Green, and their attack and defeat by General Dalziel there. So says Professor Terry, 'The fifteen days' rebellion had met its hopeless and inevitable end. At the best it was a haphazard and ill concerted effort. Had it been other than sudden and spasmodic its story might have run another course. For the bitter controversies which cleft the Whigs in 1679, to the paralysis of serious military achievement, were absent in 1666. Wallace, as a leader, was incomparably superior to Robert Hamilton, and had at his back a force which, if small in number, showed qualities which compelled respect. But nine hundred devoted men, however stout their spirit, were a puny force to menace a system entrenched in authority.' 'Such an undertaking,' Kirkton admits, 'was for a man of miracles.' The Authorities took an ample revenge. The prisons and the executioner had their prey.'

JAMES D. MARWICK.

A HISTORY OF GUNPOWDER PLOT: the Conspiracy and its Agents. By Philip Sidney. Pp. 313, large cr. 8vo, with 16 facsimile illustrations from old prints. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1904. 5s.

'I HOLD,' says Mr. Sidney, 'there is room for another, and more thoroughly impartial record (of the conspiracy) than has yet been drawn up': and most readers will hold the same opinion, notwithstanding Father Gerard's reference to it as 'the tale hammered year after year into the ears of the English people.' Its recension in the light of latter-day investigations should prove an acceptable achievement, whether in the form of a popular narrative or as a text-book for the more advanced student.

Mr. Sidney's History possesses a fascination that carries us on with it from beginning to end of the book. And this is natural from the nature of the conspiracy itself, the circumstances attending its frustration, and the retribution following. In all these the 'Fougade or Powder Plot' impresses the imagination in an unusual degree. The patience shown in its preparation, the boldness of the enterprise, the great scale of its conception, the desperate nerve of its chiefs, and the shadowy appearance and disappearance of their forms in its progress are elements in the course of a grim and ghastly tragedy. And behind it and surrounding it all was the atmosphere of the period charged with calamity and presaging wrath to come. It is surely by no mere coincidence that the spirit of the time was reflected in literature by the advent of Othello, Macbeth, and Lear, when, in real life, the figures of Catesby, Tresham, and Fawkes passed across the stage of history.

'I have based the foundations of my work,' says Mr. Sidney, 'entirely upon the original evidence as represented in the mass of Domestic and Foreign State Papers, dealing with the reign of James I., preserved at the Public Record Office, and at the British Museum.' After this statement the historical student, anticipating a text-book, will be disappointed in discovering the inadequacy of references to the originals quoted. The 'history,' in fact, appears to combine the character of the 'yarn' with that of the narrative based entirely upon original research; a doubtful compromise. Notwithstanding this, we appreciate the reprint of Sir Everard Digby's Letters and of the Official Story of the Plot, which may be conveniently referred to in the volume. Mr. Sidney suppresses the superscription of the celebrated letter from Digby to Salisbury, a most important feature of the document. 'Of this letter,' he says, 'I reproduce the greater part'; but this is not as ingenuous as it appears when we compare the lines left out; for Mr. Sidney is endeavouring to show that this letter 'must have been despatched from the Tower early in December 1605, and penned, therefore, whilst Digby was a prisoner.' And, continuing, he adds, 'Father Gerard's statement that it cannot have been written by a prisoner, because "it was sealed with a crest or coat-of-arms," is absurd in the extreme.' But this is not 'Father Gerard's statement.' Let us quote Father Gerard's own words: 'The whole tone of the document appears utterly inconsistent with the supposition that it was written by

one branded with the stigma of such a crime as the Powder Plot. Some of the expressions used, especially in the opening sentence, appear, likewise, incompatible with such a supposition, and the letter bears the usual form of address for those sent in ordinary course of post, "To the Right Hon. The Earl of Salisburie give these"; it has moreover been sealed with a crest or coat-of-arms; all of which is quite unlike a document prepared by a prisoner for those who had him under lock and key.' So far from this argument appearing 'absurd in the extreme,' it is accepted as convincing by Father Gerard's opponent, Dr. S. R. Gardiner; who says, 'Father Gerard has shown it to have been written, not in December, but between May 4 and September, 1605, and which I ascribe to May, or as soon after May as is possible.' It will be seen that Father Gerard relied on expressions used 'especially in the opening sentence'; and this and the following sentence have been suppressed in Mr. Sidney's quotation.

Whilst it would be too much to cite this as an example of Mr. Sidney's method, it is of itself sufficient to shake our confidence in other conclusions, even if these relate to such a triviality as the 'unlucky' character of the number thirteen. The grave historian may have private misgivings about ladders, and looking-glasses, and spilt salt, but we do not care to see them obtruded in print, any more than to be told that Gunpowder Plot was arranged ('manufactured,' as Mr. Sidney calls it in one place) by thirteen men, which a note explains is 'A significant number, especially as the thirteenth conspirator, the last to join, is generally considered to have been the traitor.' Again, that Mounteagle possessed a guilty knowledge of the Plot, and saved himself by betraying his confederates, is shown by what are described as 'these fatal thirteen reasons.'

After this it is not surprising to observe the inadequate acknowledgment to Dr. S. R. Gardiner and to other investigators; nor the altogether gratuitous depreciation of the present descendants of the house of Percy; nor the numerous typographical slips left uncorrected, such as the awkward hiatus on p. 169, l. 4. Whilst the format and printing itself leave nothing to be desired, the production of the illustrations in a tinted medium gives them an aspect of shabbiness. The chapters on the handwriting of the Mounteagle letter and on the part played by 'one of his gentlemen named Ward' are perhaps the most important in Mr. Sidney's book. But the opportunity that might have realised so much still leaves 'room for another, and more thoroughly impartial record than has yet been drawn up.'

R. Oliver Heslop.

Logie: a Parish History. By R. Menzies Fergusson, M.A., minister of Logie. Vol. I., pp. 354, with 20 illustrations. Crown 4to. Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1905. 15s. nett.

Among the numerous Logies in Scotland, Login-Athran (as it was anciently called) may claim pre-eminence. Mr. Fergusson, at any rate, is justified in his prefatorial statement that it is exceedingly rich in

historical associations. Three upright stones, now within the policies of Airthrey Castle, are believed to have been erected to commemorate the defeat of the Picts by Kenneth, King of Scots, in 839; while a later, and not less momentous conflict, the Battle of Stirling Bridge in 1297, was fought almost within sight of Logie Kirk, whose records afford the material for a great part of the present volume. To each of the ministers of the parish from the Reformation downwards Mr. Fergusson devotes a chapter; and one of them, Alexander Hume, gets two, notwithstanding that the author has already published a biography of him (*Alexander Hume: an Early Poet-Pastor*). It was right, however, that the sweet singer who wrote 'The Day Estival' should take his proper place in the long line of Logie parish ministers. The ecclesiastical history of the parish is given with much fulness by Mr. Fergusson, whose literary skill is attested by his success in investing even the driest of parochial and Presbyterial records with some degree of interest. The change from Presbyterian to Episcopal Church government at the Restoration is not specially noticed in the minutes of the Presbytery of Dunblane, and the Diocesan Synod under Episcopacy differed little from the Provincial Synod under Presbytery, while the parish of Logie slumbered on, undisturbed by polemics. The gentle Robert Leighton was Bishop of Dunblane till 1671, when he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Glasgow; and Mr. Robert Kirk, the minister of Aberfoyle, who wrote *The Secret Commonwealth*, a famous work on apparitions and the second sight, and who was generally believed to have been carried off by the fairies when he died suddenly in the Revolution year, was Presbytery Clerk from October, 1667, to April, 1688, during which period, Mr. Fergusson remarks, the minutes are very carefully and beautifully written. A secession in the quiet country parish, nearly a century later, was much more severely felt than any change in church government. All the elders, with one exception, joined the seceders, taking with them the Session books and utensils—the communion plate. The schoolmaster and precentor complained that he could not recover his lawful fees, and the beadle also felt the pinch, declaring that he could not serve the parish and live on account of the parishioners going by him in their marriages and baptisms, and that, unless proper measures were taken for his getting his dues, he must starve or become a burden on the Session. With the revolving years, prosperity returned to the 'Auld Kirk,' and it is fitting that the history of the parish should be written by its present minister, a poet-pastor like his predecessor, Alexander Hume. His book promises, when completed, to take a place in the front rank of parish histories, possessing, as it does, all the elements that go towards making such works valuable for future reference, as well as interesting to people living in the localities to which they relate. There is an excellent index, and the volume is handsomely brought out.

W. B. Cook.

JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE, VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE, 1648-1689. By CHARLES SANFORD TERRY, M.A., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History and Archæology in the University of Aberdeen. Pp. viii, 377. M. 8vo. London: Constable & Co., 1905. 12s. 6d. nett.

IT is gratifying to welcome another contribution towards the history of the seventeenth century from the pen of Professor Terry, who has already done so much good work in this field. Whatever private opinions a reader may hold about the subjects treated, he must acknowledge that the author has done his best to approach them from a scientific and not from a partisan point of view, and that he has spared no pains in collecting his information from the most reliable and sometimes from recondite sources. Not only so, but he has given the authorities for his statements in much detail, and there is not a page in the book which has not its quota of references, so that each fact may be checked if desired. With the exception of Queen Mary, it is safe to say that no two characters in Scottish History have given rise to so much debate, or as to which opinion is more keenly divided than John Knox and Claverhouse. Already this is seen by the voluminous newspaper correspondence which has taken place about this book itself: it is indeed impossible to expect that any history of Claverhouse will ever be written which will please all parties. Mark Napier's 'frenzied work,' as Professor Terry aptly calls it, has been as yet the fullest life of Claverhouse which has been published: but though containing much information it can hardly be considered serious history. Besides, to persons who believed in their Wodrow and sympathised with their Covenanting forefathers, the mere name of Napier was as a red rag to a bull. But since Napier's day much additional information has come to light, and some which Napier might have used but did not. The various volumes of the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners are in themselves full of useful matter, and Professor Terry has availed himself of many manuscripts, such as those in the Register House, which, though in existence in Napier's day, were not readily available and often indeed unknown.

Throughout this volume it is evident that the author has striven to be impartial; but a historian who has any sense at all of effect cannot altogether divest himself of his own personal predilections, and the result in this case is that Claverhouse is presented to us in a light which many perhaps will think too favourable. On the other hand, Mr. Terry's estimate of him cannot be summarily dismissed as a mere bit of special pleading: it deserves to be carefully studied, and the more it is studied the more credit will be given to the author for the patient care with which he has approached his subject, and the wealth of illustration with which he has illuminated it. He certainly is of opinion that Claverhouse has been grossly misrepresented by the writers on the Covenanting side of the question; numbers of their assertions he denies the truth of altogether; he brings also much good proof that there have been many and serious exaggerations about the man. It is doubtful whether Mr. Terry's idea that he was merely the slave of circumstances, holding duty as his ideal,

and prepared to sacrifice any mere personal feelings in order to carry out the orders which he received from his superiors in office, will ever be accepted by the general mass of the Scottish people: but the historical student who comes to these pages in search of the naked truth will find that at all events there is much more to be said for him than at one time could have been conceived possible. He was not, it may safely be said, the bloody, relentless persecutor such as the popular literature of generations has made him out to be, but he may not altogether have been merely the efficient public servant depicted in this volume, far less the poetic hero of Mr. Napier. The fact is, Claverhouse was a man of his age; he was self-seeking and determined to push his way by every means in his power so long as these were honest: but he was in modern language 'straight,' and had convictions of his own which he carried out after the fashion of his day. He was a persecutor, just as if the tables had been turned his opponents would have been persecutors of him: he had not the virtue of toleration, but nobody had till Dutch William came and pointed the way to it. But he was a gentleman and a gallant one to boot: no one who looks on the splendid portraits which are reproduced in this volume can doubt it. Proud, haughty and ambitious he may have been, but he was true to his trust, and the manner of his death casts a halo of romance over a career the merits of which will still be debated as long as Scotsmen are Scotsmen, however ably writers like Mr. Terry may deal with the subject.

There is an excellent map illustrating the campaign of Viscount Dundee during the months from April till July, 1689, and a plan showing the site of the Battle of Killiecrankie. There has been a certain amount of discussion as to this, but the author, who has evidently gone carefully over the spot personally, gives a very clear account of the battle in which Dundee used his Highland host to such advantage, and while leading his troops to victory, met that glorious death which, after all, was perhaps the most suitable termination to his career. With him the romance of the Stewart cause died for a time, to have a short awakening in the '45 and then to disappear for ever.

A piece of sound historical work, no student of the time can afford to neglect this volume, which fully maintains Professor Terry's reputation as a writer.

J. Balfour Paul.

Ordo Romanus Primus. With Introduction and Notes by E. G. Cuthbert Atchley. Pp. xix, 199. Dy. 8vo. London: De la More Press, 1904. 7s. 6d. nett.

This book, which forms the sixth volume of Provost Vernon Staley's useful 'Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers' is a work of quite unusual interest and importance. It is not too much to say that of all the liturgical publications of recent years, it is likely to prove the most startling. Scottish Presbyterian readers in particular will be astonished to find how very like in some ways to their own old sacramental customs were those in vogue at Rome in the eighth century.

A certain measure also of *extempore* prayer was allowed. The *Ordo* —so its accomplished editor describes it—is 'a directory of the ceremonies of solemn or public mass celebrated in Rome by the pope himself (or his deputy), at which all the clergy and people of the Church of Rome were present, or at least represented; and in which they fulfilled their several functions in the exercise of that royal priesthood which St. Peter tells us is the common property of the body of baptised Christians.' To all who desire to see how this doctrine was worked out in the practice of the Church of Rome in the early centuries, and the successive steps by which it was subsequently obscured, we can commend this work. The *Ordo Romanus Primus* seems to have been drawn up by Pope Stephen III. about the year A.D. 770; but he founded it on a document of the sixth century; so that we are in the presence of that Roman rite which, about that period came into collision with the Celtic rites of the Welsh and Irish Churches. It is, of course, in Latin—the 'vulgar tongue' of those for whom it was intended, the Christians of the seven-hilled city. Unfortunately no 'thoroughly critical edition' of the Latin text exists. That given here is 'a conflation of Mabillon's and Cassander's'; it is a matter for regret that, (for so learned an edition of a tract not likely to be speedily re-printed,) the opportunity was not taken to provide the most accurate text possible. The *Ordo* itself, however, is but the smallest part of the book before us. The Introduction and Notes are copious, yet never irrelevant; thorough, lucid, succinct. They deal with a great variety of topics. They explain many technical terms. They exhibit the principles underlying, on the one hand, the adoption, and on the other hand the disuse, of ceremonies and observances; and they throw much light not alone on liturgical questions proper, but upon the history and development of Church architecture, clerical dress, lay representation, and the like. The editor notes how the later history of Roman ritual, so far from being the increasing of the people's part in the service, has been steadily in the direction of curtailing it! Nor should we omit to notice the admirable series of illustrations with which the volume is at once adorned and elucidated. JAMES COOPER.

THE PERTH INCIDENT OF 1396, FROM A FOLK-LORE POINT OF VIEW. By R. C. MACLAGAN, M.D.: Pp. vii, 403. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1905. 5s. nett.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS. By CHARLES SQUIRE. Pp. x, 446. Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1905. 12s. 6d. nett.

SUPERSTITIONS OF THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS. Pp. xi, 318.; and WITCHCRAFT AND SECOND SIGHT IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS. Pp. xii, 314. By JOHN GREGORSON CAMPBELL. Glasgow: MacLehose. Each 6s. nett.

THESE four volumes are so closely related in subject-matter as to warrant their being considered together. The title of the first, indeed, is misleading: the 'Perth Incident' plays the smallest part in the book, serving but as a peg on which to hang a discussion of a cryptic thesis, for any clear, consecutive statement of which we search in vain. Minor

propositions of a paradoxical character there are in abundance, apparently the *disjecta membra*, which are never fitted together into a corporate whole.

One thread of reasoning, running through the whole work, starts from the theme 'Vellaunos,' as in Cassivellaunos, with the meaning attributed to Rhys in the *Hibbert Lectures* of 'something elevated' (p. 77). Neither here nor in *Celtic Britain*, where it is fully discussed, does Rhys give any such interpretation. He says it probably meant a 'king or ruler,' with the same root as in Irish *flaith*, English *wield* (*C. B.*, 2nd. ed., p. 285 and 3rd ed. *H. L.*, as cited). But having thus got his ambiguous middle term the author next produces a Gaelic form of the Cymric syllables in 'Fellanus' (p. 78); affirms that the 'unpresentable' (p. 369) ideas connected with his 'Vellaunos' 'have passed to our own time under the guise of Fillan, made by the Church historians a saint' (p. 99); and, further, as a pillar is 'something elevated' and *columna* might pass easily into *columba*, decides that Columba is a 'creation in the "dove" form, for the more original Fillan; Vellaunos, the Elevated One' (p. 284). The 'unpresentable' ideas are phallic in character, but for the elusive and bewildering details the reader must be referred to the work itself.

The author does not disguise the startling character of his incidental conclusions, which, in fact, involve an entire recasting of all we believed ourselves to know of early Scottish history. Thus Scotia is 'a Greek word meaning darkness' (p. 120), and '*οἱ σκότιοι*' are, in one sense, 'illegitimate children'; so that 'the Scot originally was the progeny of the foreign occupier of the land (*i.e.* the Roman soldiers) and the native woman' (p. 356). That Gaelic was called *Scotica lingua* 'is simply to say that it was the *mother* tongue of those called Scots' (p. 122). The 'Picts and Scots were the men on the frontier' of the Roman province (p. 356). That the Pict was 'a native as opposed to a Roman defender' is only a supposition (p. 127). The name Pict is derived from the Greek *πύκτης*, 'a boxer,' and is explained by the tactics of the Batavi at Mons Graupius (p. 107). The 'Picti' were 'boxers.' This contention is not illustrated from a Chinese source, but on page 79 it is noted in connection with the phallic argument concerning Filean=*faolan*, a wolf, that 'the term "night-wolf" is applied in Turkish to what ornaments the handle of the Saint's bell."

Where even his extraordinary philological methods fail him, the author simply has recourse to the butt end of the pistol: 'Inis Fail describes Lowland Scotland and Northumbria, let any one say as they like' (p. 119). Gaelic '*brugh*,' really cognate with the English 'march,' and '*bru*,' cognate with 'breast,' are compelled to become one; 'the spelling is a grammatical distinction' (p. 57). It is but fair to add that, though dealing in the main with philological materials, the author professes that he is 'no philologist' (p. 1), and evidently has scant respect for any such person. 'He desires to be an interpreter of folk-lore' (p. 1). In fact the one clear idea that a reader carries away from this volume is that our folk-lore is our real history, and ordinary history merely folk-lore. We

need not be surprised, therefore, that the eighteenth-century forgery attributed to Richard of Cirencester is still for the author a source 'of the latter half of the fourteenth century' (p. 243 and Bibliography). On the other hand, 'the authenticity of Adamnan's "Columba"' is gravely argued against (p. 286).

Mr. Squire attempts no such flights. His book is offered to the general reader as a popular introduction to its subject, and, on leading lines, gives a clear, accurate and well-told account of the principal figures and incidents. It seems impossible, however, to keep Dr. Matthew Arnold's sentimental 'wizardry' out of popular treatises, and so we hear once more that the 'poetic vision' of English literature comes from 'the Celtic side'; the Anglo-Saxon having to its credit merely 'the more practical qualities' (p. 3). Yet 'practical' rather than 'poetic' are the hook with which Balor keeps open his 'destroying eye' (p. 49), and the twigs with which Cuchulainn holds off his clothes from his wounds (p. 173). Arnold opened the floodgates of Celtic sentimentalising and so did much to misdirect later work in this field. That the Picts were 'probably more or less Goidelicised Iberians' (p. 23) is a proposition to which Pictish nomenclature gives no support; and that the matriarchate was a 'very un-Aryan procedure' (p. 31) is *à priori* unlikely, and has never been demonstrated. That the Druid 'creed of transmigration' was not 'merely taken over from the Greeks' (p. 36) but appears 'in the ancient Gaelic myths' (p. 37) is a superfluous plea, incorrectly stated. No creed of 'transmigration' proper appears in these myths, and the Celtic conception of a life after death had nothing in common with the ideas of the Pythagoreans. Nor does Diodorus say that the 'magnificent temple of Apollo' in Britain was 'a circular enclosure' (p. 42), but that there was such a temple 'and a circular shrine adorned with votive offerings and tablets with Greek inscriptions suspended by travellers upon the walls' (Elton as cited). The description scarcely fits the precipitate and usual identification with Stonehenge (pp. 42, 325). This work, however, is admirably done and heartily to be recommended. Mr. Squire has gone to the best sources and has used them wisely and skilfully.

Mr. Campbell's work in Highland folk-lore is well known and has the unique quality of being wholly derived from oral and personally tested sources; all others being sternly disregarded. These volumes, therefore, constitute perhaps the most important contribution ever made from the Gaelic side to their fascinating subject. What he has to say about fairy beliefs is specially interesting, though it is strange to find him, after insisting upon 'the difference in size ascribed to the race' (vol. i., p. 9), affirming overleaf that 'the true belief is that the fairies are a small race.' Certainly for Wales and Ireland, which latter country cannot have differed much in its conceptions from the West Highlands, it is clear that these beings were not normally regarded as differing in stature from ordinary men and women. The point is important in view of a certain euhemeristic theory which circles round the idea of 'a little people.'

These two vastly interesting volumes must be the ultimate 'scriptures' to the student of Gaelic folk-lore and popular superstitions, in the first place; and, for their department, equally such to the student of the subject as a whole. W. M. MACKENZIE.

THE TAILL OF RAUF COILYEAR, a Scottish metrical romance of the fifteenth century, edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossarial Index. By William Hand Browne, Professor of English Literature in the John Hopkins University, Baltimore. Pp. iv, 164. The John Hopkins Press. 1903. $1 net.

INTRODUCTION, notes and glossary make up four-fifths of this monograph, the *Taill of Rauf Coilyear* being the insignificant remainder. An editor does well to remember that annotations do not necessarily light up dark places, and that not infrequently *difficultatem facit doctrina*. It is only with reluctance that one suggests at the outset this general objection to Professor Browne's performance, for evidently he loves our early Scottish poetry and brings to it wide knowledge and scholarly equipment. Specially is that the case on the philological side. His introduction—a survey of Scottish literature from Barbour to Lyndsay—is orthodox, as are the text-books of a generation ago; it derives little or nothing from the criticism of our own day, and only once or twice gives the least intimation of certain questions of authorship recently mooted. The difficulty of some readers will probably be to discover what exactly is the relation of such a general introduction to the fifteenth century alliterative romance. Professor Browne, it may be said, has no doubt about *Rauf Coilyear* being 'late XVth century,' and wastes no breath on those who hold another opinion. The chapter devoted to criticism of the poem itself is on the whole good. The prelection on vocabulary, vowels, consonants, flexion, metre, versification and rimes is no less deserving of praise if only one could be sure that it will not spoil for the young student the merry tale told by the poet, who had never the plodding philologist in his mind, but wrote only for 'pleasance' of good fellows. This further, as a last word, seems necessary. There might have been, with advantage, a rather franker and fuller acknowledgment of indebtedness for text and glossary to M. Amours' edition of *Rauf Coilyear*, published for the Early Scottish Text Society. Professor Browne's edition marks no advance on that of M. Amours; and perhaps it is proper to say, makes no pretence to do so.

J. T. T. BROWN.

THE GENEALOGIST: A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF GENEALOGICAL, ANTIQUARIAN, TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HERALDIC RESEARCH. Edited by H. W. Forsyth Harwood. New series, Vol. XX. Pp. viii, 316. M. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1904.

THIS volume of *The Genealogist* is well up to the high standard of its predecessors as a storehouse of useful material for the genealogist and

the antiquary. It is perhaps not so pugnacious as some of the previous volumes, but it is not on that account less acceptable to its readers. Some of the contributions deal with Scottish history, the most notable of which is the opening article by Mr. Keith Murray, who has printed an interesting legal document of the sixteenth century relating to the manslaughter of one of the Hamilton family, with explanatory notes and a pedigree showing the connexion of the Hamiltons and Sinclairs. Ireland is represented by Sir Edmund Bewley, with a valuable account of the Folliotts of Londonderry, an offshoot of the English family of that name, who migrated to 'the distressful country' in the seventeenth century, and, strange to relate, multiplied and prospered in their new home. The articles and notes on English subjects, some of which are elaborate and of considerable interest, cannot be overlooked by the genealogical and heraldic student. Mr. G. W. Watson has completed his laborious inquiry into 'The 4096 Quartiers of King Edward VII.,' compiled with scrupulous care and patient research; the pedigrees on the Plea Rolls are continued by General George Wrottesley, a most useful work; and Mr. Henry Wagner and others have contributed original documents, pedigrees, abstracts of wills, marriage licences, diaries and grants of arms.

The volume, which is handy to consult, contains a portrait of Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty, the new Garter King of Arms, and good indexes of persons and places.

JAMES WILSON.

POLITICS AND RELIGION IN SCOTLAND, 1550-1695. By W. L. Mathieson. In two volumes, Vol. I. pp. xvi, 412; Vol. II. pp. xv, 388. 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1903. 21s. nett.

IN these volumes Mr. Mathieson attempts, not to retell the history of Scotland from 1550 to 1695, but to trace the development of certain tendencies in church and state. He might well have called his work 'An essay on the decay of enthusiasm in the Scottish Church'; for his object is to discuss the growth of the moderate spirit, and all his finest work is concerned with the more pacific and undogmatic episodes in Scottish Church history. By far the ablest and most original chapters in the book are the tenth and twentieth, in which he describes *con amore* the two most marked triumphs of moderatism in seventeenth century Scotland before the Revolution; and more especially his estimate of Leighton and his party seems to us to reach the high-water mark of excellence and interest. But if we are right in assuming that 'moderatism' is Mr. Mathieson's real subject, he seems to us to err gravely in dealing with so much that is really outside the scope of his work. For the unwary reader might well suppose that in these volumes he had simply another descriptive history of Scotland—although Mr. Mathieson would be the first to disclaim an intention to do what Professor Hume Brown and Mr. Lang are doing already.

In this too generous estimate of what forms his subject matter Mr. Mathieson distinctly weakens his work, and that in two ways. He

suggests, as has been said, the ordinary history of Scotland, and here, of course, he can plead nothing of the painstaking pioneering research which has made Mr. Lang's history so noteworthy. But apart from this fault of over-inclusiveness, Mr. Mathieson sins through his very virtues. The moderation which so eminently becomes him as panegyrist of the pacific party makes him fail in sympathy towards extreme men, and yet the hundred and fifty years discussed so fully in these pages form nothing but one long battle where only violent men may count. There was room for a historian of the development of moderation, but such a historian, by virtue of his calling, must deal selectively with history, and must remember that there are large spaces in history where moderation is not the directest way to historical truth. Granted factions and enthusiasms, their history may be satisfactorily written only by men more than half-sympathetic with party spirit. Mr. Lang by very force of prejudice (or sympathy) often triumphs where Mr. Mathieson is only half-successful. Wherever the irrational enters (and it was a primary fact in Scottish history and character during these years) this weakness appears. Able as is Mr. Mathieson's estimate of Knox, it fails to appreciate the most characteristic things in the man, because Mr. Mathieson has not the Carlylian faculty of estimating a man's general force apart from less comprehensive intellectual and moral standards. Thus, to notice merely an insignificant hint of this, Mr. Mathieson is surely mistaken when he speaks of Knox's earnestness being '*strangely* tempered with a sense of humour,' as if this humour were not a necessary and basal fact in the Reformer's character, and an expression of that power of ironic criticism and insight into character which made John Knox the man he was. Mary Stuart, too, Mr. Mathieson calls 'no stateswoman' at the very time when the Darnley marriage had given her complete diplomatic success in her struggle with Elizabeth; apparently because he will not appreciate one whose greatest triumphs, like her most hopeless errors, sprang as much from instinct and passion as from conscious intention. Again, in his comparison between Lethington and Montrose, Mr. Mathieson's wonder at the preference of posterity for the latter seems to spring from his unwillingness to praise men for anything but moderate and rational methods. It is here that the historian, who like Mr. Lang is willing to let his feelings (call them sympathy or prejudices as you will) have free scope, inevitably scores. The moderatist in history will fully succeed in appreciating moderate men; the heroic and the violent alike he will underestimate or wrongly appraise. Indeed, one might go further and add that Mr. Mathieson, when, in his second volume, he speaks of 'the spirit of the Renaissance' triumphing in the late seventeenth century over the Reformation and Counter-reformation, is showing, this time in the very centre of his theory of history, a misleading over-eagerness to associate Scottish politics and religion with a spirit of reason unacknowledged by any of the Scottish leaders, and that he is essentially anachronistic in attempting to trace the eighteenth century rational and pacific spirit in a time when authority and passion were the only motive

forces, and in a country where the 'tiger and the ape' had more to do with the making of history than human reason.

The general conception of Mr. Mathieson's work forbids too detailed and unphilosophic a criticism of details, but we feel inclined to question when he speaks (I. 8) of 'heretical tradition' in Scotland being 'far more nearly continuous' than in England; when he assumes (I. 93) that 'the death of Francis II. was a blow to the Scottish Reformation, because it meant the return of Mary to Scotland,' and when (I. 203) he rather sophistically argues that the Reformed Church injured and hindered national trade. In addition, the later work of Mr. Lang has made slight modification necessary at several points, and more especially in the case of Gray's negotiations with Elizabeth, and the 'mortui non mordent' episode.

But in spite of these criticisms, we hold that Mr. Mathieson has justified his claim to be considered the historian-elect of Scottish Moderatism, and we believe that in his next volume, when he enters on more civilised times, when intellect counted for more than instinct, the very qualities which have somewhat hampered him here will give him unqualified success in the rational and moderate eighteenth century.

J. L. Morison.

The Story of King Lear from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare. By Wilfrid Perrett, B.A. Lond., Ph.D. Jena. Pp. x, 308. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. 1904.

Die Sage von Macbeth bis zu Shakspere. Von Ernst Kröger. Pp. ix, 273. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. 1904. Marks 7.60.

'Palaestra' is a fit and significant title for the series of strenuous monographs of which Professors Brandl, Roethe and Schmidt are both promoters and editors-general. The two works now to be considered are capital types to illustrate not only the method, but the great critical advantage of studying 'quellen.' Dr. Perrett's task is to deduce Lear from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and after glancing at Geoffrey's own sources as probably including some variant of the loving-like-salt folk tale, he follows the story of Geoffrey told down through some sixty intervening renderings until Holinshed is reached and, through him chiefly, Shakespeare. It is a pedigree tracked with extreme patience, insight and judgment. The diagram, which is a compendium of so much study, is itself a fine chapter of exposition, showing at a glance the course a great tradition followed. All roads of literature led to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, the Old Play of *Kinge Leire*, the *Faerie Queen* and the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and these, especially Holinshed, were Shakespeare's sources. A question of high interest debated, we think indecisively, by Dr. Perrett is whether in addition Shakespeare used the Latin text of Geoffrey directly. He shows that until the sixteenth century, apart from the 'historical' transmissions in the *Brut* and other popular chronicles deriving from Wace's French rendering of Geoffrey, the saga of Lear had no effect on popular imagination until the sixteenth century, 'when the reading of the chronicles

had become a favourite pastime of the cultured English laity.' How intimate is the connection between the vital points of source-hunting and the *cruces* of dramatic criticism appears everywhere. It is nonsense to discuss as if it were a creation of Shakespeare's a feature of the story which Shakespeare only found, and which, had he been ever so much minded to vary it, he could not have escaped from if he had wished. If the orbit of profitable speculation is not restricted to the use the dramatist made of what he found, it is certain that serious risks attach to all criticisms omitting to mark first of all whatever lies within that rudimentary line. For a real study of the whole antecedents of Shakespeare's great tragedy Dr. Perrett's guidance is not merely sound : it is indispensable.

Dr. Kröger's examination of the sources of Macbeth brings out initially the contrast between the real Macbeth of severe history, the Macbeth of Fordun and Wyntown and their successors, and the Macbeth of Holinshed and Shakespeare. He suggests, with clear justice, Saul, and more doubtfully Tarquin, as models ('vorbilder') for the character presented by Fordun. Discussing the evolution of incidents in the play as seen in medieval chronicle and sixteenth century history, including the *Brevis Cronica*, Hardyng, Grafton, Major, Boece, Bellenden and Stewart, Lesley and Buchanan, all precursors of Holinshed, he devotes special sections to the supernatural paternity of (Wyntown's) Macbeth, to the weird sisters, to the Cæsarean birth, and last and not least to the moving wood. To the 'wandelnde Wald,' indeed, Dr. Kröger brings admirable stores of folklore fact and parallel, enough to earn for his treatise a first-class place of commentary. Passing reference may be made to notes on the subject in our own columns some years ago (*Sc. Antiq.*, 1897-98, pp. 49, 156). To the place and character of the witches Dr. Kröger's contribution is also considerable, and he merits praise for tabulating a list of sources besides Holinshed. His appendix of text from Fordun, Wyntown and Boece will be of service to readers as fully citing the foundation authorities. A point argued in opposition to Prof. Liddell is that Shakespeare did not use Buchanan. One follows Dr. Kröger with pleasure and with some confidence so long as he sticks to his last; but when he attempts to expiscate the origins of Macbeth as saga, to tell us how little saga there was to begin with, how Fordun invented and amplified one section by adapting Tarquin to these northern latitudes, and how Wyntown dealt with his matter, not as the transmitter of an existing story, but as 'the shaper of a work of art,' and transformed it by his own imaginings, it is time to stop for some of us, to 'gang warily' for us all. Still, the speculations are worth hazarding whether the moving wood was a Celtic legend, and whether the Macbeth story in general was not of savant origin. We may not all be content with Dr. Kröger's estimate of Wyntown as a poetic creator a little bolder than Fordun and a great deal bolder than Boece, but—these things apart—we may all give hearty welcome to this German scholar's able account and analysis of Shakespeare's debt to Scottish chronicle.

GEO. NEILSON.

PEEBLES DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY. By Robert Renwick. Pp. xi, 205. Peebles: The Neidpath Press. 1903. 4s.

IN a review of Mr. Renwick's *Peebles: Burgh and Parish in Early History* (*Scot. Hist. Rev.*, Oct. 1903) the present work is mentioned as being then 'in the press.' It now takes its place as the sixth of a series of little histories by the same author, illustrative of the social life of a former time in a Scottish border burgh. A few more such volumes and the proverbial 'Peebles for pleasure' will obtain a deeper significance than it has at present. Mr. Renwick is an archivist in the strictest sense of the term. He works at the sources; records, 'auld mankit and mutilait,' allure him to congenial labour; expert knowledge and strictest accuracy conjoined, make him at all times a trustworthy guide.

When Queen Mary, a week from the date of her birth, succeeded to the throne, Peebles had experienced four centuries of municipal existence, and just at that point of time the present volume begins, the story being brought down to 1573, a few months after the close of the reign. In the burghal microcosm one may study politics and war, religion, commerce, art, law and agriculture, by many examples. Indeed, considering the size of the book—205 pages—its wealth of material is surprising. It contains, perhaps, little or nothing that was not known before, but that fact does not greatly lessen its value for historical study. Scattered throughout the chapters, one meets with plotting renegade Scots, partisans of the English; Scots whose wavering patriotism needed strengthening by the threat of seizure of their estates; Scots without reproach. On the eve of the Reformation the townsfolk transact their business, little concerned about ecclesiastical reform. Covenants are still ratified at the altar; the place of payment in wadsetts is nearly always at one or other of the churches, 'upon the hee altar of the samyn.' After 1561, when altars had been removed, a creditor is notarially warned to appear in church, and there, 'in the place where the altar formerly stood,' receive payment of the debt. The 'apostata frier' is also much in evidence. John Allane, chaplain and papal notary, becomes parish minister; other 'religious' accept ordination without scruple as Presbyterian elders. Another friar, more conscientious, 'trembling and fearing,' appears before a notary and declares that John Master of Maxwell, with certain squires in his company, in behalf of the Lords of the Congregation, came to him and compelled him to change his white habit for 'a grey keltour goune,' and to put on 'a how black bonnet'—a change of dress meant to symbolise adoption of the new faith. The Pope's notary had then opportunities of earning an honest penny far different from the 'writer body' of a later time, styling himself 'notary public by royal authority duly admitted, allowed and sworn.' Like the blessed angels, his main care and most officious endeavour was often employed about the soul's part, as one may see by the case of Sir William Tunno, vicar of Mennare, who, lying at death's door, 'in presence of three burgesses and a notary,' formally renounced 'all wardlie riches, honour

and erdlie plesour, the devill, his angellis and all his werkis, makand it knawn that he and his angellis wes reddy all tymes to induce tentations in the tyme of his latter hour of his deid, and truble his mynd, ressone and spreit: protestand that quhatsumevery tentationes the said innemy and his angellis inducit in the tyme, hour and article of deid suld nocht be prejudice to his saule in the tyme of the departyng thairof fra the body furth of this vale of misery, nor sould haif na power to stope his saule the heritage of hevin, but that the same wes glaidlie ressavyt be the angellis of God in the bosome of Abrahame siclyke as the powr man Lazarus saule wes ressavit quhen the riche man saule wes repellit.'

To mention in detail the many interesting things handled by Mr. Renwick is impossible in this short notice: in a book so full of good things a reader may safely be left to make his own choice. The dialect of Peebles, a fine vernacular, as exemplified by the records, is perhaps specially noteworthy and well deserving the attention given to it; but the glossary is not so full as it might have been, and some readers may be puzzled to understand, among other things, the magisterial order to the burghers to walk the walls 'nychtlie quhill the mone grow to the *proud* lycht,' or to know what commodity is meant by *ter* which 'divers unfremen and chepmen' were seeking to vend by 'paking and pelying' within 'the boundes of the burgh fredome.' *How-bonnet* and *Keltour goune* are other omissions. Minor defects in the glossary are, however, as nothing compared to the abounding excellencies of all other parts of the book.

J. T. T. Brown.

The Stirling Antiquary. Reprinted from the *Stirling Sentinel*, 1900 to 1903. Edited by W. B. Cook. Vol. III., pp. vii, 365. Cr. 8vo. Stirling: Cook & Wylie. Printed for private circulation.

A collection like this shows what useful work a local newspaper can do. Here we have a most serviceable group of original and transferred articles mostly touching Stirlingshire. Matters discussed include disputed inscriptions at Kilmadock, local finds, the history of Camelon, the bogus charter to Eleazar the Jew of Aberdeen, new light on Bannockburn, and not a few transcripts, including a French account of the Battle of Falkirk in 1746. The hand of Mr. Cook is alike apt and busy whether as contributor or editor of this creditable volume of county lore.

By Bothwell Banks: some Chapters on the History, Archaeology and Literary Associations of the Uddingston and Bothwell District. By George Henderson and J. Jeffrey Waddell. Pp. 260. D. Hobbs & Company, Glasgow, 1904.

This book of 260 pages is published as the joint work of the authors whose names appear on the title page, with no indication of what belongs to the one or the other, except as regards the illustrations, which have the signature of Mr. Waddell. The architectural descrip-

tions in the chapters,—Bothwell Castle under the Morays and Douglases, Blantyre Priory, and Gilbertfield,—sober matter-of-fact statement, are valuable, and would have been more valuable had they been published alone. Much else in the volume is superficial and uncritical. Derivations of place names both in the text and the appendix shew that the authors have consulted the old and new Statistical Accounts, Johnston's *Place Names*, and such like works, rarely troubling themselves to get to the well-head. There are exceptions however—the place name Uddingston is one: and it is gratifying to observe that for certain historical points Joseph Bain's *Calendars* and the *Transactions* of the Scottish Antiquaries and the Glasgow Archaeological Society are frequently cited to good purpose. But the chapters are decidedly unequal in value, and the indolent reader when he lays down the book will, as the American humorist has it, 'know some things that are not so.'

THE MISTY ISLE OF SKYE: ITS SCENERY, ITS PEOPLE, ITS STORY. By J. A. Macculloch, Pp. 320. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1905. 4s. nett.

WORD-PICTURES of Skye in all aspects are dominant in Mr. Macculloch's book, which conjoins with these highly rhetorical and occasionally over-wrought descriptions a good deal of geology, history, folk-lore, and literary and romantic association, besides a Flora and Fauna of the island. Not surpassed by the late Sheriff Nicolson himself in his enthusiasm of admiration, the author lingers over the sunsets and the glories of mountain and sea with an infectious glow. History, which is not the strong point of the work, is chiefly used to lend human colour to impressionist nature-sketches, and in this incidental fashion affords additional scope for picturesque narration. The book will charm the lovers of Skye, and will add to their number.

THE RUTLAND MAGAZINE AND COUNTY HISTORICAL RECORD. An illustrated quarterly magazine. Edited by G. Phillips. Vol. I., January 1903 to October 1904. Oakham: C. Matkin. 1904. Pp. 264.

THIS quarterly, in bound form, makes a substantial volume of pictorical and antiquarian record. Good local work is good, if secondary, national work, and the archaeological annals of Rutlandshire will reward perusal anywhere. Churches, monuments, tombs, effigies, documents, relics, trade tokens, etc., are photographed. Curiosities of local usage, such as the horse-shoe custom of Oakham, are described, bells and their inscriptions enumerated, chapters of county topography, chronicle and genealogy set down, and transcripts of old deeds preserved. An article on Anglian burials is of note, with capital pictures of a bronze *situla* or bucket and a series of *fibulae*. Under the title of 'The Queen of Bohemia in Rutland' there is a sketch of the life of Elizabeth, daughter of James VI., wife of the Elector Frederick, abortive King of Bohemia, and by him grandmother of George I.

JOHN KNOX. By A. Taylor Innes. Quater-centenary edition. Pp. 158, with frontispiece. Cr. 8vo. Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1905. 1s. nett.

THIS re-issue of a biographical and historical sketch of acknowledged worth is welcome and well-timed It is needless at this time of day to commend the veteran pen of Mr. Taylor Innes, who writes with equal clearness whether he is recording the early life of the Reformer, the ecclesiastical crisis he was to face and indeed to resolve, and his private relationships, or his action, militant and legislative, as a party leader and protagonist of the protestant cause. That Mr. Taylor Innes scarcely avoids the charge of treating Knox much more as an institute of protestantism than as a personality is not to be wondered at : the charge is no censure for such treatment is inevitable. We notice the birth year set down as heretofore, 'probably in 1505,' without discussion of the recent re-argument of the point. As frontispiece, there appears a representation of a plaster sketch model by Mr. Pittendrigh Macgillivray, in which Knox as a preacher obviously resembles Principal Story.

Margaret Queen and Saint, by J. B. Mackie, pp. 78, cr. 8vo, 1905, price 1s. (Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier), is a chapter of heroine-worship well suited to its Dunfermline popular meridian.

Recent issues of the King's Classics (London : Alex. Moring, Ltd.) include *The Vision of Piers the Plowman*, by William Langland, done into modern English by the Rev. Professor Skeat (pp. 151, 1s. 6d. nett). and *Mediaeval Lore from Bartholomew Anglicus*, by Robert Steele, with preface by William Morris (pp. 195, 1s. 6d. nett). To modernise *Piers the Plowman* was a dangerous attempt, on achieving which one may not honestly congratulate Professor Skeat, although most grateful for and appreciative of the learning of a lifetime which he has devoted to this noble poem. Mr. Steele's work is equally readable and informing as a sort of handbook to the science, manners, medicine, geography, and natural history current in the middle ages. A useful list of sources and a bibliography are added.

Englische Studien (Leipzig, O. R. Reisland) has in the January issue a curious essay on 'Drunkards' English' by T. F. van Draat, whose philological analysis is based on very doubtful if entertaining examples.

Count Lützow's *Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia* (pp. viii, 120, cr. 8vo ; London : Frowde, 1905, 5s. nett) attractively sketch the national historical literature, ancient and modern. The tenth-century legend of St. Ludmilla and the early twelfth-century chronicle of Cosmas of Prague are the first Latin works. An interesting account of the battle of Crecy in 1346 is quoted from the Latin history of Weitmil, a contemporary canon of Prague. Vernacular literature had ere then opened with the so-called chronicle of Dalimil in 1308-1316, the first work written in Bohemian. Easily first of the moderns in history

is Palacký (dead in 1876), at once the most brilliant writer and authoritative critic. An intensely national note pervades the annals, with a chronic antagonism to things German, which Count Lützow loses no opportunity to signalize.

In the *American Historical Review* (April) Mr. Goldwin Smith, discussing 'The treatment of history,' has a passing estimate of Carlyle, criticising much, but praising much, and emphatically acknowledging his 'greatness as a teacher of history.' Professor George B. Adams, one of the board of editors, agrees so far with Professor Firth that the true object of historical seminary work is to train the historical investigator.

In Part II. of *Grace Book B*, edited by Miss Mary Bateson as the third volume of the *Luard Memorial Series* of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, the proctors' accounts of Cambridge University are continued from 1511 to 1544. (Pp. xxxv, 299. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press, 1905.) The same excellent qualities noted when the former instalment of the work was reviewed are also to be found in this new instalment of Miss Bateson's careful and scholarly work. The preface throws real light on the results of the religious changes brought about by Henry VIII., notably in the decline of the number of candidates for degrees and in the increasing depletion of the University chest. The index, exceedingly thorough and detailed, is so arranged as to be a real contribution to academic biography. T. F. Tout.

One of the sonnets in *A Doctor's Thoughts*, by Clement B. Gunn, M.D. (Selkirk: Lewis), declares that 'the Spirit of the Makar never dies.' The collection proves this true, showing also that the servant of the Muses can still find themes of dainty verse in antiquities, whether of legend or architecture. Merlin reawakens magic memories, and the monolith Altar-stone is still a monument of Faith. Dr. Gunn has many sides, and here the thoughts of the kind physician and shrewd antiquary are mingled with the music and fancy of the gentlest types of Border minstrelsy.

Many pamphlets have reached us. *The Statutes of Iona*, by John Bartholomew, advocate (*Oban Times* Office), describes and expounds the code of 1609 for civilising the Isles. *A Gossip about Carlisle in the Early Sixties*, by James Walter Brown (Carlisle: Thurnam), answers pleasantly to its title. *Some Early Defensive Earthworks of the Sheffield District*, by I. Chalkley Gould: this describes and gives sketch plans of several mottes, continuing Mr. Gould's studies on this subject. *The Labour Day*, by M. Maltman Barrie (London: Vickers), is an argument beyond our province. *Shelta: the Cairds' Language*, by David MacRitchie, embodies a proposition that the language or jargon spoken by certain vagrants in the British Isles is mainly a perversion of the pre-aspirated Gaelic spoken anterior to the eleventh century. It is easier to admire the boldness of this flight of Romany philosophy than

to persuade oneself that it admits of argument. *Memoir of the Family of Kings of Newmill* (Elgin: *Courant and Courier* Office, 1904); this is a genealogy of a line of Elginshire lairds.

In *Modern Language Notes* (Jan.), Prof. Hand Brown offers a few glossarial amendments of Dr. Schipper's edition of the *Poems of Walter Kennedy*.

The Reliquary (April) has fine photographic renderings of the sculptured caves of East Wemyss by Mr. John Patrick. Other pictorial themes are Mediaeval barns, pre-Norman crosses, and Saxon churches.

The *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (April) has a description of the bombardment of Algiers by Duquesne in 1683. It has also a paper on the making of the port of Havre, the chief note being a manuscript dedication of December, 1518, to 'Michelot Feré, grand architecteur du Havre de Grace.' He is also named as 'grand maistre et architecteur de l'oeuvre.'

Queries

MINIATURES OF MARY STUART. 1572. In 1901 Mrs. Anstruther-Duncan lent a miniature on ivory, of Queen Mary, aged thirty, to the Glasgow Exhibition. Lord Leven and Melville has another copy, also on ivory, inscribed 'Maria Stuart, Anno 30,' in gilt letters. A third was picked up at Heidelberg, Mr. Foster informs me, by a member of the Powys family, a number of years ago. The copy belonging to Mrs. Anstruther-Duncan is in the best condition, and the likeness is very good, the face being quite six years younger than in the 'Sheffield' type of portraits of 1578. A fourth copy is known.

These miniatures, being on ivory, cannot well be older than the early eighteenth century. In style they affect the manner of Hilliard, the sixteenth-century miniaturist. The Queen is in black, on Hilliard's favourite blue ground; beside her, on a table with a rich cover, lie a crown and sceptre: the Royal arms, quartering England, Ireland, France and Scotland, are depicted within the collar of the Garter. In one hand Mary holds a cross, in the other a book of devotion. Now Mary, in 1571-1572, was, to Catholics, 'the good Queen that now is prisoner, in whom resteth the present right of the crown.' So a spy reports to Cecil the talk of a Jesuit (March 4, 1571-1572. *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, vol. iv., p. 141).

In defect of a better explanation I suggest that there existed a portrait or miniature of Mary in 1572, for the comfort of English Catholic adherents, and that the four extant miniatures on ivory are copies, made in the eighteenth century, for Jacobites of the old faith. The inscription in gold letters is not nearly so delicately traced as in Hilliard's miniatures of a century older, and the blue ground is not flat but stippled. The face and hands in Mrs. Anstruther-Duncan's example are beautifully drawn, and there is no more plausible likeness of Mary at thirty. Nothing can less resemble the fat, foolish, round-eyed Mary of L. Crosse, painted over a miniature, perhaps genuine, then in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton, who played such a shuffling part in the reign of Queen Anne. Crosse's miniature represents the Queen in youth, and not in mourning, as in the four miniatures dated 1571-1572. These, I think, must have had a genuine contemporary original, though one cannot guess how an artist got access to Mary at the time of the Ridolphi conspiracy. In 1575, it was dangerous to possess a portrait of Mary in England (*State*

Papers, Mary Queen of Scots, May 6, 1575, vol. x., No. 47). These late copies of a probable miniature of 1571-1572 have not previously been criticised. The presence of the Royal arms of England on her miniatures refers of course to her fatal claim of the English crown. In 1573, Nov. 13, a report of Scottish affairs says that 'on her home-coming' (1561) 'it is true that a great quantity of her plate was marked with arms bearing quarterly the arms of England, some whereof were extant within these few months, and some clothes having broidered on them the same arms' (*Calendar of Scottish Papers*, vol. iv., p. 629). On July 1, 1614, Drummond of Hawthornden described to Ben Jonson a bed with broideries executed by Mary, or her *brodeur*. 'With many other devices and *impresas*, were the arms of Scotland, England, and France, all quartered' (Drummond, *History of Scotland*, p. 393). This bed was certainly wrought *after* the birth of James VI., '*unum, sed leonem*,' possibly at Loch Leven. In 1619 it was at Pinkie House, a house of the Douglases of Loch Leven, and, when at Loch Leven, Mary asked that an embroiderer might be sent to her. He may have embroidered this bed. On a silver *tric-trac* board of Mary's, of which a photograph lies before me, the arms of England, France, Scotland, and the harp of Ireland, are enamelled at the corners. This object was obtained from France recently. A. LANG.

M'MILLANS. The following were admitted members of the 'Buchanan Society' during the 18th century:

'James M'Millan, Merchant, Glasgow,' 1728.

'Duncan M'Millan of Dunmore, Knapdale, Argyleshire,' 1728. Married Katherine, eldest daughter of John Buchanan of Torrie (see *Register of Tailzies*, vol. v. fol. 378).

'Alexander M'Millan of Dunmore, W.S., Edinburgh,' 1728, son of Duncan M'Millan of Dunmore. Married, first, Margaret Campbell, secondly, Jane Campbell; died July 26, 1770 (*History W.S. Society*, p. 137).

'Archibald M'Millan of Curr, Knapdale, Argyleshire,' 1729.

'Neil M'Millan in Bariyemragan,' 1729.

'Neil M'Millan, younger, of Ballie,' 1729.

'Archibald M'Millan, cousin-german to Dunmore,' 1729.

'William M'Millan of Barwhinnock in Twinicholm, Gallowayshire,' 1729. Was he the Laird of Barwhinnock who was out in the '45, and died in exile?

'Robert M'Millan, brother of the above William,' 1729.

'David M'Millan of Neitherholm of Dalquham,' 1729. One of the nine sons of M'Millan in Bradenoch. Acquired Nether Holm of Dalquhairn; died at Moorbrock before February 6, 1734 (M'Kerlie, vol. iii. pp. 303, 304).

'Robert M'Millan, younger, of Neitherholm of Dalquham,' 1729. Married Janet Mitchelson, heiress portioner of Moorbrock; died in 1770 (*ibid.* iii. p. 304).

'The Rev. William M'Millan, Minister of the Gospel at Torthorwall, Dumfries,' 1729. Born about 1701; married July 29, 1729, Anne Lawrie; died May 12, 1764 (Scott's *Fasti*).
'William M'Millan of Glenlagan,' 1729. Married Margaret Gordon before 1736.
'John M'Millan, merchant in Dumfries,' 1729.
'William M'Millan, merchant, Glasgow,' 1730.
'Alexander M'Millan, Pewterer, Glasgow,' 1736.
'Alexander M'Millan, Captain of the Ship Cassandra of Glasgow,' 1748.
'Daniel M'Millan, Shoemaker, Glasgow,' 1788.

I will be glad of any information with regard to any of the above.

A. W. G. B.

A CASKET OF QUEEN MARY. At the sale of Mr. Scott I bought a tract which I had long wished to see, by M. Luzarche. (*Un Coffret de Marie Stuart.* Tours. 1868.) It is a thin folio of four pages, with five reproductions of what, in the coloured lithographs, looks like a despatch box in purple brown leather, studded with fleurs de lys, of gilt bronze, with a handle at the top, and a lock, of the same material. Two plates bear the inscription: "Maria, D.G. Regina Scotiae et Franciae dotaria." The shield, beneath a crown, bears the Lyon of Scotland, impaled with a single fleur de lys within a circle of thistle heads. M. Luzarche describes the copper as covered with velvet, much worn; it is not clear whether he means that the velvet cover is a separate thing or whether the box itself is coated with velvet, not leather. In the pictures there is no sign of wear and tear. In the interior the old lining was preserved with a singular fragrance, not of sanctity, according to M. Luzarche, who accuses the Queen of "every vice"! The letter-press is of no value; the author does not tell us where and when he obtained the relic. It seems to be genuine, none the less, and seems to date after December 1560, and before Mary's marriage with Darnley, in 1565. On the other hand Mary's monogram, M, is interlaced with the Greek ϕ of her husband, Francis II. Perhaps she left it behind her in France, in 1561. Lord Brougham, we learn, the defender of another Royal lady, regarded the casket with veneration. Does any one know what became of this "depository of jewels and love letters"?

A. LANG.

DEDICATION OF KIRKINNER CHURCH. The Church of Kirkinner stands on the west of Wigtown Bay, three miles south of the county town. It was dedicated to St. Kennera and was the only dedication to her in Scotland. In his *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (*s.v.* Kennere), Bishop Forbes remarks, 'The legend states that S. Kennera, the daughter of Aurelius and Florentia, who lived in the city Orchada, was invited by S. Ursula to join her in the pilgrimage to Rome, and by the protection of the King of the Rhine was alone saved from the slaughter. Living in his palace, she made herself so beloved that the king gave up to her the management of

his kingdom and of his family, which she governed with all wisdom and prudence. The queen, becoming jealous, tried in vain to poison his mind against the saint. Once, when she was carrying some bread to the poor, the queen told the king to see with his own eyes that Kennera was wasting his goods, but the loaves were miraculously turned into shavings. A follower of the queen, learning her hatred of the saint, conspired against her life, and when the king was away hunting, strangling her with a towel, buried her in a stable. The queen told her husband on his return that her relatives had carried her off; but the horses refused to enter the stable where the saint was laid, and burning lights in the form of a cross were seen over the place where she rested. Whereupon the body was found and taken up. Afterwards it was buried with great honour by Vuilbrordus.' Bishop Forbes adds: 'There are two Irish saints of this name—Cainner, daughter of Cruithnechan, at Killcullen, in Kildare, and Cainder, daughter of Caelan of Rinn h' Allaid.' 'In the churchyard of Kirkinner there are two ancient sculptured crosses.' (*Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, Part III., p. 43.) Is anything known regarding the reason why the church was dedicated to St. Kennera?

J. M. MACKINLAY.

18 Colinton Road, Edinburgh.

PEDDER: PETER. Were the early Peters of Scotland related to the English family of that name? Who was Andrew Pedder, a student at Aberdeen University in 1657. A Robt. Petrie was early identified with this University, and a 'Thos. Peter, a Scottishman' dies among his probable kinsfolk at Fowey, Cornwall, early in the 17th century.

503 Lancaster St., Albany, New York. G. A. TAYLOR.

ABERCROMBY. Can any correspondent give information about the marriage or marriages of the daughters of Alex. Abercromby of Glassaugh, who married Cath. Dunbar, probably Katharine Dunbar? He had at least two: Elizabeth, b. June 1686, Katharine, b. March 1688.

J. M. M.

Communications and Replies

JAMES VI. AND ANDREW MELVILLE. In September, 1596, James VI. had an interview at Falkland with Andrew Melville and certain other ministers, which, although not more important or fruitful of results than many other interviews, has, by dint of exaggeration and misconception, become a commonplace of Scottish history, and the recognized sample of Presbyterian manners and conduct in that distant time.

Andrew's nephew, James, who was present on the occasion, has left an account of the interview in his Diary, and he is our one and only witness for it. He tells us that after some hot talk his uncle 'uttered the commission as from the mighty God, calling the king but "God's silly vassal"; and, taking him by the sleeve, says this in effect, through much hot reasoning and many interruptions, "Sir, we will humbly reverence your majesty always, namely, in public."' And then follows a long screed of what Hallam not unjustly calls 'Presbyterian Hildebrandism,' which need not concern us here. It is the manner—not the matter—of Melville's oratory with which I propose to deal; a trifling thing, but if a story is worth telling at all it should be told correctly.

To begin with, then, James Melville's narrative makes it quite certain that between the phrase which has given such dire offence, 'God's silly vassal' and the 'taking by the sleeve,' some time was spent—how much we cannot tell—in hot discourses and interruptions. The two things were not synchronous; and if Melville had not seemed to most modern eyes (as indeed he was) an exceedingly unpleasant person, and if our propriety had not been shocked by the 'silly vassal,' no man would ever have thought of tacking two separate things together and making a *tertium quid* out of them of a very ugly shape.

First as to the 'silly vassal.' The story, as James Melville tells it, is no doubt very picturesque, and at first sight rather startling. One can quite understand all the writers of history pouncing upon it with delight; but it is strange that not a man of them (except Burton and Mr. Hume Brown) seems to have thought it worth while to remember—though he must have known—that 'silly,' as commonly used in Elizabeth's time, had no sort of resemblance to our modern use of the word. The *Homily* tells us that Holofernes was killed by 'that silly woman Judith.' Florio's *Montaigne* has 'the ants and other silly creatures' (B. ii, c. xii.). Shakespeare speaks of a 'silly coat,' *i.e.* a simple

dress (*Cymbeline*, v, iv). Orsino, in *Twelfth Night*, calls the lovely song he asks for 'silly sooth.' Spenser has 'silly virgin' and 'silly man'—innocent in one case, plain in the other, and so on. Many more illustrations might be collected, but let these suffice. Hence, it is obvious that all that Melville meant, translated into modern speech, was: 'You are only, merely, simply, God's vassal,' a statement of the king's position in the universe which James himself would not have challenged or thought improper. 'Your majesty is only a ceremony,' said the Spanish courtier to his master. Burton, who knew this quite well, unhappily contented himself with telling us that 'silly,' as used in Scotland, is generally applied to physical weakness. And no doubt this is so, but Melville was speaking in the ordinary language of his time, not in modern Scots—still less in modern English. Mr. Hume Brown, very fairly explains 'silly' by 'feeble.'

Next as to the 'taking by the sleeve.' 'Take' is a colourless word, and not only connotes no violence, but *may* be perfectly gentle. In this case the gesture, which seems to be the natural accompaniment of petitionary vehemence, was associated, as James Melville distinctly implies, not with the 'silly vassal,' but with a humble expression of loyalty to the person of the sovereign.

Now, let us see how James Melville's narrative has been treated by all the historians. Burton alone quotes the whole passage at length, and with absolute accuracy; but it fares badly with the rest, in an ever-increasing scale, and the colourless 'take' vanishes into limbo. Thus even Mr. Gardiner, the most careful and trustworthy of men, in his great *History*, has: 'seized him by the sleeve, and, calling him "God's silly vassal," told him,' etc. 'Seize' decidedly connotes violence, and the two things which, as I have shown, belong to different stages of the controversy, are here forcibly joined together, and out of their proper order. So also Mr. Hume Brown: 'Telling James he was "but God's sillie (feeble) vassal," he seized him by the sleeve and added,' etc. And so also Mr. Trevelyan in his *England under the Stuarts*. But the writer of Melville's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* betters the phrase: 'He plucked James by the sleeve, calling him God's silly vassal.' If seizing is violent, 'plucking' is rough and rude. Lastly, Mr. Andrew Lang easily distances all competitors with: 'He seized James by the sleeve, "he laid his hands on an anointed king," and called his sovereign,' etc. The king, he adds, was 'collared in his own house by a furious college don.'

Andrew Melville was certainly not an engaging character. With his hot temper—'his heart in his mouth,' as the king said—and his precious balms always ready to break the head of anybody who ventured to differ from him, he must have been as disagreeable a creature as ever trod this earth. Here is Dr. M'Crie's account of him. It looks as if it had been 'wrote satirical,' but the good doctor is quite serious, and is no doubt telling the plain truth: 'Provided those who were about him could bear with his "wholesome and friendly anger," and allow him freely to censure what he thought wrong in their

conduct, he assumed no arrogant airs of superiority, exacted no humiliating marks of submission, but lived with them as a brother among brethren.' (*Life of Andrew Melville*, ii, 464.)

He was the Laud of Scotland. In his bigotry, his intolerance, his fierce assertion of ecclesiastical supremacy, and his fatal lack of humour and good humour, he is the counterpart of the English prelate; and his work did not die with him. His scholarship is admitted on all hands, and Scotland owes him much for his strenuous efforts on behalf of a higher education. But Scotland also—country, people, and Church—suffered many things from him and his fellows and successors—the inheritors of the worst features in Knox's character, but not of his redeeming virtues; of his opinions, but not of his spirit; the hidebound pedants, whom Cromwell vainly besought 'to think it possible they might be mistaken.'

However this may be, we must remember that, with all his faults, Andrew Melville was, by birth and education, a gentleman, and it is, to me at least, incredible, even if we have not, as I have endeavoured to show, direct proof to the contrary, that he could have been guilty of the intolerable rudeness which later historians lay to his charge; or that James, who, however wanting in real dignity, had an overweening sense of his own importance, would not have resented it. But, on the contrary, even after this stormy interview, 'silly vassal' and 'collaring,' and all the rest of it, James Melville records that 'the king settled and demitted us pleasantly,' much to his credit, as Burton rightly says. Moreover, in spite of much squabbling and many serious quarrels, when James went to England Andrew fired off a valedictory poem, styling his majesty 'the best of kings,' unwitting of what lay hidden in the coming years.

H. W. LUMSDEN.

Langley Park, Montrose.

SIR ARCHIBALD LAWRIE AND THE SWINTON CHARTERS. Every student of the dawn of Scottish history must be honestly grateful to Sir Archibald Lawrie for his *Early Scottish Charters prior to A.D.* 1153 [Glasgow, 1905], and I hope I shall not be considered as striking a discordant note when I express my regret that before condemning certain charters he did not examine the originals. A visit to the Treasury at Durham would have made him pause before writing 'forgeries' against King David's charters to Hernulf and Arnolf, for he would have seen that there can be no question of their genuineness. The character of the handwriting, the seals and every feature connected with them, afford the most conclusive evidence that they are authentic documents. He might then have reconsidered the suspicions which the peculiarity of their contents engendered in his mind. Naturally they are peculiar, for, so far as Scotland is concerned, they are the first of their kind. In them we are in at the birth of one of its earliest territorial surnames, and certainly of the earliest grant of inheritance which has been preserved to us. Incidentally it is the first appearance of Walter Fitz Alan, the founder of the royal house of Stewart, and perhaps the first mention of a Scotsman bearing knighthood.

For all these reasons it is of historical importance that they should be quite above suspicion. If the contents require explanation it may be as follows:

Before 1098, when King Edgar came to the dedication of the church at Coldingham, Swinton was held by Liulf (ch. xx)—the earliest contemporary record of land held by a subject—just as Paxton was held by the King himself (ch. xxi). Edgar gave 'villam totam' to the monks, with Liulf's approval, but the adjacent 'terra,' called in the next century and ever since 'Little Swinton,' remained first with Liulf and then with his son Odard, in turn Sheriffs of Bamburgh and of the Northumbrians. It is possible that these lands formed part of the endowment of the Sheriffdom in the days when its jurisdiction extended north of the Tweed. King Alexander, David, both as Earl and King, and Earl Henry looked after the interests of the monks. There was some trouble, and we should be grateful for it, as it gives us so many documents. Odard died c. 1132, being succeeded by his son William. I think that when Sir Archibald disagrees with Mr. Round's identification of the early owners of Swinton with the Sheriffs of Northumbria, he must have overlooked the fact that the Duchy of Lancaster record of William Fitz Odard's possessions includes both Bamburgh and Swinton. On the death of William, his brother Adam was his heir, another brother, Ernulf, being interested in the inheritance. Adam carried on the family tradition, being Sheriff under Earl Henry. He also would appear to have been childless. The trouble about Swinton cropped up again, and King and Earl determined to finish it once for all. By these charters they succeeded. The trouble never recurs. In 1235 'Alan de parva Wintona' (sic) heads the list of those owing homage to Durham, while the duty to the monks is acknowledged by successive de Swintons over and over again up to the dissolution of the monasteries. Sir Archibald need not be surprised at these documents being at Durham, for not only were the lands confirmed to Ernulf and his heirs, but a charge on them was given to the monks. Naturally both parties received charters. Every important point is amply corroborated elsewhere.

So much for the genuineness of these two charters. Now for the thin old descent with which Sir Archibald also quarrels. It is an axiom that if you keep almost anything long enough it will become of value.

The Swinton pedigree is not so frail as Sir Archibald imagines. It is unnecessary to argue all over again the question, threshed out in the *Genealogist* in 1899, as to whether Ernulf de Swinton was or was not identical with the contemporary Ernulf of the 'Sheriff' family. Mr. Round thought that the sons of Odard took sides against Scotland. Sir George Sitwell showed that it was the other way, and in summing up quoted the teaching of science as applicable to the building up of a genealogical certainty that 'mony a mickle maks a muckle.'

I can bring no further conclusive proof that our Ernulf was Odard's son, but nothing fresh has been brought into the scale against the tradition, while in its favour the following contributory evidence may be worth recording.

In your columns last January (p. 179) I showed, first, that the story of the old family of Arbuthnott is that in the twelfth century their Swinton progenitors held high territorial rank on the march; secondly, that their connection with an hereditary sheriffship may find support in the fact that c. 1230 Alan de Swinton is seen in possession of a mill which even then 'Vocatur Shireuif milne,' as if it had belonged to bygone sheriffs. Sir George Sitwell's argument that the sons of Odard remained friends with Scotland is aided by Canon Greenwell, who points out (*House of Gospatric*, p. 44) that John Fitz Odard and his descendants held Shipley by grant from the third Earl Cospatric, and in three out of the five existing charters of this Earl our Ernulf appears as a witness, high up among the witnesses too, as becomes a 'miles,' who holds 'as a King's baron,' not a mere 'dreng' as Sir Archibald suggests. This connection may help us to our next link, for the succeeding de Swinton whom we meet, ante 1177, presumably Ernulf's son and heir, bears the distinctive name of Cospatric. He and three Alans, his son, grandson and great grandson, are proved up to the hilt. The second Alan died some time after 1247, and c. 1271 the third granted the Kirkcroft of Swinton to St. Cuthbert (Raine, ch. ccccxxix). When he died we know not, for at the end of the century and all through the weary years of the successive English invasions and occupations, a darkness as of night settles down upon the eastern Border. It is unlikely that many charters were granted; certainly but few remain. Of the Swintons all that we can say is that they were always on the ground. Henry swore fealty in 1296 as a Berwickshire man. He or another of the same name went on to 1331 (Raine, ch. ccccxxxii). In 1335 John de Swinton was forfeited by Edward III., who, after Halidon Hill, entirely dominated the Merse, and afterwards his lands of Little Swinton, 'devastated by war,' appear in English documents as in the hands of Edward of Letham (Bain's *Cal. Scot. Doc.*, vol. 3). Probably they so remained until the final retirement of the English forces, and this usurpation may account for the disappearance of the earlier family charters. During these years a fourth Alan carries on the special family name (Raine, ch. dcxx) until, with a King once more seated firmly on the throne of Scotland, we find the Borderland cleared of the 'auld enemy,' and a second Henry de Swinton holding the possessions of his forefathers. By a happy chance he settles any doubt of his own descent by a charter in which he makes over all his lands of Little Swinton to be held 'as freely as he or any of his ancestors have ever held them.'

This brings us face to face with our last difficulty. The recipient of this charter was Sir John de Swinton, but unfortunately the relationship is not mentioned. Sir Archibald Lawrie calls Sir John 'the ancestor of the family,' and says that in the fifteenth century he bought the land from Henry de Swinton's daughter and heiress. If Sir Archibald will look up his reference—the original document is in the Register House—he will see that the transaction was concluded in 1379, and that there is no word of daughter or heiress. Admittedly Little Swinton was handed over for value received in the shape of land elsewhere, but,

only to quote one instance in the same collection, Swinton charters X. and XI. show that this is a common form of family arrangement. In them Joan, Countess of Douglas, when exchanging land with her eldest son and heir, uses practically identical terms. I do not think that Sir John was Henry's son, but there is no reason whatever that he should not have been his heir. There is no sign of any other claimant at the time, or of any competing branch later, and there was no other family of Swintons. He was certainly a man of birth. Eight years earlier, when truce having been declared many Scots went to France with the English, 'Johan de Swynton' took service with John of Gaunt. He must have been a youth, and was then only an esquire, but Mr. Armitage Smith points out that he received double pay and the privilege, reserved only for those of the highest rank, of having a chamberlain eating with him in the hall (*Duchy of Lancaster Mis. Books*, No. 13, fol. 118). To this indenture the two Johns set their seals. On his receiving knighthood his pay was again double that of an ordinary knight. Two years before the exchange of land he is called 'Johan, Sire de Swyngton d'Escoce' (*Chanc. Scot. Doc.*, file 7). In later charters he is always called 'dominus ejusdem,' and when the vernacular came into use his son appears as 'Lord of that Ilk' (*Coldstream Chart.*, p. 42). Whether heir or not he was certainly of the old male line. From him to his descendants of to-day every link is proved ten times over.

Such is the pedigree of a small family, with all its faults; mainly interesting because it is quite genuine and because it has this peculiarity, that on every vital point it stands, not on tradition, not on the romantic tales of chroniclers writing long after the events which they record, not even on writs copied into chartularies by monks with a quite human tendency to error, but on original documents which can be tested, as I hope Sir Archibald will shortly test King David's charters to Ernulf.

Admittedly we should like to discover, c. 1160, a reference to 'Ernulf son of Odard and Cospatric his son,' and, c. 1380, Sir John speaking of the forfeited John de Swinton as his grandfather or of Henry de Swinton as his uncle. Perhaps in the future volumes which we hope to see from Sir Archibald Lawrie's learned pen we shall find what we require.

GEORGE S. C. SWINTON.

THE ALTAR OF ST. FERGUS, ST. ANDREWS (*S.H.R.* ii. 260). The interesting Rental printed in the April number sets forth that William Cubbs the first chaplain of the altar of St. Fergus served it seven years, and left it because its revenues were insufficient for his maintenance; that William Malwyin (Melville?), the second chaplain, resigned, and that thereupon James Braid became chaplain, and this was on 2nd May, 1409. The year is printed: Millesimo quadringentisimo nono. Is there not some mistake?

As James Braid who did so much for the honour of St. Fergus is only referred to in a note at the end of the Rental as 'quondam,' it may be inferred that the compilation was made under his own eye in 1525.

It would thus be impossible that he should have succeeded to the chaplaincy in 1409.

Moreover, we are told that 'Dean James procured from James the Fourth a bone of St. Triduan Virgin and gave it to the altar': [This relic must have come from Restalrig] and that 'he procured from David Lyon, tutor of the Lord Glammyss, a part of the collar bone and one of the joints of St. Fergus Bishop.' Now James IV.'s date is 1488-1513. Then Sir John Lyon (father of Sir Patrick, made a lord of Parliament in 1445), who was at the battle of Harlaw in 1411 and died in 1435, was thirteen years of age in 1382, so that in 1409 he was a man of forty. But his great grandson, John, the fourth lord of Glammis, succeeded his father in 1497 and died in 1500 survided by two sons; (1) George, fifth lord, who was in minority when he died in 1505, and (2) John, sixth lord, who died on 8th August, 1528, aetat 36, and was thus 13 years old when he succeeded. Surely this fifth lord or this sixth lord is the person whose guardian David Lyon gave the chaplain at St. Andrews a portion of the relics of St. Fergus. The church of Glammis is dedicated to St. Fergus, that of Rescobie in the same part of the country (and in which the family of Lyon used to be landowners) to St. Triduan whose name has been there corrupted into Trodlan. David Lyon, the tutor of the young lord, had a grant of Cossans, part of the Glammis estates in 1492: from him descended the Lyons of Glenogil, part of the thanage of Tannadice anciently held by the house. The local antiquary calls him 'second son of the fifth lord,' but that is impossible. He must have been a son of John the third lord's.

Has 'octogesimo' or 'nonagesimo' not been left out?

GEORGE LAW.

[The rental and inventory of St. Fergus's altar, St. Andrews, contains not a few things that require explanation, and I have written several notes on the difficult points with which it abounds. These notes I am holding back for the present in the hope that some local antiquary may throw more light upon the various people and places mentioned in connection with St. Andrews. The document was printed *verbatim et literatim* as it appears in the MS., and I attempted no more than a careful description of it and a synopsis of its contents. I am obliged to Mr. Law for his interesting discussion of the difficulty of the date of James Braid's appointment. The MS. is clear enough in both places, but it is certain that there is a mistake somewhere: probably *nono* is a mistake for *nonagesimo*: this would make the date of Braid's appointment 1490 instead of 1409. The other possibility is that James IV. might be a mistake for James I., and this might receive some support from the fact that the service books mentioned are MSS. and not printed books. It ought to be quite possible to settle the question definitely, as so many names are mentioned in the document. If the MS. itself is the original, the clause where Braid is spoken of as *quondam* is no later note, but part of the rest. There is, however, some doubt as to whether the MS. is not a later copy in a sort of *facsimile*. I pointed out (p. 260) that the hand 'is very modern in

character in many places,' and now the Rev. P. Henderson Aitken, who has a special knowledge of water marks, supports this by telling me that the 'Honig' mark belongs to Dutch paper of a very much later period. This would go to prove that the MS. is a later copy in a kind of *facsimile* —a very careful copy, certainly, but one in which mistakes would not be unlikely to occur. Hence 1409 for 1490, and certain hard words, whose difficulty may be due to errors in transcription, *e.g.* perhaps *solium* for *solarium*, which I rendered as 'bath'—a meaning which the Bishop of Edinburgh considers too unlikely to be possible. He suggests *upper room* or *loft* as being probably correct. Several difficulties arise in regard to some of the liturgical ornaments mentioned, but I will not take up any more of your space on the present occasion by discussing them.

F. C. Eeles.]

ROB STENE (ROBERT STEVIN) (*S.H.R.* ii. 253). The interesting article on this worthy in the April number brought to my mind several documents preserved among the Mackintosh Writs at Moy Hall in which he appears.

On 13th July, 1602, at Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Stevine witnesses two documents—one a bond by Alex. Dumbar of Tarbet, Mark Dumbar of Durres, and Robert Dumbar of Burgie to Thomas Stevin, writer, for 700 merks; the other, the assignation by the said Thomas Stevin to Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunnachtane of a bond made to him by Donald M'Angus [Macdonald] of Glengarrie, for 1600 merks of principal and £600 of expenses, and of a decreet thereupon. In each of these documents Mr. Robert is described as 'brother to the said' Thomas.

On 14th Jan., 1603, 'Mr. Robert Stevin, one of the masters of the Grammar School of Edinburgh,' gives a discharge to Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton for 235 merks, part of a sum due; and on 14th July, 1603, he gives to John Mackintosh, son of the Right Honourable Lachlan Mackintosh his father, a receipt for fifty-two buttons and a knap [? stud] of gold, weighing six ounces and a half, in pledge for 300 merks of borrowed money: in this he is described as one of the teachers of the High School of Edinburgh. Another document of the same year is of interest as showing something of the rate of payment to a 'house master' of those days. It is an obligation by the chief of Mackintosh to pay to Mr. Stevin 'for entertaining in meat, drink, and bedding' Allan Mackintosh, one of the chief's youngest sons, and another youth of the clan (a son of Angus 'Williamson' of Termit, ancestor of Sir James Mackintosh) the sum of £180 yearly, or £45 every quarter, while they were boarded by him, with 'a young tydie cow or else plaids of the like value' for each of the boys. This obligation does not appear to have been fulfilled, for an Act of Council was passed on 23rd Feb., 1614, at the instance of Mr. Robert Stevin, 'master of the Grammar School of the Cannogait,' ordaining its registration with a view to enforcing payment by Mackintosh's grandson and successor.

A. M. Mackintosh.

[Probably the financial dealings of Rob Stene will prove to be much better recorded than his literary performances. Mr. Mackintosh's valuable excerpts which I hope may be followed by others are not only interesting in themselves. They reflect light on the Privy Council proceedings taken on a somewhat unpoetic charge of usurious money-lending against the witty schoolmaster. And they quite fall into line with the long list of debts due to him in loans and school bills at his death as these are registered in his Testament Testamentar.

GEO. NEILSON.]

HONEY STEALING AT HADDINGTON, 1704. Dr. J. G. Wallace-James, Haddington, has found the following curious record of an Offence and Punishment two hundred years ago.

At hadingtone the 12 day Janry 1704.

THE whilk day in presence of Richard Millar sherrife substitute of the Sherrifdome of hadingtoune. Compeared personaly Helen Wood born in Woustershyre now spous to James Wood vagrant and hes not residence and as she says hes been in and about this country these thre years bygon who being apprehended at the abay bridge of hadingtoune with acane and stoupe full of hony bies and hony combys. Confest that she and her husband quartered in the dwelling house of James Darling fermorer in Linnplume for two nights tyme and that about nyne a clock at night ane munday she went to the country and came to Garvald Kirk where she stealled out of ane yaird thear two bies sceps with hony combs and bies quharof are in the cane and stoupe.

20 Janri 1704.

The Shereff having considered ye above confessioun ordains the above Helen Wood to be taken from the Tolbooth (quhair she is prisoner) to the Mercatt Cross of Hadintoun by the hand of the hangman. There to stand with ane old bee skep on her head for half ane hour, about twelve of o clock of ye miday and afterwards to be scourged threw the toune and banished the Shyre never to returne under ye pain of burning and scourgeing.

Notes and Comments

Dumfries and Galloway Antiquaries.

MUCH serviceable south-country work is recorded in the *Transactions and Journal of Proceedings of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Sessions 1900-1901, 1901-1902 (*Standard* Office, Dumfries, 1905, pp. 236, 3s.). Mr. George Irving sets down some interesting—if occasionally rather ill-vouched—family history about the Carlyles, the Irvings of Luce and Hoddom, and the Douglases of Dornock. Mr. William Dickie uses the town records of Kirkcudbright to good purpose to illustrate the burgh life between 1576 and 1682. Mr. James Barbour in one paper describes the excavation of a crannog in Lochrutton and in another deals with the market cross of Dumfries. A paper by Mr. J. C. R. Macdonald from the manuscripts of his father, the late Mr. James Macdonald, LL.D., is a resumé which the latter had prepared of Dr. George Archibald's *Account of the Curiosities of Dumfries* and his *Account anent Galloway*, written (before 1682?) for the information of Dr., better known as Sir Robert Sibbald, author of *Scotia Illustrata*. From the valuable descriptions given of the Ruthwell Cross and of the method of saltmaking used on the Solway, it is evident that the additions to Camden's *Britannica* made by Bishop Gibson in his edition of 1695 derive ultimately from the Dumfries physician, Dr. Archibald. It is pleasant thus to find Dr. Macdonald posthumously still at work as it were upon the Scottish antiquities he loved. Mr. Frank Miller writes interestingly on 'Lag's Elegy,' a vigorously satirical lament by the Devil for his trusty friend the Laird of Lag. Mr. Miller's evidence leaves little doubt that Carlyle was in error about its authorship, and that William Irving, schoolmaster of Hoddom, wrote this covenanting epitaph of the persecutor.

Scottish Ecclesiological Society.

THE Scottish Ecclesiological Society abundantly justifies its existence and finds a wealth of matter in church lore of all kinds—architectural, historical, biographical, and topographical. Originally an Aberdonian society, it is now triple-headed, having sections in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, with all Scotland for its diocese. Its service to ecclesiastical history is obvious from the variety and value of the papers contained in *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, vol. i. part I., 1903-4 (pp. xx. 102), part II., 1904-5 (pp. xx. 103-206), the latter of which is just issued. They include descriptions of St. Michael's Church, at Linlithgow, of the parish churches of Abercorn, Dalmeny, Longforgan, Cromarty and Forgandenny,

and of the cathedral kirk of Ross at Fortrose, besides articles on Lairds' Lofts, on the old Greyfriars Church at Aberdeen, and on the prayers used at the deathbed of James VI. There is also a contribution concerning the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem. Well-known antiquaries and ecclesiologists are contributors, including Prof. Cooper, Rev. Messrs. J. Ferguson, Dr. M'Adam Muir, D. Watson, and A. M. Philip, and Messrs. J. Honeyman, Macgregor Chalmers, W. M. Mackenzie, and A. Hutcheson, and the pages are full of human as well as church interest. Omar's mosque is the text for an eloquent sermon. Very divergent are the kirk memories: sometimes the sanctuary appears as at Aberdeen as a 'court de guarde' for dragoons; sometimes, as at Inverness, the steeple is taken down to build the citadel. There is pathos in the death scene of King James as described by Bishop Williams in his sermon published in 1625, telling how after the reading of the sentence, *In manus tuas, Domine*, the end came and, painlessly, '*Dormivit Salomon.*' Among the papers in the second part are Royal Pilgrimages in Scotland by the Lyon King, a note illustrating the *Cultus* of S. Ninian by Bishop Dowden, and the History of Introducing the Usage of the Lord's Prayer in Dumbarton from an unpublished MS. of 1705.

UNDER the editorship of the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, the *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archæological Journal* has from time to time contributions of note regarding the three southern counties. Its April issue, besides an account of the tombstone of a canon of Guisborough, who was also a 'Pylgrym of Jerusalem,' and papers on the Templars, on Norman tympana and on the poet Gray, has a particularly valuable article by Mr. Mill Stephenson on Palimpsest Brasses in Berkshire. One brass of unusual moment is from Denchworth, Berkshire, the memorial of one 'Wyllm Hyde, esquyer, decessyd the seconde day of Maye in the yere of our lorde God MCCCCCLVII,' which had on the back of it another and much earlier inscription:

A Memory of Halidon Hill.

Edward Roy Dangletere qe fist le siege deuant, la Cite de Berewyk & conquyst la bataille illeoqs & la dite Cite la veille seinte Margarete lan de grace MCCCXXXIII mist ceste pere a la requeste Sire William de Mountagu foundour de ceste mesoun.

This plate had been originally attached to a foundation-stone of the priory of Bisham, in Berkshire, which Sir William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, founded in 1336, and endowed by charter of 1338, recorded in the *Monasticon*. Originally a preceptory of Knights Templars, Bisham was re-founded by Montagu as a house of Augustinian canons regular in honour of Christ and the Virgin.

Most interesting is the glimpse into the Edwardian time which this brass affords. Edward III., not yet the victor of Crecy, had begun his career of fame as a soldier. The siege of Berwick was a long and arduous enterprise, and its final success by the crushing defeat of Scottish arms at Halidon Hill on the 'vigil of St. Margaret' was a military achievement of the first order. Edward's own thanksgiving

took the shape of the endowment of an altar to St. Margaret in a Nunnery near Berwick—an endowment of £20 a year out of the county and burgh issues of Berwick (*Foedera*, 28th July, 1333). Sir William de Montagu was present with the king at the siege, and doubtless at the battle as well (*Foedera*, 15th and 16th July, 1333). His foundation of Bisham three years later associates him again with the king in a memorial dedication ample and generous. The Denchworth brass is a remarkable reminiscence of English victory and Scottish disaster, as well as of the relationship of Edward III. and Montagu, the earl who played so prominent a part in the suppression of the usurpations of Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March, his capture in Northampton Castle by night with Queen Isabella, and his final condemnation and execution in 1331.

It would be of high interest to see worked out and grouped the series of religious dedications of the same kind in England which owed their origin to the wars in Scotland. Bisham registered the victory of Edward III. Edward II., it will be remembered, was less fortunate, and it stands on record that he, too, after his return from Bannockburn, endowed a place for Carmelite Friars at Oxford, in fulfilment of a vow made when he was in peril—presumably during his flight to Dunbar with Lord James of Douglas galloping at his heels. The endowment is recorded in the *Patent Rolls*, 28th Dec., 1315, and 1st Feb., 1318, and is curiously commemorated in a seal of the Carmelite house, engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii., p. 438, showing the virgin, three friars and the king identified as Edward II., by the three armorial leopards he bears. The good offices of the Carmelite Robert Baston, the rueful poet of Bannockburn, have been accredited (*Monasticon*, vi. 1577) as instrumental in procuring both the making of the vow to the Virgin and its ultimate accomplishment. The vow itself, though without details, is vouched for unimpeachably by the King's own words in the *Patent Rolls*.

Rhind Lectures. Mr. George Macdonald on Coins.

The Rhind Lectures for 1904 by Mr. George Macdonald, M.A., LL.D., delivered in March, had for subject, 'The Origin and Development of Coin Types.' Coinage dates from the eighth century B.C., and had its origin in Western Asia Minor, probably among the Lydians. A knowledge of the art spread with great rapidity. By 600 B.C. the practice was general throughout the civilised world, except among the Phœnicians. The almost bewildering variety of Greek coin-types is due to the fact that each city was a separate political entity, and prided itself upon its possession of the right of striking money. Various theories have been advanced to explain the origin and essential nature of types. The religious theory may fairly be said to represent numismatic orthodoxy. It insists that there is an intimate connection between religion and the minting of money, and that coins were impressed with divine symbols in order that the gods might witness the quality and weight of the metal. The commercial theory endeavours to establish a direct relation

between the devices on the most archaic coins and the primitive barter-units, such as the ox, which were superseded by a metallic currency. Neither view will bear detailed examination. The true point from which to start is the fundamental identity between type and symbol, the symbols being subsidiary devices which indicate the responsible magistrates, just as the types proper indicate the issuing cities. The practice of sealing was of great antiquity, and it is probable that the minting of money was originally nothing more than the act of impressing a seal upon a piece of metal as an official guarantee of its weight and quality. The clue to the origin both of types and of symbols is thus to be sought for in heraldry. Just as a magistrate might employ his hereditary crest as a symbol, so a city might employ its coat of arms as a type. As coinage developed, various other influences came into play. The types of one city, for instance, were occasionally copied by others through admiration of their beauty. But the fact that coins enjoyed a high reputation commercially was sometimes sufficient to single them out as desirable models. This is the ultimate basis of what are called 'barbarous imitations.' Commemorative influence was often responsible for the selection of coin-types. There are many ways in which this influence might betray itself, as in canting badges and the adoption of local plants, local animals, local sports like bull-fighting or chariot-racing. The most striking characteristic of a city was frequently an intimate connection with some deity. Athens was a case in point. The types in use there were the head of Athena and her sacred bird, the owl. This was an obvious opening for the growth of religious associations, a growth that was subsequently fostered by feelings of a quite different kind. An examination of a number of separate series showed a transition to purely religious types which was practically completed about 350 B.C. The connection of portraiture with coins was a direct result of the operation of this religious influence. It was in virtue of their divinity that kings came to have their portraits used as types. The Roman coinage was borrowed from the Greek at a time when the religious motive was absolutely supreme. The commemorative influence, however, gradually reasserted itself, with the result that the types of Roman coins reflect in a most interesting fashion the general history of the State. Julius Cæsar, for instance, the founder of the Empire, was also the first living Roman whose portrait appeared on the State money. At the close of the third century A.D. the triumph of the Roman coinage over the Greek was complete. As far as the arm of Rome could reach there was room for Roman money only. Although much of that money was actually struck in the provinces the mints that issued it were Imperial mints. The coins with the marks of London and Colchester, for instance, are as truly Roman as those that bear the mark of Rome itself. In the course of Constantine's reign the symbols of the Christian religion began to appear as heraldic devices—on the Emperor's helmet or shield, on the labarum or Imperial standard, and so on. By and by they were employed as independent types. In spite of a temporary eclipse under Julian the Apostate, in whose reign the emblems of the Egyptian gods came into prominence, they grew steadily in popularity as a result of

the increasing importance of Christianity as a social and political force. In Byzantium, about the year 450 A.D., the figure of Christ was used for the first time on a coin. He took the place of the Pagan goddess Juno Pronuba in a group representing the marriage of the Empress Pulcheria to Marcian. The coin in question is known to us from a unique specimen now in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow. Rather more than two centuries later, the bust of Christ holding the Gospels began to be used as an ordinary reverse type. This coincided with the development of image worship in the Christian Church, and it is significant that the same period saw the birth of the Mohammedan coinage, which eschewed all types as necessarily idolatrous. To this day orthodox Mohammedan coins have nothing but inscriptions. After the fall of the Western Empire, the imitative influence was supreme for two or three centuries. The Merovingian and other coinages were little better than barbarous imitations of the Roman. A new era was inaugurated by Charlemagne, who abandoned the gold standard which Europe had inherited from Rome, and struck a silver denarius. Very remarkable gold coins were minted by Frederick the Second, 'The Wonder of the World,' before 1250. But the real signal for a general numismatic renaissance was the issue at Florence in 1252 of the first gold florin. In the choice of medieval coin-types, the reappearance of heraldic devices, especially of 'canting badges,' was a striking feature. Somewhat later came the revival of portraiture.

The St. Albans Church History Exhibition.

FROM Tuesday, June 27th, until about the middle of July, an exhibition of unique character and of first-rate importance is being held at St. Albans in Hertfordshire. It illustrates church history in all its many phases in this country. Some of the finest liturgical MSS. are shown, ranging in date from Saxon times until the sixteenth century, and there is a practically complete set of English liturgical books, including Sarum and York missals, *horae* and primers, with all the important editions of the Book of Common Prayer. There will be a representative collection of church plate: medieval English church plate is very very rare, but some fine examples are shown at St. Albans, including two cruets and a censer. There is also the lid of a censer of Saxon date. Of medieval embroidery there are several examples, including the Hessett pyx-cloth, two palls or herse-cloths, and some fontals and vestments. Among the later documents are a very fine copy of the National Covenant, some scarce Coronation services, printed copies of the oaths of supremacy and abjuration, and some curious 'penance papers' of the eighteenth century.

The Ancient Bridge of Stirling.

A FOOTNOTE to Lord Hailes's account of the battle of Stirling Bridge in his *Annals of Scotland* gave rise to a prolonged controversy as to the site of the ancient bridge. The annalist remarked that 'it is the general tradition of the country that in these times the bridge was about a mile higher up the river than the present bridge is.' Nimmo, in his *History of Stirlingshire* (1777) improved on Lord Hailes by locating the bridge at a place called Kildean,

and later writers have named Cambuskenneth Abbey ferry, Manor ford, and other places on the river Forth as more probable sites, there being a strange inclination on the part of historians to look everywhere for Stirling Bridge except at Stirling itself. The mythical character of the Kildean theory was proved in a paper read last January before the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society, in which it was contended that the ancient bridge must have been erected at or near the site of the present Old Bridge, in order to make the contemporary narratives of Wallace's victory consist with the topography of the district. A remarkable confirmation of this view has been furnished by the discovery, early in June, of the foundations of two piers in the bed of the river about sixty-five yards above the Old Bridge and nearly parallel to it. The low state of the water owing to the drought allowed of measurements being made by Mr. James Ronald, an expert in building, and also a keen antiquary and author of a valuable work on *Landmarks of Old Stirling*. The piers are about 28 ft. long by 14 ft. broad, and have been constructed in a similar manner to those of the present Old Bridge, having a jacket of dry stones round them for support and protection from floods. The centre of the north pier is about 25 yards from the river bank, the piers are the same distance apart, and from the centre of the south pier to the south bank is between 25 and 30 yards. Mr. Ronald is of opinion that the bridge was not arched, and was supported by a wooden superstructure on the piers, with strong trestles between the openings to shorten the spans. The depth of the river between the piers at low water is 7 ft., and at high tide 15 ft. This interesting discovery may be regarded as reconciling tradition with history in a satisfactory manner.

Poisoning in Scotland.

THE annals of poisoning in Scotland from the fourteenth century to the year 1625 have been set in order by Mr. A. Francis Steuart in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*. It was not a crime to which the Scot at his worst has ever been addicted, and the instances are few. Notable examples, real and suspected, which Mr. Steuart discusses, are the case of the Regent, Earl of Moray, in 1332; that of Margaret Drummond, mistress of James IV., and her two sisters in 1496; the attempt on James V. by Lady Glammis, the witchcraft and poison conspiracy of Lady Fowlis, and the murders by magic and poison of the laird of Pumpherston, and of John Erskine of Dun, all during the reign of James VI. To the case of shooting 'with ane poysonit bullet' of Alexander Stewart of Schuttinglass in 1580 may be added the charge to the same effect against Lord Maxwell for the slaughter of Sir James Johnstone in 1608. A curious feature of the systematic association of witchcraft with poisoning in the criminal trials is the repeated evidence that poisoning seems, under James VI., to have been regarded as an offence less grievous than witchcraft. In this connection Mr. Steuart may be referred to a passage in Johnston's *Historia* (p. 151), commenting on the witchcraft trials of 1590, and ranking poison first among the corrupt products of the witch's laboratory. James VI. was moved to write his *Daemonologie* by the occasion of these trials, and his majesty's learning

on this head enabled him, in book ii. chap. 5, to describe the Devil's *modus operandi*, as well as to appreciate his scientific equipment. 'To some,' says Epistemon, instructing Philomathes regarding witches, 'hee teacheth kindes of uncouth poysons which Mediciners understand not for he is farre cunninger then man in the knowledge of all the occult proprieties of nature.'

Scottish Historical Review.

This part completes the second volume of the *Scottish Historical Review*; the Index is being prepared, and will be issued, with the Titles and List of Contents, with the October part. In closing this second volume, the Editor would again cordially thank all those who have made this enterprise possible. Any communications for him should be addressed to The Editor, *Scottish Historical Review*, 61 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.

Index

PAGE

Abercromby, Hon. John, Excavations by, - - - - 342
Abercromby of Glassaugh, - 472
Aberdeen, Manufactures at, 287; Barclay's verses on, - - 223
Abernethy, Land of, - - 174
Adams' *Influence of Grenville on Pitt's Foreign Policy*, - - 329
Adamson, Miss Mary, - - 445
Airy's *Charles II.*, - - - 84
Aitken, P. Henderson, 201, 324, 327
Aldis's *Books Printed in Scotland before* 1700, - - - 305
Allen's *Celtic Art*, - - - 216
Alliterative Poems, - - - 337
Altar of St. Fergus, St. Andrews, 260, 478; erroneous date in, 478; paper mark of rental, - 480
American Historical Association, 80
American Historical Review, 111, 223, 467
Amours' *Andrew of Wyntoun*, - 441
Amours, F. J., - - - 215
Anders, H. R. D., - - - 215
Anderson, Joseph, - 79, 216, 439
Andrew, Bishop of Dunkeld, 71
Angus, Arms of Marquis of, - 8
Anklets, - - - - 240
Anne of Denmark, Queen of James VI., 251, 329; her letter to Pope, - - - - 251
Antiquaries of Scotland, - - 342
Antiquary, - - - 94, 328
Antonine Vallum, - - 86, 87
Archaeologia Aeliana, - - 95, 310
Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen, - - - - 223
Argentine, Baron of, - - 189
Argyll, Earl of, in 1715, 301; Arms of, - - - - 301

PAGE

Armitage's *English Antiquities*, - 224
Arms, Royal of Scotland, - - 4
Articles of War, - - - 304
Artillery at Dunnottar, 392, 394, 404
Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, - 205
Atchley's *Ordo Romanus Primus*, 454
Atholl, Arms of Duke of, - 12
Axes, Executioners', - - 240

Bain, Joseph, - - - 105
Ballard's *The Domesday Boroughs*, 209
Ballargus, Kirriemuir, - 72-76
Balloch, The Name, - - 191
Banks, Mrs. M. M., - - 90
Bannockburn, Song of, by Robert Baston, the Carmelite, - - 94
Barclay, Dr. William, Aberdeen poet, - - - - - 223
Bartholomew, John, - - 191
Bartholomew's *Statutes of Iona*, - 467
Basilikon Doron, - - - 252
Baston, Robert, Carmelite Poet of Bannockburn, - - - 484
Bateson, Miss Mary, 87, 199, 314
Bateson's *Borough Customs*, - - 441
Bateson's *Mediaeval England*, 95, 441
Bateson's *Grace Book B*, - - 467
Bax's *History of Philosophy*, - 221
Baxter Books of St. Andrews, - 210
Beaker, Sepulchral vessel, 279, 282, 283, 284
Beaton, Mary, - - - 363
Bee, The, - - - - 146
Beggars' Badges, - - 32, 439
Begley's *Nova Solyma*, - - 203
Bell, Provost James, of Glasgow, 105
Bells, Commemorative Ringing of, - - - - - 315
Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal, - - - 483

PAGE
Berwick, Siege of, in 1333, - 483
Bishop, Consecration of 'a College,' - - - - - 99
Bishops of Dunkeld, - - 61
Black, William George, - - 315
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, - 140
Blanchet, the Painter, - - 331
Boot, or Bootes, - - 236, 239
Bothwell, Lady Anne, - - 108
Bothwell, James, Earl of, - - 346
Bothwell, by A. C. Swinburne, 364, 367
Box, Charity, - - - - 30
Branks, - - - - - 232
Bribes in Seventeenth Century, - 437
Brix, Château de, en Normandie, 424
Brodie, R. H., - - - - 300
Bronze Armlets from Culbin Sands, - - - - - 216
Brown, J. T. T., - 341, 458, 464
Brown's *Gossip about Carlisle in the Early Sixties*, - - - - 467
Brown's *Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary*, - - - - 441
Browne, Professor William Hand, 458
Bruces, The, their Norman Seat, 424; original seat of the Brus Family, 424; their genealogy, 426; their Cenotaph at Guisborough, - - - - - 427
Bryce, Thomas H., - - 218, 275
Buchanan, A. W. G., - 103, 471
Buchanan, George, cited, 115, 117, 462
Buchanane, Gilbert de - - 103
Bulloch Family, by J. M. Bulloch, - - - 191-2
Burghal Studies, - - - 441
Burials, Prehistoric, their ethnological evidence, 275; funeral ceremonies at Dunnottar, - 399
Burning, Torture and Execution by, - - - - - 243
Bute, Marquess of, *Essays on Home Subjects*, - - - - - 219

Caledonian Medical Journal, - 327
Caledonians, of Tacitus, their origin, - - - - - 285
Callander, J. Graham, - - 344
Cambridge Modern History, The, - 77
Camerons at Glenshiel Battle, - 420
PAGE
Campbell, Captain Colin, of Skipness, 300; his Highland Company, 300; his Commissions for the Company, - - 302
Campbells of Ardkinglass, - - 109
Campbells of Glenurchy, - 103
Campbell's *Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands*, - - - 455
Campbell's *Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Scottish Highlands*, 455
Cant, Andrew, - - - 392
Caschielawis, - 236, 239, 241
Casket Letters, - - - 345
Casket of Queen Mary, - - 471
Celtic Charter, - - - 95
Celtic Church History, - 378-398
Celtic Review, The, - - - 96
Celtic Tribal Arrangements, - 430
Celtic Trews, - - - 190
Celtic Union, The, - - 185
Chambered Cairns, 275; in Nairnshire, 280; in Arran and Bute, 281; their Builders, 277, 279
Charters, Six Early, by Capt. Swinton, - - - - - 173
Charters, Swinton, 173, 475; Dunvegan, 360; Early Scottish, - - - 428, 475
Crichton, George, Bishop of Dunkeld, - - - - 64
Chronicon Adae de Usk, - - 214
Church Pewter, - - - 438
Cists, Short, 279; their makers brachycephalous, - - 285
Clahynnhe Qwhewyl, - - 203
Clan Cameron, - - - 203
Clan Chattan, - - - 201
Clanranald, Black Book of, - 47
Clark, John, - - - - 205
Claverhouse Grahams, Homes of the, - - - - - 72
Claverhouse 'Castle,' - 72, 76
Claverhouse, Professor Sanford Terry on, 453; Mark Napier's Life, 453; Sir J. Balfour Paul on, - - - - - 454
Clement VIII. und Jakob I. von England, - - - - 249
Clinking-stan, - - - 107
Coats' *Brechin Cathedral*, - - 221

PAGE

Cockburn, Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld, - - - - - 63
Codrington's *Roman Roads in Britain*, - - - - - 87
Coin-hoard at Lochmaben, - 182
Coins, - - - - - - 484
Collessie (Culesin), - 173-178
Colonel of the Cows, - - 330
Communications and Replies, 331, 473
Confession of Faith of 1647, - 184
Consecration of a 'College,' Bishop, - - - - - 99
Conybeare's *Roman Britain*, - 86
Cook, W. B., - - - 452, 464
Cooper, Professor James, - - 455
Coquelle's *Napoleon and England*, 315
Cour de Louis XV., - - - 313
Court Martial in 1741, - - 301
Court, Jehan de, painter and valet of Queen Mary, - 348, 353
Courthope's *History of English Poetry*, - - - - - 194
Covenant, National, - - 486
Craigie, W. A., - - - 215
Cramond, Dr. William, - - 101
Crecy, a Bohemian account of battle of, - - - - - 466
Creighton, Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld, - - - - - 67
Crichton of Auchingoull, - 103
Cullen, J., - - - - - 313
Cuming of Altyre, - - - 188
Cumming, Colonel Sir John, - 103
Cumont's *Mysteries of Mithra*, - 85
Curle, A. O., - - - - - 439

Dairsie, - - - - - 173
Dalswinton, - - - - 178
David de Kinloch, - - - 178
David I., - - - - - 321
Dedication of Kirkinner Church, 471
Dendy, F. W., - - - 310
Derling, Robert de, Bishop Elect of Dunkeld, - - - 69
Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis, (James I.), - - - - 97
Devil renounced in Peebles-shire, 464; his skill in poisons, - 488
Dickson, Dr. Thomas, In Memoriam, - - - 181

PAGE

Documents, *see* Texts.
Domesday Survey, 433; its social data, - - - - - 434
Douglas, Gavin, Bishop of Dunkeld, - - - - - 62
Douglas, William, valet of Queen Mary, - - - 346, 353
Dowden, Bishop, on the Bishops of Dunkeld, - - - - 61
Drever, W. P., of Kirkwall, on Norse Law, - - - - 185
Drummond, Sir Edward, Ambassador to Rome in 1599, 250, 251
Duffield, Nicholas, Bishop of Dunkeld, - - - - - 69
Dumfries and Galloway Antiquaries, - - - - - 482
Duncan, George, Sidelights on Montrose's Campaigns, 1644-45, 47
Duncan Sibaud, - - - 174
Duncan, Thomas, on The Queen's Maries, - - - 363
Dunkeld, Bishops of, - - 61
Dunnottar and its Barons, - 389
Dunnottar Castle artillery, 394, 404; furniture, 394, 397, 400; plan of, 394; silver-plate, 396; entrance to, 398; burials at, 399; as a fortress, 402; its keep, - - - - - - 403
Dunvegan Charter Chest, 356; Castle, - - - 356, 359

Earls, Seven, - - - - - 3
Earlsferry, Town of, 23; Burgh, 25
'Edinbroke,' John of, - - 199
Edinburgh Magazine, - - 139
Edinburgh Castle, Siege of, 1689, 163
Edwards, John, - - - 103
Eeles, F. C., - - 100, 260, 480
Eikon Basilike, - - - 92
Elie, - - - - - - 29
Elliot, Sir Gilbert, - - - 330
English Historical Review, 94, 222, 329
Englische Studien, - - - 466
Etat of Queen Mary in 1573, - 349
Etienne, Dupont, - - - 427
Execution by torture, - - 242
Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, - - 441
Eyre-Todd, George, - 220-314

PAGE
Fairies in Highland Folklore, - 457
Falkiner, C. Litton, - 312, 317
Falkiner's *Irish History and Topography*, - - - - - 309
Fearn Abbey, Ross-shire, 382; its Abbot in A.D. 758, - - 383
Fergusson's *Logie, A Parish History*, - - - - - - 451
Ferry, Earl's, - - 14
Fife, Earls of, - - - 17
Figgis' *Christianity and History*, - 327
Fight at Donibristle, - - - 96
Findlater, Castle of, - - 101
Firth, Professor, on Historical Teaching of History, - - 339
Fleming, D. Hay, - 131, 201, 211, 221, 335, 337
Fleming, John, - - - 405
Fleming, Mary, one of the Queen's Maries, - - 364
Folklore of the Highlands, - 455
Foster's *The Stuarts*, - - - 369
Fraser's *Historical Aberdeen*, - 325
Froude, on Solway Moss Battle, 372-376
Fulleylove's *Oxford*, - - 88
Furniture at Dunnottar, 394, 397, 400

Gairdin, Manufactures at, 287, 291
Gask, parish charities, - - 30
Gauntlets, used in torture, - 233
Genealogist, The, - - - 458
Gentleman's and Lady's Magazine, 147
'Giant's Grave' at Whiting Bay, Arran, - - - 277, 278
Gibson, J. P., - - - 85
Gilmour's *Samuel Rutherford*, - 324
Glasgow and its Burghal Privileges, - - - - - 443
Glasgow, Inscribed Slab at, 110; Manufactures at, 287; Rope Manufactory at, 295; Archaeological Society, - - - 341
Glenshiel, Battle of, in 1719, 412; Bastide's Plan of, 412; official account of battle, 413; Ross's Plan of, 414; account of battle by Professor Terry, 416
Gordon, James, Duke of, - 163
Gospatric, House of, - 318, 331
Gospatric's Letter, - - 340
PAGE
Gould's *Earthworks of Sheffield District*, - - - - - 467
Goudie's *Antiquities of Shetland*, 79
Grace Book B, - - - 467
Graham, E. Maxtone, Charitie of the Boxe, - - - 30
Grahams of Claverhouse, - 72
Greenwell, Canon, on House of Gospatric, - - - 318, 331
Gunn's *A Doctor's Thoughts*, - 467
Gunwardby, William, Bishop of Dunkeld, - - - - 69

Haddington Surgeon's Account, 102
Halidon Hill, A Memory of, - 483
Hall, The, as Manorial Court, - 433
Hamilton, John, Bishop of Dunkeld, - - - - - 65
Hamilton, W. H. C., - - 189
Hanging in Irons, - - 245-246
Hangman's 'Caup,' - - 244
Hangman's Ladle, - - - 244
'Harrow-Bore' as torture, - 241
Hay, Title of Lord, - - 9
Hearth Tax, - - - 362
Hebrides, Crosses in, - - 223
Henderson, T. F., - - - 90
Henderson & Waddell's *By Bothwell Banks*, - - - - - 464
Heraldry, Scottish, 4; Royal arms, 4; Angus, 8; Atholl, 12; Macduff, 15; Olifard and Moray 'Stars,' 175, 176; Kinloch Arms, 178; reversal of arms, 214; Arms of Argyll, 301; Arms of Lords of Jesmond, 311; Keith Family, - 389
Heslop, R. Oliver, - - - 451
Hewison, Rev. J. K., - - 220
Hierurgia Anglicana, - - 314
Highlands, Condition of, in 16th and 17th Century, 356-359; folklore of, - - - - 455
Historical Register, The, - - 147
Historical Monuments, their protection, - - - - - 339
History of Fulk Fitz-Warine, - 92
Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, - - - - - 317
Home's *Old Houses in Edinburgh*, 439
Honey Stealing at Haddington, 481

PAGE

'Honour,' its meaning, - - 321
Horsburgh's *Great Britain and her American Colonies*, - - 327
Hume-Brown's *John Knox and his Times*, - - - - - 222
Hunter's *India of the Queen*, - 93

Innes, A. Taylor, on *John Knox*, 466
Inquisitio Davidis, discussed, - 429
Inscriptions: from Hall of Vicars Choral, Glasgow, 110; Ogam, 381, 384; semi-uncial, 383; regarding Halidon Hill, 483
Inverlochy, Battle of, - - 49
Iona in history, - - - 378
Iona, Statutes of, - - - 359
Ireland, Connection of St. Ninian with, - - - 383
Irish Historical Societies, - - 186
Isles, Chiefs of the, - - - 357
Isles, Lord of the, in 1544, Donald McConnell, - - - 298

Jacobite Glasses, - - - 184
Jacobite Times in Skye, - - 360
James II. of England, Adventures of, - - - - 319
James VI. and Andrew Melville, 473
James VI. and the Papacy, by Adolphus W. Ward, - - 249
James VI., a Court Satirist under, 253; his *Lusus Regius*, 254
James, Montague R., - - 307
James's *Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, - - - 198
John de Kyndeloch, - - 173
Johnston of Elsiesheills, - - 189
Johnston's *Place Names of Scotland*, 319
Johnston's *Scottish Heraldry*, - 213
Jones, Professor Henry, - 201, 441
Jougs, - - - - - - 236

Kastner's *French Versification*, - 193
Keith Family, - - - 389
'Kenkynol,' - - - - 191
Kennera or Cainner, Saint, - 471
Ker, W. D., - - - - 206
King's Letters, - - - - 92
Kings of Newmill, Family of, - 468
Kinloch Family, - - 173-179
Kinloch, David de, - - - 178

PAGE

Kinsleith, - - - - - 173
Kirkcaldy of Grange, - - 133
Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth*, - 452
Knox, John, as Historian, by Andrew Lang, 113, 377; Influence of, by D. Hay Fleming, 131; sarcasms on Oliver Sinclair, - - - 374-7
Knox's *Dioceses of Tuam, Killala and Achonry*, - - - 316
Kröger's *Die Sage von Macbeth*, - 461

Land of Prince Charlie, - - 96
Lang, Andrew, 88, 363, 377, 470, 471
Lang, Andrew, Household of Mary Queen of Scots in 1573, 346
Lang, Andrew, Knox as Historian, - - - - - 113
Lang's *History of Scotland*, - 308
Lang's *Historical Mysteries*, - 313
Lapsley on Cornage, - - 111
Larrimer, O. C., - - - 107
Law, George, - - - 479
Law, George, on Earl's Ferry, - 14
Law, Dr. T. G., on James VI., - 250
Lawrie, Sir Archibald, *Early Scottish Charters*, 428; and the views on Swinton Charters, - 475
Leffingen, Scots at, - - 268
Leith, Sail Cloth Manufactory at, 295
Leuchars, Parson and Constable of, - - - - - - 174
Levinstone, Thomas de, Bishop of Dunkeld, - - - 69
Lilliard, Maiden, The Story of, 338
Lindifferon, - - - - 173
Lindsay, Sir James, messenger from Pope, 1602, - 251, 252
Linen Manufacture, - - 53
Livingston, John, - - - 188
Livingston, Mary, one of the Queen's Maries, - - - 364
Lodge, Sir Oliver, - - - 199
Long Irons, as torture, - - 238
Lounger, The, - - - - 143
Lumsden, Lt.-Col. H. W., on Scots at Leffingen, 1600, - 268
Lutzow's *Historians of Bohemia*, - 466

Macculloch's *Misty Isle of Skye*, - 465
Macdonald, Dr. James, - 184, 482

PAGE

Macdonald, George, Rhind Lectures on Coins, - - - 484
Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Seals*, 205
Macduff, House of, - - 15
Macduff's Castle, - - - 19
Macgregors at Glenshiel Battle, - 420
McKechnie, W. S., - 326, 435
Mackenzies at Glenshiel Battle, - 420
Mackenzie, W. M., - 323, 458
Mackie's *Margaret Queen and Saint*, 466
Mackinlay, J. M., - - 330, 472
Mackinlay's *Pre-Reformation Church and Scottish Place-Names*, - 82
Mackintosh, A. M., - - 480
Mackintosh's *Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, - - - 201
Maclagan's *Perth Incident of* 1396, 455
Maclean, Magnus, - - 96, 203
MacLehose, Sophia H., 218, 320, 326
MacLeod, Rev. R. C., on Dunvegan Charter Chest, - - 356
MacLeods of Dunvegan, 356-362; Alexander (1527), 356; William (1553), 357; Rorie (1587), 358; (1596), 361; Rory (1661), 360; (1690), 361
McNeil, Rorie of Barra, deforces a messenger, - - - 357
MacRitchie, David, - - - 190
MacRitchie's *Shelta, the Cairds' Language*, - - - - 467
Maiden, The, - - - 244
Malerbe, William, - - - 183
Mandach's *Le Comte Guillaume de Portes*, - - - - 320
Mann, Ludovic, Discoveries by, 187
Mar, Earldom of, - - - 5
Marshall, Andrew, - - - 448
Marwick, Sir James D., - 441, 449
Mary of Guise, - - - 115
Mary Queen of Scots, her portrait, 128; relations with her Brother, 150; and Queen Elizabeth, 154; her journey to Scotland, 157; her household in 1573, 344; the Queen's Maries, 363; her Miniatures, 469; a casket of, 471
Mathieson's *Politics and Religion in Scotland*, - - - - 459
McMillans, - - - - 470

PAGE

Mediaeval Lore from Bartholomew Anglicus, - - - - 466
Medley, Professor D. J., - 77, 341
Melville, Andrew, and James VI., 473
Melville, James, crossing Forth, 27
Melville, R. D., on Judicial Torture, - - - - - - 226
Metcalfe, Rev. W. M., - - 82
Meyer, Arnold Oskar, - - 249
Miniatures of Mary Stuart, - 469
Millar, A. H., - - 191, 321
Milne, Patrick, Boyndie, - - 103
Mirror, The, - - - - - 141
Miscellany of Scottish History Society, - - - - - 87
Missals at St. Andrews, 261-263, 267
Mitchell of Westshore, - - 189
Mitchell's *John the Baptist*, - 220
Moderatism in Seventeenth Century Scotland, - - - 459
Modern Language Notes, - - 468
Montrose, Marquis of, Portrait, 48
Montrose's Campaigns, Sidelights on, - - - - - - 47
Moore's *Manx Names*, - - 197
'Moothill' of Dingwall, - - 323
Moray, James, The Regent, 150; his letter to Mary, - - 157
Morison, J. L., - - - 461
Morin de Kindeloch, - - 179
Mort Cloth, - - - - 35
Motley's account of behaviour of Scots at Leffingen examined, 268-74
Muirhead, Bishop Andrew, - 110
Murray, Countess of, letter, 1544, 298
Murray, David, - - - 80
Murray's *Museums, their History and their Use*, - - - 307
Musselburgh, Manufactures at, - 287

Napoleon I., Emperor, Preparations for invasion by, - - 327
National Covenant, - - - 486
Neilson, George, 99, 183, 198, 204, 215, 220, 319, 444, 462, 481
Neilson, George, on Rob Stene, 253
Neolithic Man in North-East Surrey, - - - - - 218
Newmills Woollen Manufactory, 55, 290, 296, 435
Nield's *Guide to Historical Novels*, 90

PAGE
Norse Invasion, - - - 385
Norse Law, - - - - 185
North Berwick, - - - 22
North-Mills, Manufactures at, - 287
Notes and Comments, 94, 110, 181, 337
Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, - - - - 327
Nynia, see St. Ninian.

Observer, - - - - - 147
Ogam Inscriptions at Dunrossness, 381; and at Dyke, - 384
Ogilvile, John de, - - - 173
Ogilvy, Sir Walter, of Deskford, 101; Charter by, - - - 174
Olifard, Walter, - - 174-5
Orkney, St. Ninian in, 382; St. Columba in, - - - 386
Ormiston, Joseph, - - - 292
Oxford Historical Portraits, - 90

Pages, Bastien, valet of Queen Mary, - - - 346, 353
Palestine Exploration Fund, - 221
Panton, Rev. W., - - - 330
Paper Mark, Early, - 260, 480
Parbroath, - - - - 173
Paris, Joachim, - 345, 346, 353
'Parishes' under St. Ninian, - 380
Parnell's *War of the Succession in Spain*, - - - - 444
Passio Scotorum Perjuratorum, - 214
Paton, Captain John, of Meadowhead, - - - - 335
Paton, J. R., - - - - 336
Patrick, David, - - - 209
Paul, Sir J. Balfour, - - 182, 454
Paul's *History of Modern England*, - - - - - 445
Paul's Work, Looms at, 55, 60, 288
Pearl, The, New Light on, 337; its relationship to eclogue by Boccacio, - - - - 337
Pease's *Magnus Sinclair*, - - 325
Peerage, Scottish, - - - 1
Pedder: Peter, - - - 472
Peine forte et dure, - - - 234
Pentland Rising, - - - 361
Periodical Literature of Eighteenth Century, - - - - 136

PAGE
Perrett's *Story of King Lear*, - 461
Petclokyn, - - - - 174
Pewter Ware in Scotland, - 438
Phillimore, Professor J. S., - 89
Picts in time of St. Ninian, 378-88
Piers the Plowman, - - - 466
Piers the Plowman, Vision of, - 466
'Pigmentation' of Hebrides, - 284
Pilniewinkies, - 228, 236, 237
Place-names, - 82, 319, 378, 385
Poisoning in Scotland, - - 487
Pottery from Chambered Cairns, 278, 282
Printing, history of Scottish, - 305
Protection in Seventeenth Century Trade policy, - - 436

Queen's Quarterly, - - - 224
Queen's Maries, The, - - 363
Queensberry, Duke of, - - 10
Queries, - 103, 189, 330, 469
Quincy, Roger de, Earl of Winton, - - - - - 174

Rabbling of Churches, - - 118
Rack, - - - - 231, 236
Radulf de Byseth, - - - 174
Rait Castle, - - - - 104
Rats as torture, - - - 234
Read, Miss Katherine, Court Paintress, - - - - - 38
Record Room (see also Texts), 97, 298
Recruiting Rules, 1740, - - 303
Rees-Price on Jacobite Drinking Glasses, - - - - - 183
Reich's *Foundations of Modern Europe*, - - - - - 206
Relics, - - - 263, 266, 267
Reliquary, - 94, 223, 328, 468
Rental, Sixteenth Century MS., 260
Renwick, Robert, - - 212, 444
Renwick's *Peebles during the Reign of Queen Mary*, - - - 463
Repentance Stool, - - - 244
Replies to Queries, - 108, 189, 331
Reviews of Books, 77, 193, 305, 428
Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique, - 95
Revue des Etudes Historiques, 224, 327, 468
Revue Historique, - - - 328

PAGE

Rhind Lectures, by Prof. Hume Brown, 443 ; by George Macdonald, - - - - - 484
Riccio, Joseph, - - - 346
Robertson's *Through the Dolomites*, 89
Robertson's *Select Statutes*, - 325
Rob Roy and the Macgregors at Glenshiel, - - - - - 419
Roman de Rou, quoted, - - 425
Rope-work at Newhaven, - 296
Rope-work at Glasgow, - - 297
Rose, Romaunt of the, - - - 98
Rose, D. Murray, on Mary Queen of Scots and her Brother, - 150
Ross, Thomas, Architect, - - 405
Rullion Green, Battle of, - 361
Rutland Magazine, - - 223, 465

St. Alban's Church History Exhibition, - - - 486
St. Andrews, Altar of St. Fergus, 260
St. Andrews *Baxter Books*, - - 210
St. Andrews Cathedral, Howkings at, - - - - - - 342
St. Columba, - - - 214, 386
St. Finbarr or Finnian, teacher of St. Columba, 387, 388 ; his Church at Dornoch, Sutherland, 387 ; his festival, - 388
St. Marjory, - - - - 188
St. Nicholas, Dedication to, - 83
St. Ninian, in Northern Pictland, 378 ; Beda and Ailred on, 379 ; his date, 379 ; significance of the list of his foundations, 384 ; places named after, in Shetland, Orkney, Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Moray, 381-384
St. Wtyn's Wynd, Montrose, - 330
Saga Book of the Viking Club, - 95
Saint-Pol's *Famille des Essars*, - 326
Saintsbury, George, - - 194
Sanctuary Calendar, - - - 328
Sanctuary privilege of Clan Macduff, - - - - - 16
Sanitary Arrangements at Dunnottar, - - - - - 401
Scavenger's Daughter, - 230, 232
'Schiltrum,' - - - - - 222
Scone Charters discussed, 429, 430
Scots Peerage, - - - - - 2

PAGE

Scots Magazine, - - - 137
Scots Linen Manufacture, 288, 295
Scott, W. R., 53, 287, 411, 435
Scott, Rev. A. B., - - 324, 378
Scottish Burgh Record Society, 441
Scottish Cloth Manufactory at New Mills, - - - - - 435
Scottish Ecclesiological Society, - 482
Scottish Ethnology, - - - 275
Scottish Industrial Undertakings, 53, 287, 406
Scottish Notes and Queries, - - 223
Scottish Peerage, by J. H. Stevenson, - - - - - - 1
Scottish Text Society, - - 441
Scott's *Abbot*, - - - - 368
Seals, Olifard, - - - 175
Seebohm on *English Village Community*, - - - - - 432
Selden Society, - - - 442
Seton, Mlle. de, - - - 349
Seton Family History, - - 367
Seton, Mary, one of the Queen's Maries, - - - - - 363
Seven Earls, - - - - - 3
Shakespeare, his Books, 215 ; Scottish sources of, - - 462
Shetland, St. Ninian in, - - 381
Sidney's *History of Gunpowder Plot*, 450
Silk Manufactory, - - - 291
'Silly Vassal,' meaning of the expression, - - - - 473
Silver-plate at Dunnottar, - 396
Sinclair, Hon. George A., on Periodical Literature of the Eighteenth Century, - - 136
Sinclair, Hon. G. A., on Battle at Solway Moss, - - - 372
Sinclair, Oliver, and Solway Moss Battle, - - - - - 372
Sinclair's *Thistle and Fleur de Lys*, 216
Skevington's Irons, or Scavenger's Daughter, - - 229-232, 240
Skipness, Captain Colin Campbell of, - - - - - - 300
Skulls from Chambered Cairns, 278
Skye in 17th Century, - - 356
Smith, D. Nichol, - - - 197
Sociological Papers, - - - 440
Solway Moss, Battle, - - 372
Spanish Blanks, 1592-4, - - 250

PAGE

Squire's *Mythology of the British Islands*, - - - - 455
Stars of Moray, - - - 6
Steinkirk Battle, - - - 362
Stene, Rob, a Court Satirist under James VI., 253; his *Dream*, 253; his identification as Robert Stevin, Schoolmaster, 257; his will, 258; his money transactions, - - - 480
Steuart, A. Francis, 38, 84, 219, 308, 316, 487
Stevenson, J. H., - - 1, 213
Stevenson, William Henry, - 205
Stewart, Andrew, Bishop of Dunkeld, - - - - - - 61
Stewart, James, *see* Moray, James, - - - - - 150
Stewart, William, - - 220, 306
Stirling Antiquary, - - - 464
Stirling Bridge Battle, - - 452
Stirling Bridge, 452, 486; piers of the old bridge discovered, - 487
Stocks, - - - - - - 232
Stool of Repentance, - - 35
Stronach, George, - - - 330
Swinton, Captain George S. C., 173, 478
Swinton Charters, - 173, 429, 475

Taill of Rauf Coilyear, - - 458
Tait's *Mediaeval Manchester*, - 320
Tatler, - - - - - - 137
Taylor, G. A., - - - 472
Templars in Scotland, - - 103
Terry, Prof. C. Sanford, 72, 163, 423
Terry's *Graham of Claverhouse*, - 453
Terry's *Pentland Rising and Rullion Green*, - - - - - 448
Texts, *Dethe of Kynge of Scotis*, 97; consecration, 99; Findlater castle, 101; Regent Moray's letter in 1561, 157; Swinton charters, 174, 175, 176; Anti-Jacobite verse, 185; R. Stene's will, 258; St. Fergus Altar, 264; Countess of Murray's letter, 298; Skipness commissions, 302, 303; *Etat* of Queen Mary, 349; Dunnottar inventories, 391, 394; Trial for Honey-Stealing in 1704, 481; see also Inscribed and Inscription.
Textiles, - - - - - 287
Thompson, Sir Edward Maunde, 214
Thomson, J. Maitland, - 71, 431
Thumb-screws, or thummikins, 228, 236, 237
Torture, Judicial, in early times, 226
Tout, Professor T. F., - - 467
Trade, Scottish, 53, 287, 406, 435
Trades-Books of St. Andrews, - 334
Trotternish, Bailliary, - - 357
'Turkas' as torture, - - 240

Ulster Journal of Archaeology, - 95

Vestments, - - - 263, 267
Viking Club, - - - 329
Vinogradoff's *Growth of the Manor*, 431

Wadham, Dorothy, Letters of, - 314
Waldeve, Brother of Dolfin, and the Abbey of Croyland, - 331
Wallace-James, J. G., - 102, 481
Warcry 'Jesus and no Quarter,' 50
Ward, A. W., on James VI. and the Papacy, - - - 249
Wardell, Professor John, - - 310
Watson, James, Printer, - - 306
Watson's *Place Names of Ross and Cromarty*, - - - - 322
Watson, T., - - - - 437
Watt, J. Crabb, on Dunnottar and its Barons, - - - 405
Weekly Magazine, - - - 145
Weekly Mirror, - - - 147
Weekly Review, - - - 147
Welford, Richard, - - - 311
West African Folk Tales, - - 93
Whipping, as torture, - - 235
White's *Old Ingleborough*, - - 222
Whithorn, 83, 379, 383, 386, 387
Who's Who? - - - - 222
Wiener's *Biblical Law*, - - 312
William de Bosco, - - 174, 175
William de Haya, - - - 174
William de Kindelouch, - - 173
William the Lion, Charter by, - 175
Williams, A. M., - - - 87
Williamson's *St. Boniface*, - - 324

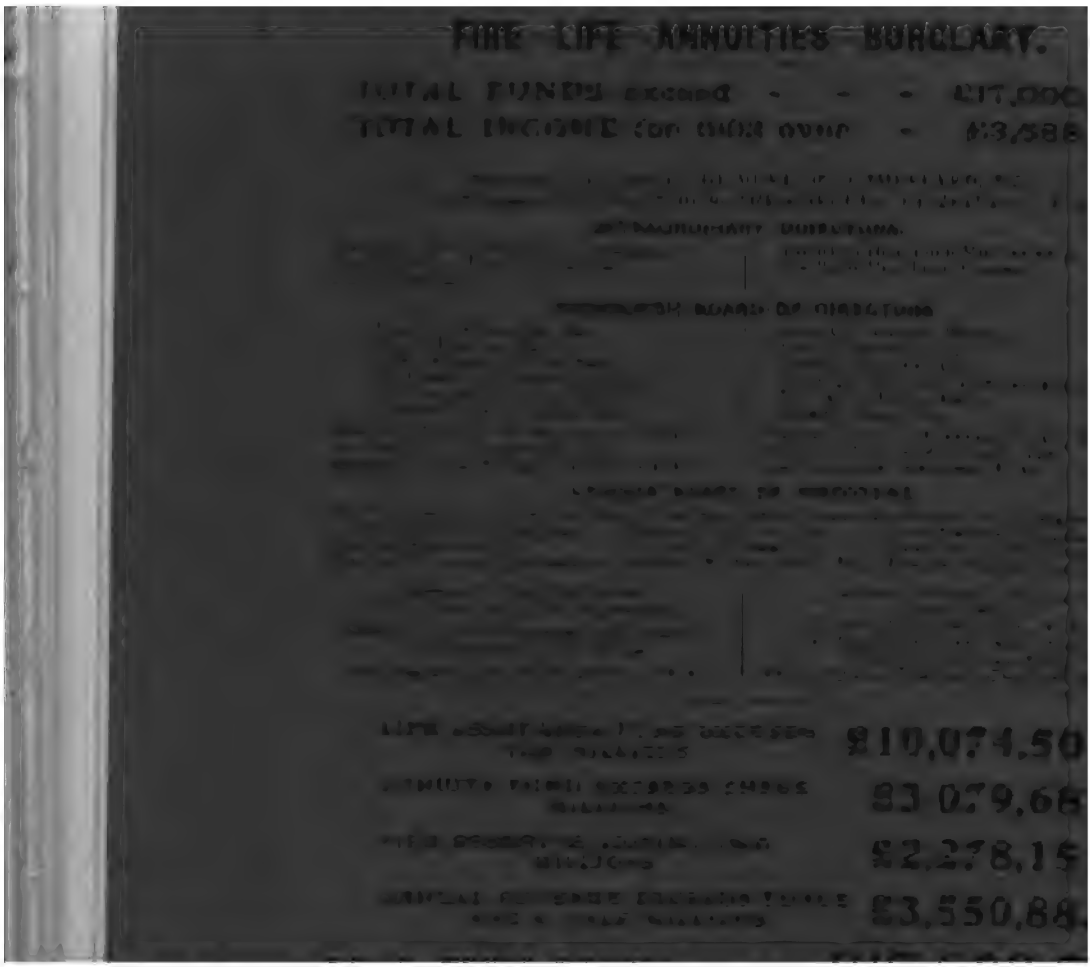
PAGE

Wilson, Rev. James, 210, 331, 459
Winzet, Ninian, Chaplain of Queen Mary, - - 348, 352
Witchcraft, connected with poisoning, - - - - 487
Witchcraft trials, Torture in, 235, 238, 243
Witches' Bridles, - - - 239
Wood's *Scottish Pewter Ware and Pewterers*, - - - - 438
Wool-card Manufactory at Leith, in 1663, - - - - 406
Wools in Scottish Trade, 53, 287, 406, 437
'Wrawes,' - - - - 108
Wyntoun's Chronicle, re-edited, 441 ; its contribution to Macbeth, - - - - - 462

Zimmer on St. Ninian, - - 379

19 05

THE SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW


FIRE LIFE ANNUITIES BURGLARY.
TOTAL FUNDS exceed - - - £17,000
TOTAL INCOME for one year - £3,588
£10,074.50
£3,079.65
£2,278.15
£3,550.88

Scottish Historical Review

VOL. II. No. 8. JULY, 1905.

CONTENTS

PAGE

The Household of Mary Queen of Scots in 1573. By Andrew Lang, LL.D. - - - - - - 345

Side Lights from the Dunvegan Charter Chest. By the Rev. R. C. MacLeod - - - - - 356

The Queen's Maries. By Thomas Duncan - - - 363

The Scots at Solway Moss. By the Hon. George A. Sinclair - - - - - - - - - 372

Nynia in Northern Pictland. By the Rev. Archibald Black Scott, M.A. - - - - - - 378

Dunnottar and its Barons. By James Crabb Watt, K.C., F.S.A.Scot. *With Illustrations* - - - - 389

Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union. By W. R. Scott, M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D. St. Andrews - 406

The Battle of Glenshiel. By Professor C. Sanford Terry. *With Maps* - - - - - - - - 412

Le Château de Brix, en Normandie. By Etienne Dupont, Juge, Saint Malo - - - - - - 424

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters.* By J. Maitland Thomson, LL.D. - 428

Vinogradoff's *Growth of the Manor.* By Wm. S. McKechnie - - 431

Scottish Cloth Manufactory at New Mills. By T. Watson - - - 435

Wood's *Scottish Pewter Ware.* By Joseph Anderson, LL.D. - - 438

Old Houses in Edinburgh. By A. O. Curle - - - - - 439

Sociological Papers. By Professor Henry Jones - - - - - 440

Burghal Life in Scotland. By George Neilson, LL.D. - - - - 441

Parnell's *War of the Succession in Spain.* By Miss Adamson - - 444

Paul's *Modern England.* By Andrew Marshall - - - - - 445

Terry's *Pentland Rising.* By Sir James D. Marwick, LL.D. - - 448

Sidney's *Gunpowder Plot.* By R. Oliver Heslop - - - - - 450

Fergusson's *Logie: A Parish History.* By W. B. Cook - - - 451

[*Continued on next page*

Contents

PAGE

Reviews of Books—*Continued.*

Terry's *Claverhouse.* By Sir J. Balfour Paul, Lyon King - - - 453

Ordo Romanus Primus. By Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D. - - - 454

Folklore and Witchcraft. By W. M. Mackenzie - - - - - 455

The Taill of Rauf Coilyear. By J. T. T. Brown - - - - 458

The Genealogist. By Rev. James Wilson - - - - - - 458

Mathieson's *Politics and Religion in Scotland.* By J. L. Morison - - 459

King Lear and Macbeth. By George Neilson, LL.D. - - - - 461

Renwick's *Peebles,* 1548-1573. By J. T. T. Brown - - - - 463

Current Literature - - - - - - - - - - - 464

Queries :

Miniatures of Mary Stuart. By Andrew Lang - - - 469

M'Millans - - - - - - - - - - - 470

A Casket of Queen Mary. By Andrew Lang - - - 471

Dedication of Kirkinner Church. By J. M. Mackinlay - - 471

Pedder : Peter - - - - - - - - - - 472

Abercromby - - - - - - - - - - - 472

Communications and Replies :

James VI. and Andrew Melville. By Colonel H. W. Lumsden 473

Sir Archibald Lawrie and the Swinton Charters. By Captain George S. C. Swinton - - - - - - - - 475

The Altar of St. Fergus, St. Andrews. By George Law, Advocate. With Note by F. C. Eeles - - - - - - - 478

Rob Stene (Robert Stevin). By A. M. Mackintosh. With Note by George Neilson - - - - - - - - 480

Honey Stealing at Haddington - - - - - - 481

Notes and Comments - - - - - - - - 482

The SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW is published Quarterly, price 2/6 net, and may be obtained from any Bookseller or from the Publishers.

Communications for the editor, including Queries or Replies to Queries, should be addressed to, The Editor, Scottish Historical Review, care of Messrs. James MacLehose & Sons, Glasgow.

MESSRS. JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS.

To be completed in Twenty Volumes. Vols. I. to IV. Just Published. With numerous Maps and Illustrations. Demy 8vo.

12s. 6d. net per volume.

Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others, by

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

'The re-issue of *Purchas His Pilgrimes* is in some ways a greater boon to scholars than the reprint of Hakluyt himself. Two hundred and eighty years have elapsed since Purchas issued the first edition of the *Pilgrimes* in four large folio volumes; and here at last we have the second. . . . The records preserved by Hakluyt and Purchas mark a date in the world's history, and well deserve the care and skill that have been bestowed upon them by the publishers of this noble edition.'—Professor WALTER RALEIGH in the *Outlook*.

'Nothing but gratitude can be felt at the present day for the persevering labour by which Purchas has put us in possession of first hand accounts of the adventures of many of those rovers of the sea who regarded piracy as quite a gentlemanly occupation.'—*Morning Post*.

'His work is immortal, and its appearance in a form so accessible and so handsome is a matter for warmest congratulations.'—*Notes and Queries*.

'It is the supreme merit of Purchas that his book improves as it goes on, and we look forward to the volumes which are to come with a rare pleasure.'—*Spectator*.

'Overshadowed though Purchas may have been by the fame of Hakluyt, the world would be poorer without these volumes; and we congratulate those who have put them forth in this most worthy form.'—*Academy*.

Vols. V. and VI. of Purchas will be published in July.

Just Published. 2 Vols., Demy 8vo. **25s.** *net.*

Coryat's Crudities

Hastily gobled up in five moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia, Switzerland, High Germany, and the Netherlands. By THOMAS CORYAT. This Edition contains facsimile Reproductions of all the Illustrations in the Original Edition of 1611.

This is the record of a journey on foot in 1608 from Dover through France to Venice; thence by Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo through Switzerland and Germany to Flushing. *The Westminster Gazette* says: 'There are few more delightful books of old-time travel and none which more thoroughly justify republication than *Coryat's Crudities*.'

'Lovers of our old literature, and admirers of all that is quaint, humorous, and interesting should make instant acquaintance with Thomas Coryate of Odcombe.'—*Notes and Queries*.

A Special Edition of each of these Books, limited to 100 Copies, on Hand-made paper, 25s. net per volume, contains proofs on Japanese of all the Engravings.

GLASGOW: JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS, PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY
LONDON AND NEW YORK: MACMILLAN & CO. LIMITED.

FOR THE HOUSE AND GARDEN.
FOR THE STEAMBOAT OR TRAIN.

SOFT CUSHION INSIDES

FOR COVERING.

Filled with Blanche, our Cushion Specialty.

WHITE AS SNOW. WILL NOT LUMP.
OBNOXIOUS TO INSECTS. LIGHT & FLEECY. POST FREE

18 Inches,	- - 1/6	22 Inches,	- - 2/1
20 „	- - 1/11	24 „	- - 2/4

W. S. BROWN & SONS,

ARTISTIC FURNISHING SPECIALISTS,

65 GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH.

T. & R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow.

518 SAUCHIEHALL STREET.

PHOTOGRAPHERS, PHOTO-ENGRAVERS
AND PUBLISHERS OF AUTOTYPE REPRODUCTIONS.

By Royal Warrant
TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

R. & W. SORLEY
JEWELLERS AND SILVERSMITHS
93 St. Vincent Street

Church Plate. Antique Plate.